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Parades As 'Congress Benefactor'!

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"Should the Congress issue a thoroughly satisfactory blue-print, would you be prepared to call upon your followers to join that party?" Dr. Ambedkar was asked next.

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Chronicle 25/7

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CRIME AND CONSPIRACY

He adds: Having committed the crime in conspiracy with the Congress of stabbing the Depressed Classes in the back and of completely annihilating them politically, they want to cover it by committing the worse crime of misleading the British Parliament and the British public by a mis-statement of fact that a large Majority of the Scheduled Castes are with the Congress.

I am prepared to submit to any finding by any impartial international tribunal or Committee as to whether the Scheduled Castes follow Dr. Ambedkar or Mr. Gandhi. Surely the Cabinet delegation have not fallen a victim to the latest stunt of Mr. Gandhi in staying in Bhangi colonies. I am rather tempted to say that the whole thing was a pre-arranged affair between Mr. Gandhi and the Cabinet Delegation particularly Sir Stafford Cripps."

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In a statement Mr. Rajbhoj claims that the Federation is fully representative of all sections of the Scheduled Castes. Dr. Ambedkar and the Federation have as much following among other sub-castes as among Mahars.

Referring to the Poona Pact, Mr. Rajbhoj says: "It was stipulated at the time when it was signed that the Scheduled Castes would be entitled to ask for its revision after ten years. Ten years have now passed and the Scheduled Castes, who are finding the Pact against their interests, are clamouring for its abrogation."

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Sir Chimanlal On Dr. Ambedkar's Threat

Sir,—Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in his interview with your representative says that he will give one more chance to the Congress to meet his demands and that if the Congress fails to do so, he and his followers would embrace Islam. This is not the first time that Dr. Ambedkar has given such a threat. At one time, he threatened that he and his followers would become Sikhs and on another occasion that he would embrace Islam. We know of Satyagraha in the form of Passive Resistance, civil disobedience and fasting unto death but it is only given to Dr. Ambedkar to threaten Satyagraha in the form of change of religion. It is, indeed, degrading for any person or community to make religion a pawn in the game of politics. Religion is a matter between any person and his God and to think of changing one's religion for acquiring a political benefit is inconceivable for any rational being to think of Dr. Ambedkar and his community may have some legitimate grievances but it is unquestionably absurd for them to threaten to change their religion in order to get them redressed. I wonder if Dr. Ambedkar seriously asks his followers to get themselves converted to Islam, how many of them will respond to his call.

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The resolution deciding to 'adjourn' the "struggle" says: "As the Congress Ministry has suddenly decided to adjourn the business of the Bombay Legislative Assembly, the Satyagraha Committee resolves to adjourn the Satyagraha struggle going on in front of the Council Hall for the time being."

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Dr. Ambedkar's Claim Refuted

From Our Special Correspondent

POONA, July 25: "The Bombay Secretariat by Legislative Assembly is more fully representative of the Scheduled Castes than the last Assembly," said Mr. Narayanrao S. Kajrolkar, a Harijan M.L.A., at a press conference convened by him, Mr. G. D. Tapase, Minister, and other Harijan members of the Assembly in the Minister's office today.

Mr. Kajrolkar added that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar had always shown a tendency to see that his own Mahar section of Harijans was dominated the Provincial Assembly. Dr. Ambedkar should, he said, acknowledge the defeat of his followers in the last election in a sporting manner and the task of his had to the Congress (as he had promised to do in an election speech at Sholapur), for having Congress Harijans returned solidly to the legislature.

Mr. Kajrolkar's statements were supplemented by Mr. Tapase.

The Harijan group in the Assembly disputed Dr. Ambedkar's claim to be the sole repository of the interests of his communityor that Caste Hindus and the Congress were responsible wholly or partially for the statement of the British Cabinet mission and the Viceroy of May 16 last. Mr. Kajrolkar said the Poona Pact, to which Dr. Ambedkar was a willing signatory in 1932, was in existence when he made his speech at Sholapur a few months ago, giving over the leadership of the return of his followers, in general, and Mahars in particular, for all time. fifteen seats and yet, when his men were ignominiously defeated in the elections, he did not gracefully take off his hat to the Congress.

POONA PACT

On the other hand, he had now come forward to condemn the Poona Pact but for which Harijans would have got only seven instead of 15 seats as at present and but for which no member of the other three parties in the Assembly could have found a place unless they toed the line with Dr. Ambedkar. This was demonstrated in the elections of 1937 when out of 15 Independents who were really Harijan candidates, there was only one non-Mahar and he too owed allegiance to Dr. Ambedkar. In the recent elections, on the other hand, all four seats of the Harijan community were represented and, above all, the group now included many an educated Harijan.

The publicist went perhaps not a step that as a result of Dr. Ambedkar's specious advocacy of the Mahars' claim at the first Round Table Conference, the right was incorporated in the franchise rules that those who had rendered service in villages even for a single day in the year preceding the preparation of the electoral rolls. The result was that the bulk of Mahars became voters while non-Mahars who were not on the list of village inferior servants, were left out. It was no wonder, therefore, that Dr. Ambedkar was now keen on scrapping the Poona Pact although he was not unmindful of the fact that on the basis of population and literacy Harijans would get only seven seats.

LEAGUE ATTITUDE

Dr. Ambedkar's tribute to the Muslim community and its leaders on the ground that they were solicitous of Harijan representation in the Executive Council of the Viceroy seemed strange to Mr. Kajrolkar, who recalled Dr. Ambedkar whether at the Simla Conference of 1945 Mr. Jinnah had not objected to give more than one seat to Harijans. Did not Mr. Jinnah repeat the same objection at the recent Simla negotiations as well? Muslims, who numbered about 100,000,000, wanted five seats and, according to Mr. Jinnah and his friends, Harijans numbering 60,000,000 were not entitled to three seats. What rule of arithmetic could that be? Where was the love of the Muslim League for other minorities and that, too, one being admired by Dr. Ambedkar?

Mr. Kajrolkar added that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress had been doing their best for the advancement of the Harijan cause, and he appealed to Dr. Ambedkar, who had undoubtedly contributed his mite too in the cause, to join the Congress immediately and "If he desires to join the Assembly even now, we shall only be too glad, I shall resign my seat and offer it to him."

Lastly, if Dr. Ambedkar had any grievance on the score of inadequate recognition of his claims, Mr. Kajrolkar remarked, he had only to re-read the Stafford Cripps's recent speech in Parliament and direct his safyagraha movement, if necessary, against Parliament but by no means against the Congress or the Congress Ministry who had done well by the Harijan community. Mr. Kajrolkar's caste-fellow, Dr. Jayakar, had also criticised Dr. Ambedkar's attitude.

HARIJANS AND CONGRESS

JAGJIWAN RAM'S REPLY TO AMBEDKAR

"SCHEDULED CASTES PART OF HINDU COMMUNITY"

LUCKNOW, July 25.

Mr. Jagjiwan Ram, President of the All-India Depressed Class League, talking to Pressmen today said that the problem of Scheduled Castes, as Dr. Ambedkar viewed it, was not religious, but economic. He held that the proposition that Scheduled Castes were not Hindus and were entitled to special minority rights was not correct. The Depressed Class League had always regarded Depressed Classes as part of the Hindu community and it wanted only special protection. He visualised a time when untouchability would completely vanish and the gulf between the Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes would be bridged.

He said: "The Depressed Class League is not a separatist, but an assimilative organisation. It has accepted the nation's liberation movement because it believes that unless foreign domination is liquidated, there can be no peace and prosperity in the country."

Asked about the demand for the abrogation of the Poona Pact, Babu Jagjiwan Ram said that he favoured the scrapping of the Poona Pact, not for the institution of separate electorates, but for joint electorates. He added: "We are willing to give some such formula which will give protection to Scheduled Castes along with joint electorates."

Mr. Jagjiwan Ram told Pressmen that he was in communication with the Congress High Command in the question of untouchability. He would also place the matter before the forthcoming meeting of the Congress Working Committee.

"OUR INTERESTS SAFE IN CONGRESS HANDS"

LAHORE July 22.

"In order to hide his past misdeeds Dr. Ambedkar has started a so-called struggle which will bring shame not only to the already discredited Doctor, but to all Harijans as such," says Mr. Prithvi Singh Azad, M.L.A. and General Secretary of the All-India Depressed Class League, in a statement to the United Press.

He adds: "And after all why is this struggle aimed against the Congress? In accordance with their strength, the Scheduled Caste members being sent to the Constituent Assembly by the Congress. To say that the Congress has done any injustice to the Scheduled Caste is fantastic. Harijans know that their interests are entirely safe in the hands of the Congress. That is why they elected only Congress Harijans in the last elections by defeating Dr. Ambedkar's nominees. The last elections proved beyond all doubt that the Scheduled Caste members have no faith in the bankrupt and anti-national policy of Dr. Ambedkar."

Free Press

TUESDAY, JULY 23, 1946.

Congress Harijans Swept The Polls

Mr. PILLAI EXPOSES AMBEDKAR'S CLAIM

MADRAS July 22.

Mr. V. I. Munisami Pillai, M.L.A. and a former Congress Minister, Madras, in a statement to the press today repudiates the recent statement of Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Sivaraj that in the primary elections the Scheduled Caste Federation alone commanded the support of the Depressed Classes.

Mr. Munisami Pillai says in Madras province out of 30 seats allotted to the Scheduled Castes Harijan candidates who were Congressmen were either uncontested or topped the polls in 27 constituencies. It was only in three constituencies that Congress Harijan candidates missed to secure the largest number of Harijan votes.

Giving details of the return of 27 Congress Harijan candidates Mr. Munisami Pillai says in eight constituencies Congress Harijans were returned unopposed. There was no follower of Dr. Ambedkar or Mr. Sivaraj or any other anti-Congress Scheduled Caste candidate who came forward to contest these eight seats. In the case of 12 other seats, there was no primary election held as distinguished from the final and general election because the number of candidates who came forward from the Scheduled Castes was less than the prescribed number. The Congress Scheduled Caste candidates topped the poll in everyone of these 12 seats. Out of the ten constituencies for which primary Scheduled Caste elections were held, Congress candidates secured the first place in seven constituencies. In the case of the remaining three seats the Congress candidates came second, third and fourth respectively and in none of these three cases any candidate put by Dr. Ambedkar's organisation came first.—A.P.

AMBEDKAR TO CARRY ON FIGHT TO THE END

Free Press 24/7

CONGRESS MUST DECLARE ITS ATTITUDE TO HARIJANS

(FREE PRESS OF INDIA)

POONA, July 21.

THE satyagraha launched in Poona by the Scheduled Castes Federation was not the work of madmen, if they were mad there was method in their madness and purpose too, observed Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, President of the Federation explaining the purpose of the satyagraha to pressmen this evening.

This satyagraha, he continued, would be an object lesson to Mahatma Gandhi, who considered himself the only graduate in satyagraha.

He further indicated that they would carry on the fight to the very bitter end, but on the moral plane. Even if their moral resources were exhausted, he observed, they would not resort to any other means. Dr. Ambedkar observed, "our tactics will depend upon the tactics of the Opposition, the Bombay Government."

Dr. Ambedkar, who came here this afternoon left for Bombay this evening, after visiting some of the camps of the satyagrahis.

During the Press Conference, Dr. Ambedkar attacked Mahatma Gandhi, Premier B. G. Kher, and the Congress-minded Harijans whom he characterised as "men actually picked up from the gutter" and "selected from the scum of Society men with no purpose, no intellect and no capacity." These Congress Harijans, according to him, had never devoted an hour of their life to the service of the community. He regretted such people who were "mere tools and stooges" should have been elected by the Congress as representatives of the Congress.

He was of opinion that the Congress had done nothing for the Harijans and observed "Why should I be dependent upon the goodwill of somebody else? Give me power to do good to myself. Why do you want to do good to me? I want mulion cutlets, but you give me only bhaji."

Dr. Ambedkar deprecated that the leaders of the Congress should have been there as leaders of the country for the past thirty years. The Indian people had forgotten that their country was greater than the leaders. But in a country like ours, "morbid thoughtlessness and irrational," such things were bound to happen.

SORRY STATE OF AFFAIRS

Premier Kher also came in for severe attack. Dr. Ambedkar criticised the statement made by the Premier at the Press Conference on Friday on the Scheduled Castes satyagraha. What the Premier had said was an enigma to him. But in the next sentence he remarked it was a sorry state of affairs that the Prime Minister of the province should not have sufficient intellect to understand such a simple matter as this.

Explaining the purpose of the satyagraha launched by the Federation he stated the Cabinet Mission had decided wrongly and very inequitably that the Muslims and the Caste Hindus alone should be heirs to their powers of authority and sovereignty. Since the Caste Hindus had the right to sovereignty and right to decide constitutional issues they wanted a declaration from the Congress as to how they proposed to dispose of the 60 million Scheduled Castes and how they proposed to protect and safeguard the interests of his community. Asked, when their grievance was against the British Cabinet why did not the Federation launch satyagraha in New Delhi during the negotiations, Dr. Ambedkar replied that "the British Cabinet became so fond of Gandhiji and fell in love with him so much that they even would not even looked at them."

IN A TEMPER

When asked why, when their grievance was against the Congress, they should launch satyagraha against the Bombay Government and interrupt the Assembly proceedings, Dr. Ambedkar replied that the Bombay Government was part and parcel of the Congress. Referring to the latter part of the question he cried out "Let the Assembly proceedings go to blazes. I am not concerned with it. Disturbance to Assembly proceedings is nothing to us."

Dr. Ambedkar also indicated that

(Continued on page 8)

AMBEDKAR EXPLAINS

(Continued from page 1)

neither he nor his colleagues on the Working Committee of the Scheduled Castes Federation wished to court imprisonment; but if they were locked up, their movement would be crushed down. And they were not fools to do such things, he concluded.

NO QUARREL WITH LEAGUE

Dr. Ambedkar also attacked the Hindu Maha Sabha, Student Organisations, the Communists and Socialists for not having joined in their struggle, which he maintained was a struggle for Freedom and Liberty. He also indicated they had no quarrel with the Muslims and they had decided not to launch satyagraha in the Punjab and Bengal.

The A.P.I. adds:

It was wrong, however, to say, Dr. Ambedkar continued, that a sense of frustration had been created in the minds of the Scheduled Castes. They had scored cent per cent victories though they have lost cent per cent seats.

"There would have been frustration if the Scheduled Castes had voted against our candidates, and for the Congress nominees. That would have been our ruination. But not over four per cent voted in favour of the Congress candidates who had been returned on Caste Hindu votes. That was not our defeat but triumph. But the fact that we lost these elections did not mean that we are going to lose them every time.

ELECTIONS AND CRICKET

'Elections," he said "are like Quadrangular Cricket matches where the Hindus win one year and Parsis next year.

POONA PACT

Turning to the demands of the Scheduled Castes, Dr. Ambedkar said, one of them was the abrogation of the Poona Pact.

"Why should we not agitate against it," he asked. "No treaty in the world is accepted as sacrosanct. The Poona Pact has resulted in the political disenfranchisement of the very people in whose interests it was made. What we are asking for is that the deliberate opinion of one community should not be nullified by that of another community. In the primary elections, wherever held in the country, no Congressman won against the Federation candidate. But in the general elections, the candidates selected by their community were rejected and 'stooges' and 'tools' of another party came on top because of Caste Hindu votes."

Dr. Ambedkar demanded that any arrangement made for the political protection of their community must be "fool-proof and knave-proof."

AMBEDKAR URGES VIGOROUS STRUGGLE

POONA, July 21.

There were no Scheduled Castes' demonstrations in Poona today. The leaders, however, declare that the Satyagraha will be continued tomorrow.

Followers of the Scheduled Caste Federation gave a rousing reception to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar who arrived here today. Dr Ambedkar in the evening addressed a meeting of the Scheduled class when he explained the purpose of their Satyagraha and exhorted them to carry on their struggle vigorously.

Poona branch of the Radical Democratic Party, in a statement issued today, have declared their support to the movement started by the Scheduled Castes Federation.—AP.

Misleading The British Parliament

MADRAS, July 20.

"I am surprised at the statement of Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. Alexander with reference to the Scheduled Castes in the House of Commons." says Dewan Bahadur N. Shivaraj, President of the All-India Scheduled Caste Federation, in a press interview today:

He adds: Having committed the crime in conspiracy with the Congress of stabbing the Depressed Classes in the back and of completely annihilating them politically they want to cover it by committing the worse crime of misleading the British Parliament and the British public by a misstatement of fact that a large majority of the Scheduled Castes are with the Congress. It has been established in the primary elections that the Scheduled Caste Federation alone commands the support of the Depressed Classes in spite of the many obstacles thrown by the Caste Hindus in its way. In their anxiety to please the Congress and win it over for their own ends the Cabinet Delegation have quietly let the Depressed Classes down to whom all these years they have pledged protection and safeguards.

LET INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL JUDGE

I am prepared to submit to any finding by any impartial international tribunal or committee as to whether the Scheduled Castes follow Dr. Ambedkar or Mr. Gandhi. Surely, the Cabinet Delegation have not fallen a victim to the latest stunt of Mr. Gandhi in staying in Bhangi colonies. I am rather tempted to say that the whole thing was a pre-arranged affair between Mr. Gandhi and the Cabinet Delegation A.P.

LEAGUE MAJORITY IN 'B' GROUP

Constituent Assembly

LAHORE, July 20.

With the completion of the Constituent Assembly elections by the three provincial units and Baluchistan, a complete picture of the 'B' Group Constituent Assembly is now available.

The position now is that the Muslim League has a clear majority over all the other parties combined —even including the Sikhs, if they should come in later—as the League has at present 19 seats in a House of 36. The number will be 20 if the Baluchistan representative sides with the League.

While Mr. Jinnah was elected today from the Punjab at the head of the Muslim League list, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan were elected by the Frontier Assembly at Peshawar. There is only one non-League Muslim from the Punjab, the Unionist Nawab Sir Muzzefar Ali Khan.

The following is an analysis of the "B" Group Constituent Assembly: Muslim League 19, Congress 11, Muslim Unionist one, Independent (Baluchistan representative) one, Sikhs (seats yet unfilled) four. Total 36.—A.P.I.

PARTY POSITION IN THE ASSEMBLY

BOMBAY, July 24.

India has sent the cream of her leadership to the Constituent Assembly the elections for which concluded to-day. Congress has emerged with an absolute majority, having secured 207 seats in a House of 389, including the Indian States.

The party position to-day is: Congress 207, Muslim League 73, Independent (general) 9 and Independent (Muslims) 3. The four seats allotted to the Sikhs have not been filled in yet, and the election to the 93 seats for the Indian States will follow at a later stage.

Of the 216 General seats, excluding the States, Congress secured 207 losing only nine Among the non-Congress nominees elected from General seats are Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, Sir Padampat Singhania and the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga.

The Muslim League lost only five of the Muslim seats, which went to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Mr. Fazlul Huq and one Unionist from the Punjab.

The Communist Party is represented by a lone member from Bengal.

While the League has got an absolute majority in the 'B' group and probably a working majority in the 'C' group, the 'A' group will consist of 164 Congress nominees, 19 Muslim Leaguers and 7 Independents. The 'C' group will include 35 Muslim Leaguers, and 32 Congressmen. The three Independents are Dr. Ambedkar, Mr. Fazlul Huq and one Communist, and on their attitude will depend the future of this Group. In the 'B' group the Muslim League has 19 partymen against the eleven of the Congress, the other two being a Coalitionist and a representative of Baluchistan.

Mahatma Gandhi has elected to remain adviser. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who has played such important roles in the country's politics, has had to keep away because of his ill health. Owing to some practical difficulty, the nomination of Dr. M. R. Jayakar did not come in time, but a place may be found for him later.

All top political leaders are in the Constituent Assembly, besides eminent jurists, lawyers, philosophers and industrialists. The Congress, in its desire to see that the country's constitution is drawn up by the best men in the land, went out of the party to find talent.

The newly-elected Constituent Assembly is expected to meet in New Delhi early in September to draw up the constitution of a Free and Independent India.—A.P.I.

Assam

ASSAM MEMBERS ELECTED

Times 19/7/47

Constituent Assembly

SHILLONG, July 17: The Assam Assembly yesterday elected 10 members to the constituent assembly:

Congress:—Messrs. Gopinath Bardoloi, Basant Kumar Dass, Rohini Kumar Chaudhury, Omeo Kumar Dass, Akshoy Kumar Dass, Dharani Dhar Basumatrai and Rev. J. J. M. Nichols-Roy.

Muslim League:—Sir Muhammad Saadulla, Abdul Matin Chaudhury and Maulvi Abdul Hamid.

Besides the League candidates, there was one Jamiat-ul-Ulema candidate, Maulvi Kermat Ali, for election from the Muslim section of the constituent assembly, while for the general section of the election the only non-Congress candidate was Mr. Surendranath Buragbhain. Both of them were defeated.

Bengal (Muslim)

BENGAL RESULTS
League Wins All Muslim Seats Except One

CALCUTTA, July 18: Thirty-two of the 33 Muslim seats allotted to Bengal in the Constituent Assembly have been won by the Muslim League candidates. The other seat has gone to Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, ex-Premier and leader of the Kirshak Proja Party, Bengal.

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, Sir Azizul Haque, lately Commerce Member of the Government of India, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Chief Minister of Bengal, Sir Nazimuddin, ex-Premier, Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani, Prof. Ishtiaq Husain Quareshi, Mr. Mohammad Hasaan and one woman, Begum Ikramullah, are among those elected.

Votes recorded for the general seats will be counted tomorrow.—A.P.I.

(General)

The following are the candidates elected (in order of preference).

Hindu 20/7/46

1. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.
2. Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose.
3. Sj. Surendra Mohan Ghosh.
4. Mr. Frank R. Anthony.
5. Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee.
6. Sj. Rajkumar Chakrabarti.
7. Sj. Dhirendra Nath Dutta.
8. Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh
9. Sj. Arun Chandra Guha.
10. Sj. Debi Pfasad Khaitan.
11. Maharajadhiraj Uday Chand Mahtab, of Burdwan.
12. Sj. Asutosh Mullick.
13. Dr. H. C. Mookherjee.
14. Dr. Syamaprasad Mookherjee.
15. Sj. Hem Chandra Naskar.
16. Sj. Kiran Sankar Roy.
17. Sj. Prafulla Chandra Sen.
18. Sjta. Lila Roy.
19. Sj. Satya Ranjan Bakshi.
20. Sj Radhanath Das.
21. Sj. Dambar Singh Gurung.
22. Sj. Somnath Lahiri.
23. Sj Jnanendra Chandra Majumdar.
24. Sj. Prasanna Deb Raikut.
25. Sj. Dhananjoy Roy.
26. Sj. P. R. Thakur.
27. Sj. Priya Ranjan Sen.

Bihar

Election From Bihar

From Our Own Correspondent

PATNA, July 23: Twenty-eight out of the 31 General seats in the Constituent Assembly from Bihar have been captured by Congress nominees, the other three going to independent candidates.

The five Muslim seats were captured by Muslim League candidates.

The following are detailed results:—

Congress (28 seats): Mr. Bhagwat Prasad (Scheduled Caste), Mr. Anugrah Narayan Sinha, Dr. Raghunandan Prasad (Scheduled Caste), Mr. Jagjivan Ram (Scheduled Caste), Mr. Phulan Prasad Varma, Mr. Mahesh Prasad Singh, Mr. Srangdhar Sinha, Mr. Rameshawar Prasad Sinha, Mr. Virendra Nath Samanta (Nationalist Adibasi), Mr. Jadubans Sahay, Dr Rajendra Prasad, Mr. Amiyo Kumar Ghosh, Mr. Satyanarain Sinha (M.L.A. Central), Mr. Kamlesnwari Prasad Yadav, Mr. Dipnarain Sinha, Mr. Ramnarain Sinha, (M.L.A Central), Mr. Guptnath Singh, Mr. Jagarain Lal, Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha, Mr. Boniface Laura (Nationalist Adibasi), Mr. Brajeshwar Prasad, Mr. Chandrika Ram (Scheduled Caste), Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mehtha (member, Council of State) Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta (New Delhi), Mr. Banarsi Praand Jhunjhunwala (M.L.A. Central), Dr P. K. Sen, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha.

Independent (three seats): The Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, Rai Bahadur Shyam Nandan Sahay and Mr. Gopal Singh.

Muslim League (Five seats): Mr. Hossain Imam (member, Council of State), Mr. Latifur Rahman, Mr. Tajamul Hussain, Mr. Saiyid Jafar Imam and Mr. Muhammad M. Tahir.

Bombay

All 19 Congress Nominees Elected

From Our Staff Correspondent

POONA, July 24: All the 19 nominees of the Congress Party and two of the Muslim League have been elected to the Constituent Assembly from Bombay Province. The results were announced in the Bombay Legislative Assembly today by the Speaker, Mr. K. S. Firodia.

Four of the Independent candidates, it is stated, did not get even a single preference vote. The two Muslim candidates were declared elected uncontested.

The following have been elected from the General section (the figures in brackets indicate the number of preference votes obtained in the election in the Legislative Assembly last Saturday). Mr. K. M. Munshi, former Home Minister (8); Mr. Sankerrao Deo, former member of the Congress Working Committee (7); Mr. Kannayalal Desai, President, Gujerat P. O. C. (7); Mr. R. R. Diwakar, former President, Karnatak P. O. C. (7); Dr Alban J. D'Souza.

Indian Christian (7); Mr. N. V. Gadgil, M.L.A. (Central), (7); Mr. B. M. Gupte, M.L.A. from Poona (7); Mr. K. M. Jedhe, President, Maharashtra P. C. C. (7); Mr. B. G. Kher, Prime Minister (7); Mr. S. N. Mane (Harijan) M. L. A. from Belgaum (7); Mrs. Hansa Mehta, President, All-India Women's Conference (7); Mr. R. M. Nalavde (Harijan) M. L. A. from Ahmednagar (7); Mr. S. Nijalingappa, President, Karnatak P. C. C. (7); Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, member of the Congress Working Committee (7); Mr. S. K. Patil, President, Bombay P. C. C. (7); Mr. M. R. Masani (Parsi), M. L. A. (Central), (6); Mr. H. V. Pataskar, M. L. A. from East Khandesh (6); Mr. Shantilal Shah, M. L. C. from Bombay (6) and Mr. Khandubhai Desai, Labour M. L. A. from Ahmedabad (5).

The two Muslim candidates elected were: Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, Leader of the Opposition in the Provincial Assembly, and Mr. Abdul Kadar Shaikh, M. L. A. from Surat and Rander Cities.

C. P. ELECTS 17 MEMBERS

Patriot — 20/7/46

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Sir Hari Singh & Amrit Kaur Returned

(From Our Special Correspondent)

NAGPUR, July 18.

Election of the representatives to the Constituent Assembly from C.P. and Berar was held to-day.

Sir Hari Singh Gour, and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur were elected.

Mr. C. E. Gibbon (Anglo-Indian) and two Congress Harijan candidates were also returned.

There were no contestants.

About 10,000 members of the Scheduled Caste Federation staged a demonstration before the Assembly House during the election time.

The following 17 were elected:—

C.P Hindi: Pandit R. S. Shukla Prime Minister, (Congress), Sj. B. A. Mandloi, M.L.A (Congress), Rajkumari Amrit Kaur (Congress), Thakur Chedilal (Congress), Sir Hari Singh Gour (Independent), Seth Govinddas (Congress), Guru Agamdas (Congress Harijan), Sj. V. R Kalappa (Congress).

C. P. Marathi: Sj. S. T. Dharmadhikari (Congress), Sj. H. J. Khandekar (Congress Harijan), Sj. R. K. Sidhwa (Congress) and Sj H. V. Kamath (Congress).

Berar: Sj. Brijlal Biyani Member, Council of State, (Congress), Dr. P. S. Deshmukh (Congress), Sj. L. H. Bhatkar (Congress Harijan) and Mr. C. E. Gibbon (Anglo-Indian).

Kazi Syed Karimuddin, M.L.A. (Muslim League).

Frontier

Mr. Azad Elected

PESHAWAR, July 20: Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Sardar Bahadur Khan (Muslim League) were elected unopposed to the Constituent Assembly by the Frontier Legislative Assembly today. There were only three names for three seats alloted to the province.—A.P.I.

Baluchistan Member

QUETTA, July 19: Nawab Mohammed Khan Jogazai was today elected as Baluchistan's representative in the Conatituent Assembly. He secured 61 votes against 13 obtained by the Congress candidate, Khan Abdus Samad Khan. Four votes were invalid.—A.P.I.

MADRAS [redacted]

RESULTS

Times — 4/7/46

Constituent Assembly Elections

MADRAS, July 23: Forty-four out of the 45 General seats in the Constituent Assembly for Madras have been won by Congress nominees. Those elected include all the eight names recommended by the Congress High Command.

Dewan Bahadur N. Sivaraj, President of the All-India Scheduled Caste Federation, was the only non-Congress nominee to be returned. Mrs. Dakshayani Velayudhan, Harijan member of the Cochin Council, who was a Congress nominee, failed to secure election.

The following is a full list of those elected: Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. Pattabhisitaramayya, Mr. T. Prakasam, Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, Mr. M. Anantasayanam Ayyangar, the Raja of Bobbili, Kumararaja, Sir M. A. Muthia Chettiar, Mrs. Ammu Swaminathan, Mr. Ramnath Goenka, Mr T. T. Krishnamachari, Dr. P. Subbaroyan, Rev. Fr. Jerome D'Souza, Dewan Bahadur N. Sivaraj, Mr. B. Gopal Reddi, Mr. V. Govind Dosh, Mr. K. Kamaraj Nadar, Mr. K. Madhava Menon, Mr. P. Kunhiraman, Mr V. I. Muniswami Pillai, Mr. V. Nadimuthu Pillai, Mr. S. Nagappa, Mr. P. L. N. Raju, Mr. C. Perumalswami Reddiar, Mr. T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar, Mr. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar, Prof. N. G. Ranga, Mr. N. Sanjeevi Reddi, Mr. K. Santhanam, Mr. B. Siva Rao, Mr. H. Sitarama Reddi, Mr. S. H. Prater, Mr. U. Srinivasa Mallayya, Mr. Kala Venkateswara Rao, Mr. P. Kakkan, Mr. M. C. Virabahu Pillai, Mr. T. J. M. Wilson, Mr. V. C. Kesava Rao, Mr. C. Subramaniam, Mr. V. Subramaniam, Mr. P. M. Velayudha Pani, Mr. O. V. Alagesan, Mr. K. Chandramouli, Mr. L. Krishnaswami Bharathi and Mrs. Durga Bai

A doubt about the election of Dewan Bahadur Sivaraj is expressed in a statement by Mr. D. K. V. Varma, Secretary of the Madras Legislative Assembly, in charge of the counting of votes at today's elections. He says: "There has been a slight miscalculation in the case of the transfer of surplus votes to Mrs. Velayutham. Consequently, it is under consideration whether the last candidate to be in the Constituent Assembly is Mrs. Velayutham or Dewan Bahadur Sivaraj." — A.P.I. & Hindu. Velayudhan

Orissa

CUTTACK, July 18.

In the Orissa Assembly to-day the Speaker announced the result of yesterday's ballot for election to the Constituent Assembly. The following nine have been elected:—Messrs. Harekrishna Mahatab (Premier), Bodhram Dube, Rajakrishna Bose, Santanukumar Das (Depressed Classes), Lakshminarayan Sahu, Biswanath Das (ex-Premier), Bhuvanananda Das, and Nandakishore Das and Mrs. Malati Chaudhury (President of the Provincial Congress Committee).

Miss Munro, European member nominated to represent backward tracts, exercised her vote.

Miss Munro, a nominated European member representing backward tracts in the Orissa Assembly, to-day exercised her vote when nine candidates from Orissa were elected to the Constituent Assembly.

Earlier, Mr. Laxminarayan Sahu had appealed to Miss Munro to consider the decision of the European members of Bengal and Assam not to exercise their vote.

Mr. Hare Krishna Mehtab the Premier, said that he himself had recommended Miss Munro's name for nomination to the Assembly to represent the backward tracts and therefore he left it to Miss Munro to decide for herself whether to exercise her vote or not.

Of the nine candidates, all except Mr. Laxminarayan Sahu (member of the Servants of India Society and a nominated member of the Assembly) are nominees of the Congress Party.

C Times — 19/7/46.

Sind.

SIND ELECTIONS

MR. J. DOULATRAM RETURNED

Times 12/7/46

KARACHI, July 11.

The Sind Assembly, the first Provincial Legislative body in India to be convened for electing representatives to the Constituent Assembly, returned to-day Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram, prominent Congress leader of Sind, to the Constituent Assembly without a contest, Prof. Ghansham Jethanand having already withdrawn.

SIND MEMBERS ELECTED

Times 13/7/46

Constituent Assembly

From Our Own Correspondent

KARACHI, July 12: All the three Muslim League nominees, Khan Bahadur M. A. Khuhro, Pirzada Abdus Sattar and Mr. M. H. Gazdar, were declared elected today to the constituent assembly from Sind. For the fourth general seat, Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram, Congress nominee, has already been declared elected. Khan Bahadur Khuhro and Abdus Sattar each secured nine votes and Mr. Gazdar, and Sheikh Abdul Majid, of the Coalition Party, eight votes each. But Mr. Gazdar was declared elected as he secured 16 second preferential votes while Sheikh secured only two from the League.

Punjab

MUSLIM MEMBERS

The following are the 16 Muslim representatives: Nawab Sir Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash, Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Nawab Iftikar Hussain of Mamdot, Mian Mumtaz Mohd. Khan Daultana, Prof. Abu Bakr Ahmad Haleen, of Aligarh University, Mian Muhammad Iftikharuddin, Chaudhuri Muhammad Hasan, Khan Bahadur Sheikh Karamat Ali, Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz, Mir Ghulam Bhik Hirang, M.L.A. (Central), Khan Bahadur Chaudhri Nazir Ahmad Khan, Dr. Malik Omar Hayat and Syed Amjad Ali. Except the first, all are Muslim League nominees.

Representatives for the general seats are: Rai Bahadur Chaudhri Suraj Mal (Unionist), Dr. Gopichand Bhargava, Pandit Shri Ram Sharma, Bakhshi Sir Tek Chand, Sardar Prithvi Singh Azad (Scheduled Caste Congress), Diwan Chamanlal, M.L.A. (Central), Mehr Chand Khanna, Finance Minister of the N.-W.F.P., and Chaudhri Harbhaj Raj (Scheduled Caste Unionist). Except the first and the last, all are nominees of the Congress High Command.

Times 23/7/46

CONGRESS CAPTURES 44 SEATS IN U. P.

Leader 24.7.46.

Election to Constituent Assembly

Lucknow, July 23.—Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, former Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, Sir. Padampat Singhania and Raja Jagannath Baksh Singh are the three independent candidates, who have been elected to the Constituent Assembly from the United Provinces (general community). The remaining 44 seats, have gone to the Congress nominees, among whom are Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Babu Purushottamdas Tandon, Speaker of the U.P. Legislative Assembly, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Acharya J. B. Kripalani and Dr. K. N. Katju.

Of the eight seats allotted to the Muslim community, seven have been won by the Muslim League nominees and one by Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Revenue Minister, U.P. (Congress nominee).

The Muslim League candidates elected to the Constituent Assembly are:—

Chaudhuri Khaliq-uz-Zaman, Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, Maharaj Kumar Amir Haider Khan, Begum Aizaz Rasul, Mr. S. M. Rizwanullah, Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan and Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai is the only Congress nominee who has been elected on the Muslim community votes. Maulana Hafizur Rahman (Congress), Syed Sajid Hussain and Syed Kalve Abbas (Independent Muslims) were not elected.

Announcing the results of 55 seats (47 general and 8 Muslims) in the Legislative Assembly just before the House rose for the day the Speaker said that 66 members from the Muslim community cast their votes to elect eight representatives. One ballot paper was not found in order.

Hundred and fifty-seven members, including three Europeans, cast their votes to elect 47 representatives of the general community.

Two ballot papers were not found in order and consequently invalidated.

The following 47 persons were elected to the Constituent Assembly from general community:—

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Hon'ble Shri Purushottamdas Tandon, Hon'ble Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Acharya J. B. Kripalani, Pt. Sri Krishna Dutt Paliwal, Sardar Jogendra Singh, Shri A. Dharam Dass, Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani, Hon'ble Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Mrs. Purnima Banerji, Shrimati Kamala Chaudhri, Shri Dayal Das Bhagat, Shri Dharam Prakash, Shri Masuria Din, Shri Sunder Lall, Shri Bhagwan Din, Shri Pragi Lal, Shri Damodar Swarup Seth, Shri Govind Malaviya, Shri Sri Prakasa, Shri Bal Krishna Sharma, Shri Mohan Lal Saksena, Shri Ram Chandra Gupta, Shri Maheshwar Dayal Seth, Shri Hargovind Pant, Acharya Jugal Kishore, Shri Hariharnath Shastri, Shri Shibban Lal Saksena, Hon'ble Dr. Kailas Nath Katju, Shri Ajit Prasad Jain, Shri Vishwambhar Dayal Tripathi, Shri Feroze Gandhi, Shri Kamlapati Tiwari, Shri R. V. Dhulekar, Shri Algu Rai Shastri, Shri Phool Singh, Shri Venkatesh Narayan Tivary, Shri Gopinath Srivastava, Shri Gopal Narain, Shri Banshi Dhar Misra, Pt. H. N. Kunzru, Shri Khurshed Lal, Shri Jaspat Roy Kapoor, Raja Jagannath Baksh Singh, Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, Sir Padmapat Singhania.

GROUPING OF PROVINCES

4.8.46

SIR N. GOPALASWAMI IYENGAR'S ANALYSIS

MADRAS, Aug. 3.

"The real power in the Indian States, as in British India, must be with the people. As the Constituent Assembly is a representative of the people, representation of States in it should be such as to really reflect the opinion of the people of the States" observed Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, addressing a Round Table Conference on "the Indian Constitutional Problem", last evening at the Royapettah Y.M.C.A., under the auspices of its Forum. Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri presided. Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar also participated in the conference.

The proceedings started with the reading of papers on the constitutional proposals before the country. Mr. M. R. Sivaramakrishnan read a paper on "The scope of the Centre", while Mr. G. N. Srinivasaraghavan contributed a paper on "The Indian States", and Mr. V. K. Ramaswami on "The suggested grouping of provinces." These young men were congratulated on their good performance by the Chairman and other speakers.

Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar next addressed the conference. He referred to the British Cabinet Mission's proposals and said that in the working of the Constitution in various countries, the original plan had been modified by judicial interpretation and constitutional conventions. He pointed out how this was true in the case of Canada, Australia and the United States of America. Therefore, a Constitution did not remain static. Referring to taxation, Sir Alladi observed that it was an inevitable attribute of sovereignty and it would make sovereignty ineffective if the power of taxation was not implied therein. If this interpretation was not accepted, he had absolutely no objection to the constitutional negotiations breaking on this point.

Recalling that "foreign relations" had undergone a tremendous change in recent times, Sir A. Krishnaswami Aiyar declared that the subject of "communications" was very wide and the portfolio of "defence" was important. The speaker said he was one of those who liked to start with something, some Union of India in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill, in a spirit to work the Constitution and amplify it as much as possible consistently with the State Paper.

Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar then addressed the meeting. Speaking first about the proposal to group provinces in the Cabinet Mission's plan, he said that the scheme did not visualise a group "as part of the political structure." If they examined the Constitution of the Union Centre, they would find that in no place in the State Paper had they mentioned that the groups as groups would have representation at the Centre. At no stage even in the constitutional set-up, the mechanical constitutional set-up of the Centre, did they have any indication of the groups coming in as such.

Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar then examined what the powers of the provinces were in regard to grouping themselves with any other province and observed that the Cabinet Delegation had stated that the provinces were autonomous, their powers were autonomous and included the right to group themselves with the other provinces for the purpose of administration of common subjects. If this was so, it was not an unreasonable inference from the State Paper that no province could exercise that autonomous power of grouping itself with another province unless the decisions regarding that issue was left in its own hands. Again on examination, they would find that there must be very few items where it would be desirable for provinces to combine together for their administration. His view, therefore, was that there was "no compelling necessity for us to form the groups at all. Why should we complicate the constitutional machinery of this country by having these three-decker constitutions? In no place had the Cabinet Mission stated that grouping was compulsory. What they had stated was that the 'sections' were compulsory."

REPRESENTATION FOR STATES

Proceeding, Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar dealt with the position of the Indian States and said that a great deal had been said about the grouping of the States. The grouping contemplated in that connection was not the same as the grouping referred to in regard to the British provinces. What had been suggested in the case of Indian States was the combination of a number of small States in order to qualify them for the position of a unit in the future Federation of India on the same lines as the British Indian provinces. If they wanted to combine a number of them into groups, they had to decide whether it was going to be on the principle of a sub-federation or whether they were going to follow what was suggested in the case of the provinces or whether they would combine them as they ought to do in the case of hundreds of principalities in Kathiwar and Gujarat. The former position of sub-federation would raise for them enormous problems similar to those they were faced with regard to the grouping of provinces. So far as the immediate future was concerned, his feeling was that the Cabinet Mission's scheme contemplated a Federal State combining both the Provinces and the States, every State coming into the Federation as every province should. Therefore, if they brought every State, big and small, into the Federation, he did not see what difficulty there could be in organising them into federal units. He did not see why there should be this insistence on a number of small States being combined into one unit for the purpose of qualifying themselves for entry into the Federation. If they looked at it from that standpoint, there was no need to prevent all States coming into the Federation immediately.

The only question was, the speaker continued, as to how the States should get representation in the federal constitutional structure. They could certainly divide the country into constituencies for the purpose of returning members to the Lower House. These constituencies might be wholly within the provinces, or wholly within the States, and in some cases partly within the State and partly within the provinces. By this method, they got the whole of India in the Lower House. As regards the Upper House, Federalism to-day did not make it essential that in the Upper House, they should provide equal representation to the units. "You have got to devise a scheme of representation for the Upper House which should be based upon the primary purpose for which the second chamber should be constituted. It ought to be so evolved as to get a set of people in the House whose calibre will compare with that of the average Senator in the United States of America," he added.

As regards representation of the Indian States in the Constituent Assembly, Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar stated that it raised a controversial issue. His own view was that the Constituent Assembly was an assembly of the representatives of the people. If they visualised the future of the Indian States as meaning that the present Rulers of those States would settle down into the position of constitutional monarchs, they reduced them to the position of ornamental dignity. The real power in the Indian States, as in British India, must be with the people. As the Constituent Assembly was a representative of the people, representation of States therein should be such as to really reflect the opinion of the people of the States. While he did want members of the Indian States' Governments to be represented, he thought that representation should come from the choice of the people or their representatives.

Winding up the proceedings, the chairman expressed the hope that they would be able to see a happy solution of the constitutional question, though their hopes were going up and down from hour to hour, so that they would be able to take their proper place among the nations of the world.

"NO SOVEREIGNTY OF ONE PARTY"

Pandit Nehru On Constituent Assembly's Stature

"MUSLIM LEAGUE DECISION CAN ONLY DELAY FREEDOM"

ALLAHABAD, August 1.

THE Sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly would be as a whole and against interference of the British Government; it would not be sovereignty of one party inside the Assembly over the other, declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President, addressing a meeting of the Allahabad University Union, this evening, on the occasion of "Tilak Day".

Sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly, Pandit Nehru added, was necessary "for solving our problems mutually."

The Congress could never have accepted to go into the constituent assembly if the assembly had not this sovereign status, said Pandit Nehru. He added that the Cabinet Mission had accepted the 'sovereignty' of the assembly subject to two matters—treaty between India and Britain and the minorities question. Of course, there would have to be a treaty signed between India and Britain for the transfer of power and the minorities question would have to be subsequently settled.

"We cannot solve our problems unless this sovereign status of the constituent assembly was given to us. By this we remove the third party which is coming in our way of solving our problems. My idea of the sovereign status of constituent assembly is that we will sit together without intervention in the assembly and mutually settle our problems."

Undoubtedly the Congress had a majority in the constituent assembly, said Pandit Nehru, but that did not mean that it would overlook the interests of the minorities. But supposing it did, added Pandit Nehru, we could have fought, we could have quarrelled together and solved these problems.

MINORITIES QUESTION

But the British Government thought they would put clauses or dictate how the subject of a treaty or how the minorities question should be settled. The Congress would not accept it for that would mean the losing of the sovereign stature of the assembly.

Pandit Nehru disapproved the policy of a certain section of the people who were now criticising the Congress decision to go into the constituent assembly. He felt that a time came when every man or organisation had to shoulder responsibility. The only thing that the man or the organisation had to think at that time was that he or it should not be wrongly caught in it. The Congress, after mature thinking and with the wishes of the country, had decided to go into the constituent assembly. The step had been taken. It was not the time for any more criticism or debate on this step. By doing so these people were only weakening the step which the country had taken.

He advised everyone in the country to strengthen this step which the Congress had taken and see that it treaded on the right path and was not misled.

"The recent decision of the Muslim League and such other matters may delay India's independence, but they cannot stop it," said Pandit Nehru.

He felt sorry that when the Congress had asked the British 'You go away' and said 'we will solve our problems together in the constituent assembly, without the intervention of the British,' the Muslim League should have stayed behind to come into the assembly for this mutual settlement and asked the British to remain between our problems.

Pandit Nehru congratulated the elder statesmen in the Muslim League on their decision to renounce their titles.

Morning Std 3.8.46

Scooped "Secret Congress Plan"

LONDON, August 2.

The existence of a hitherto secret plan by the Indian National Congress to dictate its will to the British Government and the Muslim League is alleged in a letter from Mr. J. D. Jenkins of Poona, in a letter in the "Spectator."

Mr. Jenkins—quoting an important Left-wing Congressman, who is not named—says the scheme is fourfold.

"Firstly, Congress representatives will attend the Constituent Assembly;

"Secondly, there will be an early walk-out of the Muslim League representatives;

"Thirdly, Congress will proceed to form a revolutionary Assembly and will draft a new constitution, ignoring the Muslim League;

"Fourthly, the new constitution will be submitted to the British Government to take it or leave it."—Reuter.

Morning Std. 2.8.46

LEAGUE PLAYING WITH FIRE!

LONDON, July 30.

Commenting on the Muslim League's decision, the 'Birmingham Post' says: 'It is clear that provocation is a game which two can play. Unhappily in India to-day that is playing with fire.'—GLOBE.

Morning Standard 2.8.46

Congress Rule Inevitable

LONDON, July 31.

Under the heading: "Who Rules India Now," the tabloid-type left, wing 'Daily Mirror' declared to-day that Mr. Jinnah has "made it inevitable that the Congress, which is the majority party, shall rule India.

"How could it be otherwise?" it argues. "The whole life of the country cannot be allowed to collapse because Mr. Jinnah refuses to take part in it"—Reuter.

Morning Standard 2.8.46

"News From India Has Taken A Grave Turn"

LONDON, Aug. 1.

Mr. Godfrey Nicholsen, Conservative Member of the Parliamentary Delegation which recently visited India, said during a discussion on the future Parliamentary business to-day, that news from India had taken a grave turn. He asked if the House was going to adjourn for the eight weeks' recess without any indication from Government to show that they were aware of the situation. Would they take the opportunity of making a statement?

Mr. Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House, said that the House of Commons had a debate on India quite recently. He agreed the situation was difficult, but did not think the House would improve it either by Government making a statement or by having a discussion.

JINNAH'S CHARGE DENIED

Hindustan Times 2.8.46.

I.N.A. Not Identified With Any Party

LAHORE, Aug. 2.—Mr M. A. Jinnah's allegation about the I.N.A. at a Press conference in Bombay is emphatically refuted by Mr P. K. Sehgal, Joint Secretary of the I.N.A. Inquiry and Relief Committee, in a statement.

Mr Sehgal says: "The Congress High Command has at no time put any demand on the I.N.A. nor has any money ever been given by the Congress to I.N.A officers and men for their tours.

"The I.N.A. officers have been primarily concerning themselves with relief and re-settlement work of their own men They have been touring the country carrying the message of the I.N.A. and soliciting the sympathy of the people for the families of the I.N.A martyrs and re-settlement of members of the I.N.A."

"We do not identify ourselves with any political party," said Mr A. C. Chatterjee, former Minister of the Azad Hind Government, at a Press conference here last evening. "We shall align ourselves only with the party which helps us and fights for the freedom of the country," he added.

Times 3-8-46.

Poor Response In Bihar

PATNA, August 2: "I regret that the response in this province is not very encouraging, though in Bengal and the United Provinces almost all the members of the Muslim League party have surrendered their respective titles," says Mr. S. M. Ismail, leader of the Muslim League party in the Bihar Legislative Assembly and former President of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, in an appeal to Muslims to renounce their titles in pursuance of the decision of the League Council.—A.P.I.

Protecting Hindu Life

Defence committees for the protection of Hindu life and property are to be formed in every important city in India in view of the decision of the All-India Muslim League to resort to direct action, says Mr. L. G. Thatte, General Secretary of the All-India Anti-Pakistan Front, in a statement. "Mr. Jinnah is no doubt saying that the Muslim League will not resort to communal riots", Mr. Thatte adds. "The so-called direct action of the Muslim League is bound to culminate in communal riots and bloodshed. We must, therefore, prepare to protect ourselves."—A.P.I.

Khaksar Leader's View

LAHORE, August 2: "By his latest step of withdrawing from the Constituent Assembly, Mr Jinnah has driven the last nail into the coffin of the freedom of India," says Allama Mashriqui, the Khaksar leader. He adds: "Never was the problem of the permanent and utter slavery of 400,000,000 people so cleverly and permanently solved than by the British Cabinet Mission during their 14 weeks' stay here, and the part that Mr. Jinnah has played in the whole game is most shameful."—A.P.I.

Time For United Nations Action

M. Tuson 2/8/46

NEW YORK, Aug. 1.—Mr. J. J. Singh, president of the India League of America, yesterday advocated that the United Nations should step in and arbitrate "in the present dangerous political situation in India before bloodshed and chaos envelop the people of India."

Asserting that the decision of the Muslim League to withdraw its acceptance of British proposals virtually threw "three years' laborious work into the melting pot, Mr Singh declared: "The British are now faced with two alternatives. Firstly, the British could say that as they have failed in their efforts to bring about an *entente* between the two large political parties, they intend to get out of India, thus giving the people a chance to settle their own affairs. Such a declaration would be welcomed by the people of India.

Civil War Feared

"But it must not be overlooked that the sudden withdrawal of British from India will, in all likelihood, result in a civil war costing thousands of lives. The second alternative available for the British to declare that as the Muslim League has refused to accept their proposals, they intend to carry on their rule in India until the two parties have reached an agreement. This step will be suicidal for the British. Such a declaration would immediately start a world-wide conflagration in India."—Reuter.

NEXT MOVE WITH BRITAIN

LONDON, Aug. 1.—Mr Jinnah has slammed the door of conciliation in the faces of the British people and Congress Party, but the next move is with Britain, says a note in today's issue of the *Tribune*, the Left-wing weekly magazine.

The *Tribune* adds: "Mr Attlee declared that Britain could not allow a minority to place a veto on the advance of the majority. That verdict has now been endorsed and the next move is with Britain. It is unlikely that the League's threat of direct action will mean anything more than an organized Muslim campaign of passive resistance in the present administration, but it would be unwise to discount the political consequences of the decision the League decision to fight for Pakistan means anything at all, it means that all hopes of building into existence a representative Indian Government at the Centre must now be abandoned."

"Having persuaded the world for tactical purposes of the sweet reasonableness of the Muslim case, Mr Jinnah immediately set about torpedoing the agreement by publishing letter in which the Viceroy was 'ill-advised enough to concede the principle of Mr Jinnah's claim to sole representation of the Muslim population in the Interim Government."—Reuter.

ANOTHER MANOEUVRE?

NEW YORK, Aug. 1.—The *New York Herald Tribune* in a leading article yesterday said: "It is likely that the action of the Muslim League is merely another political manoeuvre in its contest with the Hindus."

The *New York Times* declares: "Mr Jinnah seems to be able to think as a Muslim but not as an Indian. India is a long way off, yet we cannot be indifferent to the turmoil affecting one-fifth of the world's population. The march of unreason threatens us all. Every setback to the Indian problem is just as ominous here as in London."—Reuter.

Viceroy To Congress To Form Interim Govt." 3/8/46

LONDON, Aug. 2.—The opinion that the Viceroy should now ask the Congress to form an interim Government is expressed by the Left-wing weekly, *New Statesman and Nation*, in an editorial commenting on the Muslim League decision not to enter the Constituent Assembly.

The paper says: "It is not clear what form of unconstitutional action is contemplated by the Muslim League. The League has Ministries in only two of the five provinces it claims for Pakistan and even those hold office by precarious majorities dependent on European votes.

"Creation of Pakistan by revolutionary action would hardly be possible in these conditions, nor are wealthy and titled men who predominate among the Leaguers the type who will face prison gladly. What the League can do is to make provincial self-government difficult or impossible in the Punjab, Sind and Bengal."

The Viceroy, the paper adds, may have no alternative but to ask the Congress to form an interim Government. It is to be hoped the Congress will include in it Muslims from outside the League."—Reuter.

"DIRECT ACTION WILL BE RUINOUS FOR MUSLIMS"

KARACHI, Aug. 2.—"The Muslim League's resolution adopted in Bombay has not only created a complete constitutional deadlock but a very threatening situation," says Sheikh Abdul Majid, President of the Progressive Muslim League.

He suggests fresh negotiations between the major parties and intervention by the British Premier or the Viceroy assuring the Muslim League that the Constituent Assembly will work within the four corners of the State Paper. He adds that a settlement should be arrived at for the formation of an Interim Government.

If these efforts fail he suggests the Indian problem should be placed before the UNO for final decision.

"The direct action threatened by the Muslim League," Sheikh Abdul Majid says, "will spell disastrous to India in general and the Muslim nation in particular without resolving the deadlock."—U.P.A.

"CONSTITUTION-MAKING MUST PROCEED"

SIMLA, Aug. 2. "If India—and even England is to survive, she must federate," said Sir Jogendar Singh, a former member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in an interview today.

Referring to the Muslim League's boycott of the Cabinet Mission's scheme, he said Group 'A' should proceed with the constitution-making and Groups 'B' and 'C' might wait until the communities inhabiting them could reach an understanding.—A.P.I.

Congress Must Go Ahead Without The League

2-8-46

BEZWADA, Aug. 1.

"The Congress is ready to form the Constituent Assembly, if need be, without the co-operation of the League and go ahead with its constitution-making," says Prof. N. G. Ranga, President, Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, commenting on the Muslim League's decision to boycott the Constituent Assembly.

Prof. Ranga adds, "If the Viceroy does not convene the Constituent Assembly, it will anyhow have to meet and frame the constitution for a free India and thereafter proceed with the task of enforcing the constitution of Free India. If the British Government obstructs the enforcement of that constitution, the Congress will have no other choice but to engage in another struggle against imperialism.

"The one thing that emerges quite clearly from the latest political situation is that the days of British Imperialism in India are numbered." Mr. Ranga, therefore, appeals to all Congressmen and patriots throughout the country to prepare themselves for the coming struggle and not waste their time in internecine bickerings and "family cares."—A.P.I.

AN OPPORTUNITY LOST

Mr. Nariman's Reaction

"Perhaps, to some communalists and Mahasabha-minded Congressmen, the boycott resolutions of the Muslim League will be welcome, as it would indicate of an obstructive nuisance, in both the Constituent Assembly and the Provisional Government," Mr. will perhaps feel that now the way is clear for reaching the goal for the Congress through a straight and smooth route of the Constituent Assembly," says Mr. K. I. Nariman in a statement to the Press.

"But, they will soon be disillusioned. A Constituent Assembly for genuine national freedom, without either of the major parties, would be a wedding party without a bride or bridegroom. With the Scheduled Castes up in arms in the west, the Non-Brahmins opposing in the south, the Sikhs [illegible] and [illegible] tant and on the top of it a major community declaring war against it, there could not be more depressing atmosphere for such a gathering. It is bound to end in a fiasco and failure resulting in a terrible state of affairs, in the country.

"We must remember that the Constituent Assembly has only a moral sanction behind it; its success will depend mainly upon the willing consent and good-will of all the parties concerned as its resolutions will not be enforced at the point of a bayonet by the strongest party.

After years of isolation and separation the Cabinet Delegation at last succeeded in establishing a political contact between the two rival political parties.

Once caught in this anti-Pakistan net every effort should have been made to see that this 'prodigal child' did not slip out of it again. Instead, we found that the League was practically frightened out of the arena of co-operation by frightful and ill-advised long statements once again to drift in the desolate wilderness of the bloody battlefields of civil strife.

FREEDOM'S FOUNDATIONS CAN BE LAID IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

H. Times 3.8.46

Asaf Ali's Appeal To Leaders To Resolve Differences

SRINAGAR, Aug. 2.—The top leaders of the main political parties should hold preliminary consultations to settle their differences "in a new and amicable spirit as a starting point of the Constituent Assembly," says Mr Asaf Ali in a statement.

"The forthcoming Constituent Assembly," Mr Asaf Ali says, "offers all parties, communities and interests the first opportunity in history not merely to lay the foundation of India's freedom, but to erect a constitutional structure which may guarantee the unhampered development of the whole of India. Those who doubt its sovereign character, because it has been sponsored by the outgoing British rulers of India, distrust their own ability to assert inherent rights.

"Situated as our country is today, overlaid with chequered interests and cross-currents of differences only two courses are left open to us, namely, either a sanguinary upheaval or a peaceful transfer of power from alien to Indian hands and a peaceful adjustmen among ourselves.

Adjustments Essential

"The latter course is obviously preferable and, therefore, we must strain every nerve to make the forthcoming Constituent Assembly a success, even if adjustments dictated by existing conditions fall short of perfection. Other problems shall solve themselves in course of time. The most rigid of constitutions have to yield to the pressure of practical needs from time to time.

"The other course is a violent or non-violent rebellion. Such rebellion can be conceived in India today which can remain non-violent for 24 hours in spite of the appeals from Mahatma Gandhi or the Congress. The armed forces, the basis of all power, when its ultimate success is not beyond possibility, is therefore, naturally preferable.

India's Right Reognized

"The object of all contests, violent or non-violent, is to secure the recognition of a country's fundamental rights. The stage of preliminary negotiation, which follows when the armed contest is past. There is none left on earth now, not even the British, who does not recognise India's right to be entirely free of foreign control.

"It is now for us, therefore, to give effect to our freedom through a constitution under which the government of free India would begin to function. Only a bad workman quarrels with his tools. The Constituent Assembly is the tool with which we have to fashion free India's constitution.

"The very first election under the new constitution should be broad-based on adult franchise, and the new provinces and union governments may receive their mandate from the adult electorate to amend the constitution in the light of good enough to secure what they desire. The inherent compulsion and sanction which is the will of the people can never be suppressed by any constitution or law.

The Main Hurdle

"The main hurdle before the forthcoming Constituent Assembly rests on the differences between the Congress and the League. But for these differences an Interim Government would have been formed and the work of the Constituent Assembly considerably lightened.

"A dispassionate analysis of these differences would show that in spite of many angry statements made the essential margin of divergence is very narrow.

"It is illogical of any political party to seek to restrict the choice of another party of its representatives in the Interim Government. The grouping of contiguous provinces for certain purposes within the Union unless voluntarily endorsed by the grouping units at all stages will defeat the very purpose of grouping.

"Is it not logical, therefore, that the Working Committees of the two parties or their spokesmen should get together to discuss and settle their differences in an amicable spirit? After all no imposition from outside can possibly secure mutual goodwill or the spirit of friendly co-operation without which no adjustment can yield good results.

Recognition Of Rights

"Any advantage which a party may gain without the goodwill of the other will prove illusory and lead to undesirable consequences sooner than later. So long as the adjustment of legitimate rights is not brought about without external aid the difficulties of the situation will tend to be intractable.

"This holds true also of the Indian States. But apparently the majority of States, judging by services, do not seem to be unwilling to negotiate a settlement with the rest of India. Some among them are counting on Congress-League differences and have developed themselves into the false hope that they can hold out for some time yet by encouraging civil strife within their territories. Those who are inclined to follow this course will be disillusioned before they know where they are.

Warning To Princes

"Chaos will prove a powerful ally for democrats and bejewelled tiaras. Nothing but the goodwill of the people and of India as a whole can serve them in time of the inevitable crisis ahead.

"Whatever the history or causes of past developments, whether among political parties or the Indian States, it should not be overlooked that both the immediate contingency and the ultimate destiny of India and her people demand that all parties should seek adjustments and accommodation among themselves without any reference to external assistance.

"It is, therefore, essential that instead of preparing for a quick and decisive or a long drawn-out battle inside the Constituent Assembly, and setting up separate camps, the top leaders of the parties concerned should hold preliminary consultations to settle their differences in a new and amicable spirit. They should start settling on a clean slate, beginning with India's freedom and ending with the economic and social freedom of the people, making every Indian national the first charge on the State.

"The united will of the people can rewrite the State Paper, which is the starting point of the Constituent Assembly. goodwill is all that is required."

Morning Standard

League Decision Upsets States Grouping Plans

2.8.46

BHOPAL, August 1.

THE preliminary meeting of the Grouping Committee of the States concluded its two-day sitting in Bhopal yesterday afternoon. In the absence of Sir Manubhai Mehta, Chairman of the Committee, Sardar D. K. Sen, Vice-Chairman, presided. Representatives of various regions of Indian States attended the meeting and among those present were, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Adviser to the Chancellor, Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Prime Minister of Bikaner, Sardar H. S. Malik, Prime Minister of Patiala, Mr. Shuaib Qureishi, Home Minister of Bhopal, Mir Maqbul Mahmud, Director of the Chancellor's Secretariat, and Maharaj Virabhadra Singh of Dungarpur.

The Committee, it is learnt examined various aspects of the question of grouping of States with a view to fitting them in the future structure of India and made agreed recommendations in regard to the constitution of primary groups and regional grouping which, it is understood, will be submitted to the States to be reviewed in the light of local conditions.

NEED FOR SOLIDARITY

Inaugurating the meeting, His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, stressed the need for solidarity among States and for a realistic and far-sighted approach to the question of internal reforms and grouping of States to fit them in the new All-India structure.

While the Committee were in the midst of their important deliberations, came the news of the Muslim League's decision to withdraw its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals. The League's decision appeared to have created an atmosphere of pessimism about the progress of the forthcoming constitutional discussions and when approached, some of the States' representatives present, indicated that they were doubtful whether it would be of any practical use now, to proceed with all these plans.

It was felt, however, that the question of grouping retained its importance specially with regard to such States as cannot, by themselves, set up requisite standards of administration or qualify for adherance to an All-India structure of the Union level and which should, therefore, forthwith constitute suitable groups to prepare for the future.—A.P.I.

JINNAH'S ATTACK ON CONGRESS

SARDAR PATEL'S REPLY

Hindu 28/6

"NO YIELDING TO THREATS"

BOMBAY, Aug. 1.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who took a leading part in the recent constitutional negotiations, answered a number of points raised by Mr. Jinnah, during his speeches in the League Council meeting and in his Press conference yesterday.

Sardar Patel was speaking at a public meeting to celebrate the Tilak anniversary.

"If Mr. Jinnah means business, it is for him to make a friendly approach and drop all ideas of threats and ultimatums," said Sardar Patel. "The British have decided to leave India, whether we wish it or not, as they cannot stay here under any circumstances. It is therefore in the interest of the Muslims themselves to give up their present attitude of quarrel and take the constructive path of co-operation.

Sardar Patel, at the outset, compared the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, and the League Council, and said that while at the A.I.C.C. meeting no attacks or insinuations were made on the Muslim League, the speeches at the League Council were full of abuse and insinuations both against the British Cabinet Mission and the Congress. It would serve no useful purpose for me to answer the vulgar and unparliamentary expressions used by Mr. Jinnah and other Muslim League speakers. But he interferred to them only to demonstrate what a mentality these speeches disclosed. It was clearly showed that there was no real desire on the part of the Muslim League for a settlement.

Mr. Jinnah now claims that he has planked a second bid in the Muslim League, which can be used both against the British Government and the Congress. Much had been made of the renunciation of titles by members of the League Secretariat. I denounced the action of the Sardar, was futile in the face of the British declaration to quit India. Therefore, such a demonstration could not impress anyone.

Coming to me, Sardar Patel said the threatened direct action by the Muslim League, if it was real, was not aimed at the Viceroy but at the Congress because the British had already made it clear that they had no intention of staying in India, and therefore it could only mean that the threatened action was against the Congress. It was an attempt by at pressure tactics to gain a point over the Congress. It was hoped that we would succeed, because the Congress would never compromise its principles or yield to threats to its fundamentals.

FAILURE OF MOVE TO OUTWIT CONGRESS

Mr. Jinnah had refused to him (the speaker) as being responsible for the League's discomfiture and, had alleged there was secret deal between him and the speaker on behalf of the Congress with the Cabinet Delegation. Mr. Jinnah had not so far been able to produce any evidence in support of his allegation. "In fact, I would say it was Mr. Jinnah who entered into a secret understanding and obtained promises behind the back of the Congress, which, in the nature of things, could not be fulfilled. He, therefore, complains now of the non-fulfilment of those pledges and assurances, and he is naturally angry. The Congress has nothing to hide. It always placed its cards openly on the table. Mr. Jinnah tried to outwit the Congress and failed. He is, therefore, angry. He is now out to create a deadlock in Government without the Congress, as was secretly planned by him, but he failed in his attempt. Mr. Jinnah is, being an eminent lawyer, had put one interpretation on Clause 8 of the statement while Mr. Jinnah had put another interpretation. And if they cannot agree on the interpretation of Clause 8 of the statement of June 16, why should the Congress be blamed, asked Sardar.

Mr. Jinnah's complaint, continued the Sardar, is that the Congress accepted the Cabinet Mission's statement on May 16 and made it impossible for the Muslim League to form an Interim Government leaving the Congress out. Mr. Jinnah knows, as everyone else does, that the Congress has declared its willingness to let the Muslim League form a Government if it chooses. The fact is that the Muslim League by itself is unable to form a Government. It has become impossibility for breaking such a solemn undertaking. If the League decides to withdraw from its acceptance, deliberate after a full and mature consideration, it should not attempt to find excuses and try to throw the blame and responsibility for such withdrawal on other shoulders. It must be prepared to face the full consequences of such a decision."

Sardar Patel then referred to Mr. Jinnah's condition that the Scheduled Castes "deserve regard" for the Scheduled Castes, and said that it was the Muslim League which prefused to agree to accord adequate representation to the Scheduled Castes in the Interim Government in proportion to their population and insisted that the Scheduled Caste representation should be restricted in the same manner as the Muslim League representation being accorded to other minorities, such as the Parsis.

PARITY ISSUE

Dealing with Mr. Jinnah's claim that the Viceroy had promised parity of representation on the Interim Government on the basis of the Cabinet Delegation's statement of May 16, Sardar Patel said: "I am astounded to read that statement. Assuming for the moment that the Viceroy had made an assurance to Mr. Jinnah, the Sardar said that he could not understand how a man like Mr. Jinnah could ever believe for a moment that the Congress would accept such a proposal. The Congress had made no secret of the fact that it would not accept parity of any kind, nor would it agree to a minority's so go unrepresented.

Continuing, Sardar Patel said that Mr. Jinnah's secret deal to keep the Congress out of the Interim Government has been fully exposed by the publication of the correspondence. What right had Mr. Jinnah now to complain of deception and treachery that was his own suggestion? Mr. Jinnah, he asked, Mr. Jinnah had attempted the impossible in trying to make the Congress accept a position in which it would come to be regarded as a subordinate party. He should have known that the Congress would resist such an attempt. Why should it agree with the British Cabinet Mission for their failure to make the Congress accept such a position?

"Mr. Jinnah is angry with the Cabinet Mission, because they had openly declared that they never accepted his claim that he had the monopoly of Muslim representation. Mr. Jinnah now proclaims that he had made his gesture and the next move rests with the British and the Congress. This is adding insult to injury. He has abused both the Cabinet and the Cabinet Delegation. Does he mean this is the gesture he has made? Does he expect the British and the Congress to make the next step because he has abused them? In all his life Mr. Jinnah has never made an approach to the Congress even since he left that organisation. The Congress has made repeated approaches and could not succeed in his unreasonable demands. It has never yielded to threats in the past and it will not do so in the future.

"While the Congress is opposed to parity of any kind, I can assure Mr. Jinnah that it will not be opposed to Mr. Jinnah's formula for the Cabinet, in any manner he likes, once he drops his communalism and adopts nationalism."

Sardar Patel then referred to the Pakistan demand and said that up to now the Muslim League was counting on British help to secure Pakistan. The League could not prove its case before the Delegation. It accepted the rejection of the Pakistan part of the Pakistan demand. It is absurd at this stage to revive the old cry or to flog a dead horse. The Pakistan case was fully examined by the Cabinet Delegation. The League was unable to support it either economically or politically. The Cabinet Mission was, therefore, unable to accept it.

Mr. Jinnah's present business it is for him to make a friendly approach and drop all ideas of threats and ultimatums. It is in the interests of the Muslims themselves to give up their present attitude to the constructive path of co-operation."

CONGRESS WILL NOT YIELD TO THREATS

Hindu 28/6

SARDAR PATEL'S REPLY TO MR. JINNAH

LEAGUE MUST TAKE PATH OF CO-OPERATION

BOMBAY, Aug. 2.

A categorical reply to the various allegations and criticisms made by Mr. Jinnah in his speech at the Press conference and at the meeting of the League Council was given by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in the course of his speech at the public meeting held yesterday in celebration of the Tilak anniversary.

After replying to Mr. Jinnah's various criticisms of the Congress and of its attitude with regard to the negotiations with the Cabinet Mission (which appeared in the *Hindu* today), Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel said:

"I want to make it clear that there is no possibility of a coalition between the Congress and the League as they have diametrically opposite aims. Any attempt at a coalition between the Conservative Party Leader in England there was a coalition between Labour and the Conservatives during the war. But then they had a common objective—the defeat of Germany and Japan. But here in India, Mr. Jinnah comes with the avowed object of dividing India into Hindustan and Pakistan, whereas the Congress goes in to work for a united, federated India. How can there be any coalescence? There is no common objective.

"Mr. Jinnah complains that the situation has arisen which entitles the Muslim League to withdraw its acceptance of the long-term plan. Mr. Jinnah complains of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement in which he has stated that the Congress has agreed to go into the Constituent Assembly and it is free to do what it likes inside the Assembly. Mr. Jinnah forgets that in his speech at the League Council at Delhi, in accepting the Cabinet Mission's plan said similar, if not worse things. He said that the Muslim League is not bound by the long-term plan, because it contained the foundation of Pakistan, and that the Muslim League hoped to build a full-fledged Pakistan on that foundation. Mr. Jinnah forgets that he had said that the Congress had swallowed the Cabinet Mission's bill of Pakistan. The League resolution accepting the long-term plan contained a similar expression. Where then is the justification for Mr. Jinnah to complain that the Congress is evident?

"The Congress Working Committee's resolution, which was passed by the All-India Congress Committee, in an unambiguous manner, has made it clear that the Congress is making a genuine honest and sincere attempt. Any expression of opinion or statement can change or alter the solemn resolution of the A.I.C.C. The Congress is an honourable organisation and it can never renounce its moral obligations. The Congress is not in the habit of going from one extreme to the other, withdrawing its acceptance on second thoughts. The Cabinet Mission has declared that a long-term settlement has been accepted by parties. The Prime Minister has made a declaration to that effect in the House of Commons. The Viceroy has also made a statement to that effect. The Congress has accepted the long-term plan. Where is the question of any doubt?

"The Congress Working Committee's resolution of June 26 is clear and unambiguous. It says that the All-India Congress Committee, in an authoritative manner, has made it clear that the Congress is making a genuine honest and sincere attempt. Any expression of opinion or statement can change or alter the solemn resolution of the A.I.C.C. The Congress is an honourable organisation and it can never renounce its moral obligations. The Congress is not in the habit of going from one extreme to the other, withdrawing its acceptance on second thoughts. The Cabinet Mission has declared that a long-term settlement has been accepted by parties. The Prime Minister has made a declaration to that effect in the House of Commons. The Viceroy has also made a statement to that effect. The Congress has accepted the long-term plan. Where is the question of any doubt?

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"Decision By Congress And Government"

The Muslim League had gone back on its pledged word and decided to reject the long-term plan of the Cabinet Mission on second thoughts. It was for the Government of India and the Congress to decide the next step, declared Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel in Bombay on Thursday.

The Congress leader was addressing a public meeting held under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee in connection with the Tilak Anniversary celebrations.

The resolution passed by the Muslim League Council, Mr. Patel said, did not have a trace of any intention to fight the British, but only the Congress. The British were getting ready to quit India, and if at that time people were preparing for a fight, it was only to fight among themselves. The direct action contemplated, he added, was in reality a threat to the Congress and also a manoeuvre to bring pressure on the Government.

Comparing the resolutions passed at the meetings of the All-India Congress Committee and the Muslim League Council, Mr. Patel said that, while the former were restrained and dignified, the latter abounded in insinuations against the British Cabinet Mission and the Congress.

The unparliamentary expressions used by Mr. Jinnah during the Council session indicated that the League had no real desire to come to a settlement with the Congress, he declared.

Much had been said about the renunciation of titles, by the members of the Muslim League. But they were given up at a time when they had lost their glamour. Perhaps in a free India, it would be a liability to own a title.

Mr. V. Patel

Mr. Jinnah had said that the Congress had made a secret deal with the Viceroy. But he had not been able to substantiate his statement by any conclusive evidence. On the other hand, it was Mr. Jinnah who obtained promises behind the back of the Congress, and it so happened that the promises could not be fulfilled. The Congress, Mr. Patel declared had nothing to hide, and they had placed all their cards on the table before the public. It was Mr. Jinnah who had attempted to outwit the Congress

The interpretation of clause 8 in the statement made by the Cabinet Mission on June 16 was interpreted by Sir Stafford Cripps in one way, and by Mr. Jinnah in another way, and if the

(*Continued on page 7*).

"Let League Make Offer"

THREATS NO USE, SAYS MR. PATEL

(*Continued from page 1*).

interpretations were not alike, it was not the fault of the Congress.

A coalition between the Congress and the Muslim League was impossible, for the organisations held views which were diametrically opposed to each other. Even in the dark days of the war, the Conservative and Labour parties in England could form a coalition, for they had a purpose in common, namely, to defeat their enemies in Europe and Asia.

The League and the Congress pulled in opposite directions. One wanted to divide India into Pakistan and Hindustan, while the other yearned for a united India. It was clear, Mr. Patel stated, that the two had no common meeting ground.

The Muslim League, in order to withdraw its acceptance of the long-term plan, fortified itself with the argument that a new situation had been created by the announcement of the Congress President, Pandit Nehru, at a press conference, that the Congress had agreed to join the Constituent Assembly, but was free to do what it liked inside the Assembly. It was significant, he stated, that the resolution of the Congress Working Committee was ratified by the A.-I. C. C. without altering even a syllable or a comma. No individual statement or expression of opinion could alter that solemn resolution, for the Congress was not in the habit of going back on its moral obligations.

As against this were the statements made by Mr. Jinnah that the League was accepting the Cabinet Mission's plans because they contained the foundation of Pakistan, and that the Muslim League would build a full-fledged Pakistan on that foundation. He also said that the Congress had swallowed the sugar-quoted pill of Pakistan. If the League now wanted to withdraw its acceptance of the plan, it should not attempt to lay the blame at other's doors. It was Mr. Jinnah's aim to convert the Congress into a Hindu body.

His claim that the Viceroy had assured him parity of representation for Muslims in the Interim Government on the ratio of five-five-two had been denied by the Viceroy. The Congress also had declared that it would not accept parity or allow any minority to go unrepresented in the Interim Government. But, Mr. Patel observed, the Congress had no objection to Mr. Jinnah forming the Cabinet in any manner he liked, provided he did not think in terms of communities and adopted a nationalist approach.

Referring to Mr. Jinnah's claim that he had made a gesture and that it was up to the Congress or the Government to make the next move, Mr. Patel said that the League leader was only adding insult to injury, for he had traduced the Congress and the British Cabinet Mission. Mr. Jinnah had never approached the Congress, even though the latter had gone to him several times and yielded to unreasonable demands. It was unwise to think of subduing the Congress by threats.

If Mr. Patel concluded, the League meant business, it was up to it to make a friendly approach and abandon all ideas of threats and insinuation. It was in the interests of Muslims themselves to give up quarrels and take to constructive co-operation.

Earlier, Mr. Patel paid a tribute to the services rendered by the late Mr. Tilak to the cause of Indian freedom. He was a great scholar, patriot, and one who put loyalty to country before any other consideration.

MUSLIM LEAGUE

Give Up Abuse & Unite To Build Free India

CONGRESS WON'T YIELD TO INTIMIDATION

Coalition Possible Only On Basis Of Nationalism

"Give up this approach. Much can be done by love; but nothing by holding a pistol to our heads. You cannot get your object by threats. The Congress is not afraid".

This was the categorical answer to the resolution recently adopted by the Council of the Muslim League and the speeches made by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, given by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, in the course of a speech at the Jinnah Hall on Thursday evening.

"If you are still keen on Freedom", the Sardar appealed to the League, "come, let us sit together like two brothers and arrive at a settlement or let us refer our differences to arbitration & abide by the verdict; and let us jointly break this document (The Cabinet recommendations). Sit with us and let us take freedom."

THIS STRUGGLE FOR LEADERSHIP

The occasion was a public meeting held under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee at the Jinnah Hall to climb the Tilak Day celebrations. The meeting which was attended to be held at Chowpatty had to be held indoors due to inclement weather and the hall was jammed with people.

Besides the Muslim League resolution Sardar Patel dealt with a number of other subjects agitating the public mind.

With reference to the strike wave, he agreed on the point to one of the above and raise from below, but deplored that set strikes had degenerated into struggles for leadership. Restlessness was a healthy sign, but people should not rush to hasty and irresponsible action.

In the same connection he referred to the Communists and said that they were using every opportunity to fight the Congress. If, after freedom had been won, people wanted Communism, he would no mind it. Meanwhile his appeal was not to divide the freedom lovers.

TO SOCIALISTS

To the Socialists who insisted on preparing to fight the British he said that the only thing they should prepare for was to accept the responsibility of freedom. There was no need any longer to fight the British. The only revolution that was needed was an internal revolution, a constructive revolution. Very soon, if one wanted to fight the British, he would have to go to England.

On the question of the Satyagraha in Goa, the Sardar said that the struggle there would have to be sustained by the strength of the local people. The Congress would not be wise, at the present juncture to deflect its attention. Once freedom was won, it would see that there was no room for any other sovereign power in Hindustan.

LOKAMANYA'S TEACHINGS

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel said that it was a day of auspicious memories. But it was hardly necessary for him to sing the praises of Lokamanya Tilak or try to assess the great place he occupied in public life. Before his day every political gathering began with an address of loyalty to the Crown. The Lokamanya taught that the only loyalty they

Mo herland. At the end of his great trial he had declared that God willing, by his suffering and his imprisonment, the cause for which he stood would triumph sooner. And truly enough the offence of Sedition for which he was sentenced became the daily creed of thousands of people. The work he had begun had reached fulfilment in the resolution of August 1942, by which the Congress asked the British to quit India, bag and baggage. And now, the Sardar continued, the ship of Indian freedom was approaching the shore and the nation had to deal with quite a different situation.

THE GOA STRUGGLE

Just that morning, for instance, he had received a letter from a Goan lady, who criticised the Congress for not taking the same interest in the Satyagraha in Goa as in the Satyagraha in South Africa. The two, were not exactly on the same footing. For one thing, South Africa was part of the British Empire and secondly Indians had gone and settled in South Africa. The situation in Goa was different. The struggle there was for elementary civil liberties. Tristao Cunha, an able and courageous man had been sentenced to eight years more than that Tilak got for Sedition. The Portuguese Governor had called Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru as outsiders. It would seem that the people who came from Portugal were the natives of Goa! When India became free it would see that there were no other sovereign powers in Hindustan. He did not see any fur

(Continued on page 8 col. 4)

Sardar's Terms To Muslim League

(Continued from page 1)

brethren from Goa to misunderstand him, but it would obviously be unwise for the Congress to be entangled in many issues. It should concentrate on framing a Free India Constitution. Meanwhile the struggle in Goa must be sustained by the strength of its own people who should unite in the struggle for freedom.

Turning to the political situation in India, Sardar Patel announced that our struggle with the British was virtually over. They had declared their intention to quit. All his life he had been a disbeliever in British intentions. But he was now convinced that they were prepared to leave.

Whether they were doing so of their own accord or they were being forced to do so, was not quite relevant. The fact was that they were quitting. And, therefore, if anybody told him, that they were preparing to fight the British, he could not believe it. The preparations could only be for a fight among themselves.

LEAGUE DECISION

Thus was the only interpretation he could give to the recent resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League. He could smell no fight in it. It was just a manoeuvre to put pressure on the British. If there was any fight, it could only be against the Congress.

He was glad to know that many people had given up their titles. He recalled how in the old Khilafat days, the Congress had called for renunciation of titles. Many people gave up many things. Some gave up their titles. Others gave up their schools and courts; some gave up foreign cloth, liquor and tobacco. A poor man having nothing else to give up swore that he would never touch the face value of the titles that the Leaguers were giving up was no more than the green gram of the poor man. Anyhow in a Free India, very shortly, possession of foreign conferred titles would be a crime and thus giving up titles would be no sacrifice.

REPLY TO JINNAH

Falling into a serious vein Sardar Patel said that Mr. Jinnah had been speaking him and the Congress. What was their fault. Mr. Jinnah claimed that the Viceroy had given him certain assurances and the Congress back on them. The Viceroy said he had given no such assurance. Whoever was right, where did Congress come into the picture? The letter from the Viceroy announcing that he had given no assurance of the kind replied by Mr. Jinnah had been published long ago. Why then did he wait all these days?

The reason Mr. Jinnah cited was that Pandit Nehru, Congress President, had said something at a Press Conference. This, Mr. Jinnah claimed, had given rise to a new situation. But Congress policy was no secret at any time. It was clearly stated in the resolution of the Working Committee, a resolution which had been ratified, without a dot, a comma or a syllable by the A.I.C.C. Congress accepted the full responsibility for implementing the Working Committee's resolution and clearly that it accepted the declaration of May 16 and agreed to Cripps' that it had the right to interpret the document. But it made no secret of its interpretation. Whatever the situation had not arisen now.

On that analogy it could be argued that Mr. Jinnah's speeches also gave rise to new situations. While, for instance, the State Paper expressed disapproval Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah in his speech to the League Council and then had triumphantly declared that he had only accepted Pakistan as a tactical move. Did that also not give rise to new situations?

CONDITION FOR COALITION

The fact of the matter was, said Sardar Patel, Mr. Jinnah had tried to induce the Viseroy to instal the League in power without the Congress. He had failed and he was venting his chagrin on the Congress As far as the Congress was concerned, it did not care very much how many seats it got. Let all the seats go to Mr. Jinnah. Only Mr. Jinnah should change his approach. He should cease to be a communalist and become a nationalist. His whole attempt had been to dub the Congress a Hindu body. That Congress had not been for 50 years. It would not be to-day. The Muslims of India were as much a part of the Congress responsibility as any other section of the population.

The speaker referred to the statement of Mr. Jinnah that the initiative was with the Congress or the Government and said that the Congress had gone to his door hundreds of times. He had never once deigned to come to it. How could he expect the Congress to go to him, after the kind of speech he had made? He had abused and insulted the Congress. The Congress was not so helpless that it should go to him.

NO THREATS CAN WORK

On that footing no coalition was possible. There could be no coalition between two parties, one of which wanted to go north and the other to go south. The British were going anyhow. They could not afford to stay any longer. Indians would have to make India free and run the administration of a Free India. If there was agreement on that common ground, other things would come easy.

But the fact of the matter appeared to be that Mr. Jinnah wanted the British to give him Pakistan. Comparing Pakistan to a deflated cycle tube, Sardar Patel said that for two months it had been entirely forgotten. It was now being revived and the latest slogan was 'Back to Pakistan.' Meanwhile all kinds of threats were being held out against the Congress. The Congress, however, could not be subdued by such means.

LET US JOIN TO BREAK THE PLAN

SARDAR'S INVITATION TO LEAGUE PRESIDENT

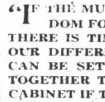
CONGRESS CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO MAKE AN APPROACH

REPLY TO JINNAH'S CHARGES

BOMBAY, Thursday.

"IF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE IS KEEN ON ATTAINING FREEDOM FOR INDIA, LET US SIT DOWN TOGETHER WHEN THERE IS TIME BEFORE US, AS BROTHERS, AND SETTLE OUR DIFFERENCES. IF WE CANNOT SOLVE THEM, THEY CAN BE SETTLED BY AN ARBITRATOR. LET US JOIN TOGETHER TO BREAK THIS DOCUMENT OF THE BRITISH CABINET IF THE LEAGUE THINKS IT WILL WORK TO THEIR DETRIMENT," SAID SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL, SPEAKING TODAY AT JINNAH HALL AT A MEETING HELD TO COMMEMORATE THE 26th DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF LOKMANYA TILAK.

Beginning his oration with an appraisal of the work of the Lokmanya, Sardar Patel said that it was Tilak who first educated the masses. He was the first to be imprisoned for demanding the inherent rights of the people. It was Tilak besides who taught the people the science of prayers and petitions.



After Tilak said the Sardar, it was Gandhiji who made the struggle of the masses a more potent weapon. If Tilak had educated them to their political needs, it was Gandhiji who added the weapons of satyagraha and non-cooperation. "Swaraj" was then not gone by, added the Sardar, and now the wishes of that great lover of freedom were going to come true. Swaraj was at hand. He had never up to now believed that British were sincere in their intentions, but today he could say with full confidence that the British meant to go when they said they were quitting India. Their moments had come.

AGAINST CONGRESS

Launching on a severe criticism of the resolutions passed by the Muslim Council, Sardar Patel then said that the days when the Congress and its spokesmen knocked at the door of the Muslim League for a settlement were over and gone and now it was for the League to come to the Congress for a solution to the communal problem.

The resolutions, said the Sardar were a threat to the Congress and an attempt to bring pressure on the British for concessions. "The Muslim League President says that he intends direct his action against the British. When the British are about to leave and we have to run the Government of our country, with whom is the fight contemplated. If not against the Congress itself?" queried the Sardar.

He said further: "In the event of the British quitting India, if someone says that we shall have to fight the British, it only means that we shall have to fight among ourselves. That is the significance of the resolution of the League Council."

Commenting on the cancellation of titl s by many Leaguers, the Sardar said: "The renunciation of titles appears to me to be more of a theatrical character. If anything. The Congress had done this sort of thing many, many years before. Today giving up titles has entirely lost its significance. It is no sacrifice at all! Indeed we have come to a stage when anybody will keeping a title bestowed on him by a foreign Government will have to go to Jail for six years!"

Mr. Jinnah had referred to him (speaker) as being responsible for his Leaguer's discomfiture and had alleged that some secret dealing had been made by the speaker on behalf of the Congress with the Cabinet delegation.

JINNAH'S DISCOMFITURE

Mr. Jinnah had not been so far able to produce any evidence in support of his allegation. "In fact I would say it was Mr. Jinnah who entered into a secret understanding and obtained promises behind the back of the Congress, which in the nature of things could not be fulfilled. He, therefore, complains now of the non-fulfilment of those pledges and assurances and he is naturally angry. The Congress had nothing to hide. It always placed its cards openly on the table."

the Congress party to form the interim Government without the Congress as was originally planned but he failed in his attempt. Sir Stafford Cripps, an eminent lawyer, has put one interpretation on Clause 8 of the June 16 statement while Mr. Jinnah puts another interpretation. Both are able lawyers and if they cannot agree on the interpretation of Clause 8 of the statement of June 16, who could, the Congress be blamed," asked the Sardar.

Mr. Jinnah's complaint, continued the Sardar, is that the Congress accepted the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16 and made it impossible for the Muslim League to form an Interim Government, leaving the Congress out. Mr. Jinnah knows as everyone else does, that the Congress has declared its willingness to let the Muslim League form a Government if it chooses but the fact is the Muslim League by itself is unable to form a Government.

TO STICK TO DECISIONS

The Sardar then replied to the charges levelled against the British Cabinet Mission, the Viceroy and the Congress and the "dastardly" said to have been given to Mr. Jinnah. "If the British Cabinet have committed any breach of faith and gone back on their words, why, fault is it of the Congress?" he asked. "The League accepted the decision of the Cabinet Mission after great deliberation and fully conscious of the implications. The Working Council also accepted the decision of the League Working Committee. The Congress too agreed to the Plan and the resolution of the Congress Working Committee was endorsed by the All-India Congress Committee. And now the Congress shall have to abide by that decision whatever be the consequences of such a decision" he said decisively.

"There were four parties to the negotiations conducted at Simla" continued Sardar Patel. "There were the Princes, the Congress, the Muslim League and the British Government. After all the parties have arrived at a decision, is it fair for a single party like the League to turn away from the field and go back on its own decision arrived at Delhi? But it is, however, not the fault of the Congress if the League chooses to retreat."

NO BEGGING

Warming up the Sardar said that the League was entirely mistaken if it thought that the Congress would now make the next move, as Mr. Jinnah expected. "We are told," he said, "that the next step must come either from the British or the Congress. I can say with confidence that the Congress organisation has not been reduced to that state of helplessness to go to the League now abegging.

"The Congress was always ready to be helpful. It is true that at first it was inevitable the British could by any time hand over the reins of Government to the Congress. The Congress never looks upon such an arrangement from the communal aspect. We cannot give up this communal approach.

He said that the League resolutions looked as if they were meant to describe the Congress as a Hindu organisation. "It is not a Hindu organisation" asserted the Sardar. "The Muslims are also the responsibility of the Congress and it was with that national character that it demanded at least one seat for the Scheduled Classes and one for the Parsis in the Interim Government whereas the Muslim League President completely ignored the Scheduled Classes at the time of the Simla Talks and now mentions that the Scheduled Classes have been ignored by the British."

Referring to the Working Committee's resolution of July 29 and the Press Conference given by Pandit Nehru at Delhi on July 10 he said, "Why should anybody be put to any interpretation or save to the plan? The Congress stood by the decision of the Working Committee. No interpretation by any member of the Congress or by the League whose President has said that the Plan contained the germs of Pakistan, would deter the Congress "if the Muslim League has been on attaining freedom India still," Sardar Patel added, "let us sit-down together and settle our differences between ourselves like brothers, while there is still time. If we cannot solve these differences we can be settled by an arbitrator. Let us join together even to break the plan if the League thinks it will work to their detriment."

Harking back on the recent statement of the Viceroy that the next move now lay with the Congress or the British Government, Sardar Patel said, "To expect that the Congress would approach the Muslim Leaguis Mr. Jinnah would like, is something that the Congress never to now. The League need not think that it will gain anything by wordy threats. The Congress is last not afraid of threats. The British are not anxious to stay on as rulers and they will not wait long to agree among ourselves. The responsibility now rests entirely on us."

CONCLUSION

"I want to make it clear that there is no possibility of a coalition between the Congress and the League, as they have diametrically opposite aims. Any attempt at a coalition between these two will end in disaster. In England there was a coalition between Labour and the Conservatives during the war. But then they had a common objective, namely the defeat of Germany and Japan. But here in India, Mr. Jinnah comes in with avowed object of dividing India into Hindustan and Pakistan whereas the Congress goes in to work for a United Federal India. How can these parties coalesce? There is no common objective."

RELATED DISCOVERY

He then referred to the "Back to Pakistan" slogan raised by the League Council again and said: "For the last several years the League President used to say that the acceptance of the principle of Pakistan is a condition precedent to any constitutional settlement. Why then did the League President and the League Working Committee agree to the British Cabinet Plan for the Interim Government and long-term proposals? The League thought that the Plan was a sugar coated pill containing Pakistan and the Congress had swallowed it."

"What the League President calls a gesture to the Congress is not a gesture at all. It is an insult to the Congress. Today our experiences tell us that it is no use going to the League for a settlement. It is for the League to come to a settlement with the Congress. They are trying to make it a Hindu Organisation. The mission of the Congress is the liberation of the country from foreign domination."

DEAD HORSE

Up to now the Muslim League was counting on Britain help to secure Pakistan. The League could not prove its case before the delegation. It accepted the rejection by the deletion of the Pakistan demand. It is absurd at this stage to revise the old cry or flog the dead horse.

The Pakistan case was fully examined by the Cabinet Delegation. The League was unable to support it either economically or politically. The Cabinet Mission was, therefore, unable to accept it.

He referred to the question of Goa and South Africa which evidently from the audience had raised before him. Why, it was asked, did the Congress not bother itself so much with Goa as it did with the South African problem? The question, he said, begged the answer. The two problems were dissimilar. The issues in South Africa were international and the eyes of every nation were focussed there.

But the issues involved in the Goan struggle for freedom were comparatively lighter and they would resolve themselves when India was really free. It was only a question of time that India would be free, and Sardar Patel thought that it could be put down to a year from hence. Once India was free, then Goa which was, after all, part of India, would also have to be free—in spite of the Portuguese Governor of Goa who still thinks of Portuguese Sovereignty. Meanwhile, he said that the Goan 'satyagrahis' had the moral support of the Congress and he hoped that the time would not be distant when Goans were also free from the shackles that bind them down.

Sardar Patel had a fling at the Communists and those who advocated that the people should prepare for another struggle. The latter he said, did not seem to know the realities of the present day situation in India. Actually India was at the gates of Freedom. And as to the former he had nothing but contempt. When the Congress called for a struggle, he said, the Communists went over to the side of the Imperialists. And now, when the Congress was in power they were calling for a struggle. Sardar Patel condemned those people who were unnecessarily fomenting strikes and hoped that things would be righted when real power came into the hands of the representatives of the people.

CONGRESS MUST BE ASKED TO FORM GOVERNMENT

CALCUTTA, July 31.

"The Muslim League, whose approach to the Indian constitutional problem hitherto this year has been commendably accommodating, positive, statesmanlike, now turns to wholly negative courses. This is deplorable," writes *The Statesman* this morning, commenting on the League Council's decisions in Bombay.

"Nevertheless, that the League should have chosen this lamentable course is not very surprising," continues the paper, "During the past five weeks there has been provocation. That provocation came initially from the Cabinet Mission. Soon afterwards—and worse provocation, reiterated and manifestly deliberate—it came on behalf of the Congress Party, from the impetuous Pandit."

The Statesman adds that it is still of the opinion that to establish a popularly representative Interim Government at the Centre signifies much more than getting agreement about a Constituent Assembly or the scheme of a future Union Centre. The primary task of statesmanship for India is to transfer immediately from British to Indian hands the maximum amount of practical responsibility for rule. Formulation of some theoretically perfect constitutional scheme can wait.

Recommending unhesitatingly that the Congress should forthwith be asked to form a Government at the Centre, the paper says that the alternative is that the present retrograde "Caretaker" Government at the Centre is put more firmly in office, while a major fresh effort is made by the British Cabinet and the Viceroy, to devise some entirely new method for curing India's dreadful political ills. Almost inevitably, however, this must prove a protracted process, and the pressing times we live in are not tolerant of delays.

The paper would have preferred that such an offer as that to the Congress now suggested, to form a Government at the Centre should have been made on June 26 to the League. But the League has now decided upon rejection. "Should the alternative offer which we now recommend be made, and should the Congress which, however, is adept at saying 'no' accept, we should hope that they, on their own initiative, would have the good sense to persuade the League to join them by a most generous apportionment of seats. Even, however, should they prove unable to rise to such levels of tolerance and high-mindedness, we consider that a Congress Government at the Centre would prove a smaller evil than indefinite continuance of the present 'Caretaker' regime. It is evidently already an acute political and racial irritant, an anachronism whose dangerous ineffectiveness must increase with every week that passes, and which is as completely out of accord with the wishes of the British as of the Indian people."

CAN LEAGUE MAKE SUCH SACRIFICES?

LONDON, July 31 (Reuter).—Mr. Surat Alley, President of the Indian Seamen's Association of Great Britain, commenting on the Muslim League decisions, stated: "I wonder whether the League leaders will make such sacrifices as to court imprisonment, face lathi charges and launch civil disobedience movements. We shall support Mr. Jinnah if the Muslim League restarts the "Quit India" movement."

"WHO RULES INDIA"?

LONDON, July 31 (Reuter).—Under the heading "Who Rules India Now" the tabloid-type left wing "Daily Mirror" declared today that Mr. Jinnah has "made it inevitable that the Congress which is the majority party shall rule India. How could it be otherwise? The whole life of the country cannot be allowed to collapse because Mr. Jinnah refuses to take part in it."

Chronicle. 1.8.46

USMAN'S PLEA FOR WAVELL'S INTERVENTION

MADRAS, July 31, (A.R.I.): A dual suggestion to the Viceroy to intervene immediately and to the Congress to accept the Muslim League as the sole representative organisation of Indian Muslims is made by Sir Mohamed Usman, lately Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, expressing his concern that the Muslim League should have been forced to take this decision of abandoning its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's long-term proposals and resort to Direct Action.

Chronicle 1.8.46.

MRS. ASAF ALI PRAISES LEAGUE!

KARACHI, July 30 (API).—"I am glad the League has at last learnt to fight instead of begging at the door of the British Government", said Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali commenting on the League Council's call for direct action.

After two days' crowded programme Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali left for Dadu today.

Jai Prakash On League Decision

LAHORE, July 30, (delayed) (APA): The leftwing Socialist leader Jai Prakash Narain, said in an interview here today "we have now to see whether the British Government will go ahead with the Constituent Assembly."

Reacting sharply to the Muslim League rejection of the British Cabinet proposals, the Congress Socialist leader said "Mr. Jinnah's argument that because the Congress or at least Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is trying to convert the Constituent Assembly into a sovereign body, the League cannot co-operate with it, proves once again that Mr. Jinnah and his Muslim League are not at all interested in the independence of the country but are concerned only with maintaining their communal leadership with the help and co-operation of the ruling power."

He added: "Any freedom loving person would welcome a sovereign Constituent Assembly."

Chronicle 1.8.46

REACTIONS IN THE PUNJAB

HINDU

SIMLA, July 30

'Wait and see' was the only comment heard in Punjab official circles regarding the Muslim League's reconsidered rejection of the Cabinet Mission's plan, coupled with the threat of direct action.

League circles were of the opinion that the Cabinet Mission's plan is now bound to be shelved.

Congress quarters felt surprised over the complete reorientation of League policy not merely to withdraw unqualifiedly from the Mission's plan but to adopt a policy of direct action.

Sikh political quarters thought that the chances of a Congress-Panthic settlement would be improved.

Col. Niranjan Singh Gill, the Panthic Dictator, expressed hope of an early settlement between all the Indian communities some of which, he said, had been looking for British support hitherto.

Prof. Abdul Majid Khan urged arbitration between the Congress and the League and said: "Hitler was not willing to submit the Danzig dispute to arbitration and the result was disastrous for the Germans. Let the League pause and ponder."

Plea For Change In League Ideology

Free Press — 30/7/46

Jamnadas Mehta On Britain's Old Old Game

BOMBAY, Monday.

"It is nothing but a bluff of the Fascist clique masquerading as the representative organ of the Muslim community in India. It is also a logical conclusion of the divide and rule policy pursued by our rulers for nearly half a century ever since the partition of Bengal," said Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, the former Agent of the Government of India in Burma, when asked about the decision of the Muslim League Council and its declared intention to launch a struggle by a FPJ representative this evening.

"The heroics indulged in during the last three days in Kaisar Baug would be comic if they were not attended by a tragic exploitation of the Muslim masses in the name of religion.

"When the world intelligentsia in spite of setbacks is gravitating towards a Federal World State, this insistence by Mr. Jinnah on a medieval ideology in statecraft is a perfect anachronism, had not it gained the momentum it has done owing to the backing of Imperialist rulers ever since 1905. The Government which encouraged them, itself has been misled both in India and England first consciously and now honestly and unconsciously but misled all the same," continued Mr. Mehta.

Mr. Jamnadas further said that the Indian National Congress with the best of motives had tried to placate the communalism of Mr. Jinnah in competition with the Imperial masters of India. The leader of the League had bargained now with one and now with another, each time at the expense of India's nationalism and democracy and the Congress leaders must now be bitterly rueing that they yielded year after year to the reactionaries of the League in a vain endeavour to win them over in support of India's independence.

The Congress capitulated ever since 1918 and each time went deeper and deeper into the mire of communalism until today one heard the so-called two nation theory, absurdity of parity and all the paraphernalia of the so-called national Government based on religion instead of on citizenship.

Misleading, Says Azad

31.7.46. Chronicle

CALCUTTA, July 30 (A.P.I.): Maulana Abul Kalam Azad today expressed extreme regret at the decision of the Council of the Muslim League to withdraw its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals.

Interviewed by the Associated Press Maulana Azad said that the League resolution was absolutely misleading, when it affirmed that the Congress did not accept any of the terms and fundamentals of the plan. On the contrary, the Congress had accepted all fundamentals of the plan and its statements and resolutions were quite clear and unequivocal on the point.

"LEAGUE'S DECISION ANTICIPATED"

Dr. Sitaramayya's Opinion

MADRAS, August 1: Direct action decided upon by the Muslim League Council did not give place to any new situation and was all along anticipated, said Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, a former member of the Congress Working Committee, in an interview today.

Referring to Mr. Jinnah's remarks on Section 8 of the State Paper, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya categorically denied that the Viceroy had, at any time, forsworn it. He said, "It is unfair to accuse the Viceroy of breach of faith. He has not forsworn Section 8. He has clearly stated on June 28 and earlier that the time had come for Section 8 to be put into operation. He only pleaded for time and leisure. I must refer Mr. Jinnah to the Viceroy's letter of June 28 addressed to him."

Times 2.8.46.

JINNAH'S CHALLENGE MUST BE ACCEPTED

C. R. CONDEMNS LEAGUE POLICY

HINDU 31.7.46.

MADRAS, July 30.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, member of the Congress Working Committee, commenting on the League's decision, stated:

Mr. Jinnah's leadership has once again failed. He dreads putting his feet on the shore of constructive responsibility and prefers ever to be riding on the sea of controversy. We can pay almost any price for securing the co-operation of all parties, communities and interests so that we may begin Swaraj in peace and under conditions most favourable for reconstruction. But if Muslim leadership unfortunately insists that Swaraj must begin with ugly demonstrations and conflicts, I suppose we must face the difficulty.

We shall ever be willing to accept the arbitration of the civilised nations of the world in all matters but we cannot hold things up because of sheer cantankerousness. To nurse imaginary grievances about an interim arrangement wherein you get seats in the supreme Executive clearly in excess of your whole population ratio, and wherein other small minorities are given enormous weightage, thus reducing the majority community to a minority position, and to demand in the name of democracy and religion sovereign rights over territory including vast and contiguous districts wherein your people are a minority and to which arrangement the majority are bitterly opposed, is nothing but cantankerousness.

We cannot but accept all the challenges involved in independence. To get independence without a bloody conflict with the outside power that held sway until now will be a historic achievement of the greatest magnitude. It would be too much to hope also for the avoidance of all unpleasantness and internal conflict, although once upon a time it seemed almost as if this would be the case. Let us be decided in our mind that in all our actions and endeavours we shall be moved by a sense of justice and fairplay towards all people small or big and trust in the culture and traditions of our ancient land as to the rest.

MR. PRAKASAM DEPLORES DECISION

Mr T Prakasam, Prime Minister, said "It is a matter for deep regret that the Muslim League should have taken up at this juncture an attitude of non-co-operation with the Constituent Assembly. Such non-co-operation means nothing but non-co-operation against one's own self. I hope the League Council and its President would revise their decision before long."

Mr T R Venkatarama Sastri, President, Indian National Liberal Federation, said: "It is very regrettable that the Muslim League should have withdrawn their previous assent to both the long-term and the short-term proposals. The step they have chosen to take is short-sighted and calculated neither to advance the interests of the country nor to advance the interests of their own community."

Sir Mahomed Usman, in a statement on the latest League decision, said: "I am sorry that the Muslim League has been forced to take this decision. It is bound to have a very disturbing effect on the country. The political situation in India is now really very dark. So long as the Congress refuses to accept the Muslim League as the sole representative organisation of the Indian Muslims there will be no political progress in India. Congress alone can never secure the freedom of the country. Bypassing the Muslim League is absolutely impossible. In the best interests of the country, therefore, H E the Viceroy should immediately intervene and rectify matters before it is too late."

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Hindu 31.7.46.

CLAIM OF SOVEREIGN STATUS

PANDIT NEHRU EXPLAINS CONGRESS POSITION

DELHI, July 29.

What was meant by a sovereign Constituent Assembly was that no outside authority could interfere with its decisions, declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President, when interviewed on his arrival from Kashmir.

Asked for his reaction to the resolution of the League Council rejecting the Cabinet plan Pandit Nehru indicated that the full resolution would have to be studied before any comment could be made.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, however, reiterated his view regarding the sovereign nature of the Constituent Assembly—a view which has been challenged by the Muslim League.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said the Constituent Assembly would not be "sovereign" in the sense of an established power. "A regiment could be sent to put it down" said Pandit Nehru, adding that what was meant by a sovereign Constituent Assembly was that no outside authority could interfere with its decisions. It will be a body with which the British Government could not interfere.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru explained the position further by saying: When this question was put to the Cabinet Mission in our correspondence with them, the Cabinet Mission agreed to our interpretation on two conditions: namely, the protection of the minorities and a treaty between England and India. As regards the solution of minority problems, that is our look-out and not of Britain. As regards a treaty, the very idea is based on the conception that there shall be a free and independent India and we cannot admit that a treaty shall be dictated to India rather than being freely entered into by a sovereign India. That is where the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly counts.

AUTHORITY TO INTERPRET STATE PAPER

Asked whether the State Paper itself does or does not support the interpretation of sovereignty, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said: "In certain places the document itself is self-contradictory, but there are in it certain basic provisions and there are certain secondary provisions. If certain secondary provisions contradict the primary provisions, then the primary provisions should have first place."

Pandit Nehru ended by saying that ultimately the interpretation of any such point is not that of the Congress or of the League, but what the document itself says.

Asked who he thought would be the final arbitrator of this Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, as he was hurrying back to his aeroplane, said: "I think it will be the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly and the Federal Court."

NO MORE CONCESSIONS

Make The Break With British Real And Complete

BOMBAY, Tuesday.

If the League resolution merely means further pressure to have a favourable compromise with imperialism, then the vast masses, Hindus and Muslims, who look forward to joint action, would be greatly disappointed, says Mr. P. C. Joshi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, commenting on the League decision to reject the Cabinet Proposals.

The statement reads:—

"The Council of the All-India Muslim League has rejected the Cabinet Mission's proposals and decided to launch direct action as and when necessary. The resolution is put across by the leadership as a break with the constitutional politics and approach of following as opening of the door to anti-imperialist mass action.

"Our Party appreciates the urge and desire of the Muslim masses to fight imperialism and its new plans. Our Party which stands for total rejection of the plan and joint struggle against it, welcomes every genuine manifestation against it. It would consider it as a big victory for the masses if the Muslim League were to give up its constitutional path and prepare for a genuine struggle against the new proposal in alliance with other organisations.

"But the resolution of the League raises no such hopes. In spite of the talk of struggle, which has become new in the mouth of the League leadership, the basic aim of the resolution is not to fight the new plan, but to bring pressure to see that the original declaration of the 16 which denies freedom to India is adhered to. It is directed to ensure that the original plan of compulsory groupings is not changed and that the Muslim League gets the opportunity to nominate all Muslims in the Interim Government.

"It is thus a pressure to have a favourable compromise with imperialism not an attempt to overthrow the proposals. It betrays the same old race for securing more favours from imperialism at the expense of one's own people's sense of strength. Mr. Jinnah described it as an attempt to rescue the Government from the clutches of the Congress which only means to get more concessions than the Congress.

JOINT STRUGGLE

"This is obvious also from the resolution there is no mention of either freedom or independence. There is no doubt that the vast freedom-loving Muslim masses are the same who are writing one of the most glorious pages in the history in Kashmir, stand for mass action. But their desire will come to nought unless they joined upon a joint struggle to accept complete independence, self-determination of nationalities, abolition of landlordism as their immediate programme and make an offer of joint struggle with the Congress.

"The question of Pakistan or Unity will be decided finally by the vote of the masses without the intervention of the British Imperialism. Only in this is the victorious struggle possible. To think of direct action to enforce compulsory groupings, to enforce Muslim disservice people must compulsorily group with the League is to deny elementary democracy and create conflict among the people. Our Party appeals to all progressive forces demand that the above programme be adopted, that offer of Joint Front be made to the Congress and war be declared against the new plan.

EYE-OPENER

"The League resolution must come out as an eye-opener to the Congress Leadership. All their plans based on the constitution-making body must be given up if the League persists in its rejection. It shows the utter bankruptcy of a leadership which refused to utilise the people, accept self-determination and relies on the British Government to force the Muslims to come in the Union Centre. Let the leadership learn from the lesson, reject the plan, raise the slogan of Unity, Independence, adult franchise and self-determination and be ready to build joint struggle with the League supporters. Only then can the Congress

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The following are some of the reactions to the Muslim League's decision to withdraw from the constituent Assembly and launch direct action against the British Government.

MR. ASOKH MEHTA: "The point worth noting is that the League agitation is really against the demand of the Congress to make the Constituent Assembly a sovereign body. The sense of asking the British to quit India of fighting the British is to endow the Constituent Assembly with sovereignty. What the League really desires is to bring pressure on the Congress to make further concessions to League Hamsaigeese and by its wild gestures make it possible for the British Government to demand further concessions in nationalist forces in the country.

LEAGUE INTENTIONS

The League leadership has resorted to this device for three reasons—to compel the Congress to accept grouping of the provinces, to compel the British Government to accept the League as the sole representative of the Muslims and lastly to satisfy and side-track the growing volume of Leftist sentiment inside the League.

While on the one hand Mr. Jinnah has been denouncing the British on the other he is attempting to equate the Congress with Caste Hindus. He is piqued at the success of the Congress in bringing over the smaller minorities such as the Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians etc., who are behind it. Unless Mr. Jinnah creates a breach in that solidarity he will get isolated and if other minorities feel satisfied with the deal that the Congress has to offer his position will appear to be illogical. Mr. Jinnah therefore wants to take advantage of the agitations started by Dr. Ambedkar to rally behind himself the disgruntled elements inside the smaller minorities.

AT WAR WITH DR. AMBEDKAR?

Mr. Jinnah as well as Dr. Ambedkar with all their tall talk and anti-capitalism are seeking to strengthen their position not at the expense of the British, but at the expense of Indian nationalism.

In response to this opposition of the League, the Congress in our opinion, should tell the Muslim masses that it is always prepared to launch a struggle for freedom "wherein power including war organs in fields and factories and would welcome the resolve of the Muslims to participate in such a struggle. The implications of such a move are that we jointly work to drive the British power out of India and create in this country a sovereign Constituent Assembly, wherein all questions including that of the division of India will have to be settled by mutual goodwill and in a spirit of give and take. That goodwill will be easy to effect if there is a parallel struggle in common struggle against the common enemy and when such call is made to the Muslim masses that only the leadership of the League stands in the way of their struggle for freedom, the League will be exposed in the eyes of the masses. Only then can the Congress make a real appeal to the Muslim masses. This remains just a gesture as long it provokes the Government to action as was done in the case of the late Mr. Allah Bux.

THE DIFFERENCE

"To talk of the 29th of July as another August 8th is to lose sight of historical perspective. History has selected August 8th out of all other days because of what happened on the day following it. No such developments have taken place on the 30th July."

LACK OF LOGIC

MR. PURSHOTAM TRIKAMDAS: "Being one of those who feel that the freedom of India cannot emerge from the so-called Constituent Assembly I cannot but welcome any decision which might put an end to this British sponsored constitution making body. If the League resolution not to participate in that body had been based on that ground it would have been very welcome indeed. Unfortunately the League objects to that participation on the ground that the Congress claims, to my mind erroneously, a sovereign status for that constituent making body. In the result the League position is that they would rather see the continuance of British rule in this country than co-operate with other elements in the country to end that rule.

"The League resolution has not in the least surprised me in that the League has been thriving in the past on the cry "No" to every "Yes" of the Congress. The League has gone back to its original position of the creation of the country which will not be acceptable to those of us who believe that in the present day world there is only room for Indian independence is a strong and united India federating with our South and other neighbours and standing together against European imperialists.

THREAT AGAINST CONGRESS

"The threat of direct action would have been very welcome indeed if it had been directed against the British without whose departure there can be no freedom in this country. In the present circumstances it is a threat more against the Congress than the British. The result of the threat is that the British will continue to remain in this country to rehabilitate their own war torn economy.

The threat would inevitably result in the continuation of British rule in this country for an indefinite period unless the Congress and the rest of the elements in the country agree to the grant of the said impossible demands for the division of India."

BRITISH SERVICE!

N. M. JOSHI, (Labour Leader): "The British Delegation had rendered great service to India by giving their award on the plan for the Constituent Assembly.

"I feel that the decision of the Muslim League to withdraw their support to the Constituent Assembly plan and not to take part in the Interim Government is hasty. They should have considered whether the interpretation given by Lord Pethick Lawrence regarding compulsory grouping and the form of Constituent Assembly was sovereign subject to the conditions of the Award.

"The Muslim League should have also waited to see the new proposals which the Viceroy intends to make shortly—almost immediately."

"Their strategy", continued Mr. Joshi, "seems to be that attack is the best form of defence. However, they have now made their choice and thrown a challenge to the

wisdom nor patriotism in being ready for an interview again in the hope that the Congress will and be tempted to accept the challenge in the hope that they will accept the award of the arbitrator on the plan for the Constituent Assembly and enter the Interim Government on the basis suggested by the Cabinet Mission.

"This course will compel the Muslim League to reconsider their decision and the world will see that the cause of freedom of India by peaceful means will be made clear."

REGRETTABLE DECISION

Mr. S. K. PATIL, President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, when interviewed remarked that the decision taken by the League was extremely regrettable. "The League will have to regret it more than anybody else" he said.

Strong Criticism In British Press

LONDON, July 30.

THE action of Mr. M. A. Jinnah and the Muslim League in turning down the British proposals for India is strongly condemned by the British Press to-day as shattering all hopes of constitutional settlement and threatening a civil war.

The Conservative "Daily Mail" says, that the implications are of the utmost gravity. "The Indian peoples suffering from famine, now face the possibility of violent disturbances."

The British Government, the "Daily Mail" declares, cannot be absolved of all responsibility for the situation which has now arisen. "It was not unforeseen by many who are alive to the realities in India. The Government relied over-much upon a spirit of compromise to exercise in eradicating racial hatreds. Mr. Jinnah now charges the British Government with breach of faith. This is an ironical commentary on the claim made by Sir Stafford Cripps that when the mission left India, "There was trust in the sincerity of the British, Government which had formerly been absent."

"That trust was supposed to have suddenly flowered because Government bypassed the offer of Dominion status made in 1942 and came straight out for "Complete Independence."

"It may yet be proved in pain and sorrow that India is not yet ready for unframmelled Self-Government."

The liberal "Manchester Guardian" declares, that Jinnah has forced Britain to begin all over again. But we must begin and quickly. All our Mission sought was not gained. But the two main communities had agreed to draw up the future constitution. (In fact they have just completed the elections to the Constituent Assembly, but on this a partial, but still solid achievement that Muslim hopes now overturned.

"Their action arises out of the Mission's other aims, to leave behind them an Indian Interim Government."

JINNAH'S SMART GAME

"Our part in the negotiations was not wholly without fault, but Mr. Jinnah played the game or politics so cleverly that he was able to force the Congress into refusing participation in the interim Government, while accepting it himself. The results of his anger and resentment when he found that we would not have him, without the Congress is written in yesterday's events. A feeling of intense sadness at this fresh proof of Indian besetting weakness is natural, but to a feeling of helplessness we must not succumb.

The London "Liberal "News Chronicle" says, that whatever the reason for the Muslim change of front "there can be no excuse for the wild language and the abandonment of negotiations which marked yesterday's meeting."

OUTCOME OF STRIFE

Declaring that with his inflammatory words Mr. Jinnah virtually declared war on the British and the Congress, the "News Chronicle" asks, "what precisely does Mr. Jinnah think he will achieve by embracing violence—and at a moment when so substantial a part of his claims has been conceded? Does he think that communal strife will benefit India or even the Muslim part of India? He has only to look at other parts of Asia to see what lies at the end of that journey?

"Does he want his country to become another China, ravaged and utterly impoverished by interminable civil war? Even if he plans something less than civil war—perhaps just civil commotion—he may make the present famine uncontrollable in a land which is already skin and bone."

THIRSTING FOR WAR

Quoting Mr Jinnah's words, that it was hopeless to solve the Indian problem by peaceful and amicable means, the "News Chronicle" comments, "It is hopeless, of course, if Mr. Jinnah is bedded to complete intransigence—if, as now seems the case, he is really thirsting for a holy war.

"But the atmosphere which the Cabinet Mission did so much to create in India, certainly did not suggest that the prospects were hopeless and Mr. Jinnah assumes a fearful responsibility, in making them so. That little more that Britain can do. If Mr. Jinnah nowresorts to violence it will be very difficult to save India from disaster."

UNO Cannot Ignore Indian Demand

U. S. PAPER CHAMPIONS S. AFRICAN STRUGGLE

WASHINGTON, July 30.

Support for India's protest to the United Nations General Assembly against the South African segregation of quarter million Indian minority in Natal was given by an editorial in the influential "Washington Post" yesterday.

"The protest belongs in different category from any other problem which the new world organisation has thus far been called upon to take up," the editorial said. "What is involved is not so much direct relations between two sovereign States such as Russia and Iran or Syria and France as relations in one particular country between a minority which feels itself discriminated against and the majority element determined to maintain its paramount position.

MORE THAN EXPLOSIVE

"To say that the issue involved is explosive is to put it mildly. A counterpart of the difficulties which the Indian minority in South Africa has experienced over a long period is to be found in other countries in a greater or lesser degree. With their own particular situation in mind some of those countries may be inclined to argue that the case of South Africa is certain to do, that the problem is a domestic one and does not, therefore, lend itself to international action.

"In his letter to the Secretary General, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, the Indian chief delegate, however, argues that South Africa's action is in contravention of the agreement made between the Government of India and the then Government of Natal.

"Regardless of its explosive nature, it is difficult to see how the Assembly can ignore the Indian 'demarche.' The Prime Minister of the Indian minority in Natal are of long standing. There is very little the General Assembly can do about the basic situation. Yet to give it an airing. But that can have its uses."

Play In American Press

NEW YORK, July 30.

The New York daily papers today publish prominently on the front page the Muslim League's rejection on the constitutional proposals for India.

The "New York Times" carried nearly two columns headlines "Muslims Bar Proposals For India—earlier acceptance reversed."

The New York "Herald Tribune" carried the heading "Jinnah rejects British project for Free India."—Reuter.

ACUTE LACK OF SOBRIETY

Times' Comment

The "Times" thinks it is early yet to assess the consequences of the Muslim League's decision, but their temper at this juncture, the paper declares, "and in particular the animus manifested against Britain over the last week-end, it is necessary to remember that Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues have persuaded themselves that they have been hoodwinked either by accident or design—and they have made themselves believe that it is by design.

"In their reading of Paragraph 8 of the announcement of June 16, the Viceroy was pledged to form an Interim Government; at once, even if the Congress refused to join it. They also complain that if the course of the negotiations that so nearly succeeded, certain assurances given them at earlier stages about a particular Government officially envisaged did not find a place in the later plans. To these complaints there are perfectly good answers as the published correspondence amply proves.

JINNAH FRUSTRATED

"But the fact remains that Mr. Jinnah, having conducted the negotiations with the Cabinet Mission with consummate skill, now feels that his party has been deprived of the results he expected.

"Moreover, he and his colleagues have another grievance. He argues that the speeches of Pandit Nehru and other Congress Party leaders amount in substance to specific repudiation of certain essential terms, that in fact Congress leaders have never accepted the plan at all, but are only entering the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of using their effective majority to force through their own ideas and he proceeds to blame the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission for describing the Congress attitude towards the plan as one of acceptance, when in his view it is nothing of the kind.

CONGRESS SPEECHES

"It may readily be admitted," the "Times" concludes, "that the pronouncements of some of the Congress leaders on the subject of the Constituent Assembly have been wholly lacking in sobriety of expression which the very interests of India demand.

"Yet in justice to the Congress, it must be said that they are approaching the Assembly in a thoroughly business like spirit that the list of their representatives is admirable in its comprehensive character and that they can claim to be judged more by their practice than by their professions.

MUSLIM INDICATED

"But even if the leaders of the Party had been as irresponsible in their actions as they have sometimes been in their words there would still be no ground for the Muslim League to join in a competition in irresponsibility.

"It is unworthy of responsible statesmen to indulge in wild talk of gaining their ends in 'direct action' and of abandoning constitutional activities at a moment when their country stands on the threshold of new and decisive developments.

"The Muslim League would have served the cause of the community far better if it had protested in dignified terms at the provocative tone adopted by certain Congress party spokesmen and had plainly stated that its participation in the Constituent Assembly depended on observance of the agreed terms of the plans of May 16, except insofar as they might be modified by consent. By the present resolution, on the other hand, the League has laid itself open to the charge of obstructing India's progress to nationhood and of sacrificing patriotism to pique."

—Reuter.

League Will Not Disclose Plans Of Action Now

M. Gandhi 31.7.46

"WE might have thought of various steps to implement the League decision of 'direct action,' but they will be disclosed only as and when necessary," said Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, Secretary of the Muslim League, parrying questions on the subject at the end of the Working Committee's deliberations yesterday.

He, however, revealed that a Special Committee had been appointed to devise ways and means to launch a campaign, and that, as a preliminary step, Muslims throughout the country would be called upon to observe a complete hartal on Friday, August 16, and hold meetings in the evening, when local leaders would explain the implications of the resolutions passed by the League Council.

Apart from these questions, the Working Committee considered the position of Indians in South Africa and Ceylon and the problem of Palestine.

The resolution on South Africa states, "The systematic policy of oppression pursued by the whites for several decades has reached its climax in the Ghetto Bill. This law is a blot not only on the Government of South Africa, but on the whole civilised world." After sympathising with the passive resistance movement launched by Indians there and characterising the policy of Smuts' Government as "brutally inhuman", the Committee hopes that the consciousness of the civilised world will be stirred and "this short-sighted and reckless policy based on selfish racial interests and prejudices be condemned," "for else in the long run it will recoil on the white races and there will come a day of retribution and the world will be divided on the basis of race and colour."

The resolution on Ceylon, taking notice of the inhuman treatment of Indians and their eviction from the Knavesmire Estate, urges the Government of India to take up this question and secure "just, fair and human treatment of Indians" in Ceylon, and directs the Muslim League Parliamentary Party in the Central Legislature to examine all matters pertaining to the general condition of Indians there and take such steps as may be proper to secure their rights in accordance with the undertaking given by the Ceylon Government to the Government of India.

On the question of Palestine, Mr. Jinnah issued a statement, demanding that all Anglo-American influence be withdrawn from Palestine as the first steps towards a solution of the Palestine problem and urging that not only Jewish immigration should cease, but that those who already are in Palestine should emigrate to Australia, Canada or anywhere else where there was room for them, or one day their fate would be worse than it was under Hitler. He charged America with having "no conscience or any regard for fairplay or justice" and added that the League did not regard Britain in any way different from other Powers.

LETTER OF CREDENTIALS FOR MEMBERS

Hindu 28/7/46

MADRAS, July 27.

Under instructions from the Secretary, Office of the Constitutional Adviser, Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, the Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly, Mr. J. Sivashanmugam Pillai, is making arrangements to issue a letter of credentials to every one of the members elected to the Constituent Assembly from the Madras Province.

All the 49 candidates returned to the Constituent Assembly by the Madras Legislative Assembly (published already in THE HINDU) have been declared duly elected. An announcement to this effect will be formally made by the Speaker at the meeting of the Madras Legislative Assembly on July 31. A notification will be published in the *Fort St. George Gazette Extraordinary* the same day.

LEAGUE DECISION DEFENDED

MR. JINNAH MEETS DELHI PARLEYS

TWO-NATION THEORY RESTATED

BOMBAY, July 31.

"We have done our best and any further retaliation now must come only from the British Government or from the Congress", declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, addressing a Press Conference here this morning.

Mr. Jinnah, who was reviewing the decisions of the Council of the Muslim League, made it clear in answer to a question that the decision of the League to resort to direct action "is not a decision taken lightly anybody. This resolution is nothing but a statement concerning the steps we propose to take for our own self-preservation and self-defence".

Mr. Jinnah declined to indicate what the Muslim League would do in hypothetical circumstances, remarking that the situation would be met as it arose. He also declined to indicate the exact nature of the direct action which the League proposed to take or the steps the League Council of Action would take in that direction.

The League President reiterated his earlier declaration that the Congress acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's plan envisaged in the Mission's statement of May 16 was not real acceptance, as it was conditional and, therefore, amounted to rejection or at best a counter-offer.

Mr. Jinnah charged the Congress with making vigorous preparations for launching a struggle, more fierce than the 1942 struggle and said that secret instructions had gone out to Congressmen for this purpose. The help of the I.N.A. personnel was being sought to make the struggle effective.

While both the British Government and the Congress were arming in their own way, one with fire weapons and the other with the thrust of mere numbers, the Muslim League felt that it was high time it also forged its own sanctions and got ready for a struggle to enforce its demand for Pakistan.

COMMUNICATION FROM VICEROY

Mr. Jinnah revealed that he had received a communication from the Viceroy but declined to disclose its nature.

Mr. Jinnah said: "We maintain that the Congress has not accepted the scheme embodied in the statement of May 16 and it is quite clear from the letter of the President of the Congress of June 25 which is incorporated in the resolution of the Committee of the Working Committee at Delhi on June 26. That was confirmed by the A. I. C. C. in July and it was abundantly made clear by the speeches of the out-going President and the incoming President and other foremost top-ranking Congress leaders. Therefore, we naturally thought that it was a somewhat serious situation. In the meantime, Pandit Nehru, after the conclusion of the deliberations of the A. I. C. C., made it clear on July 10 that the Congress was committed to nothing. He said that the Congress was coming into the Constituent Assembly to turn it into a sovereign body absolutely.

"Now the question is not, as it is sometimes suggested, that we are opposed to the Constituent Assembly. In fact, our demand has been that there should be two sovereign Constituent Assemblies and for the obvious reason that if there is one sovereign Constituent Assembly, then it means the majority of the one nation would, with their overwhelming strength, force us to accept the decisions upon the majority of the other nation.

LONG-TERM PLAN

Referring to the long-term plan, Mr. Jinnah said: "We have not rejected it. In fact, we have for months pressed the Congress point of view than our own point of view. The only question was whether to accept it or not to accept it. I repeat what I said before that we accepted it with full knowledge and understanding that it was a kind of equivocation and we made a tremendous sacrifice of accepting a limited Pakistan that is minus three subjects, Defence, Communications and Foreign Affairs. We were actuated by the welfare of every community inhabiting India and we felt that it will free us in the shortest possible time from foreign domination and enable us all to the attainment and realisation of our independence. We understood perfectly well that the Cabinet Mission was our trial and we thought to make a sacrifice, it is worth our while to do so to avoid another bloodshed and deadlock. We considered that an amicable and peaceful settlement was worth more and so we unanimously and willingly delegated three subjects to the Union Centre.

"There is not the slightest doubt that we are not allowed to achieve our objective. We are preparing ourselves to launch a struggle, which will be a thousand times worse than the struggle of 1942.

"The Muslim League alone has scrupulously kept itself within the constitutional orbit and has been following, amidst total methods, believing in constitutionalism. It is, therefore, obvious that we are at this Conference and carried on negotiations with our hands and feet tied by constitutional methods and constitutionalism. We found that the British Delegation and the Congress and British Government are under the spell of the Sword and they are determined to get their head that if the Congress is not appeased or satisfied, it would launch a struggle which would, in the ultimate, turn worse than 1942. The question arises. Are we the only party to be bound hand and feet till now, with our hands and feet tied? The British have machine-guns and can interpret as they please as they like. There is no tribunal to which you can appeal. They are the judges of what they say and act as they like. There is the other party, the Congress, armed to the teeth with another kind of weapon, which is not to be trifled with. We, therefore, are compelled for our self-defence and self-preservation to say good-bye to constitutional methods and we have decided now as part and parcel of our policy and programme, to prepare and resort to direct action and when the time may come to launch it."

ASSAM ASSEMBLY'S DECISION

Mr. Jinnah said that the Congress had already put into effect its interpretation of the State Paper by directing the Congress Party in the Assam Legislative Assembly to adopt a resolution on the floor of the House that they would have nothing to do with grouping. This was a definite and concrete act done by the Assembly party, under the authority of the Congress High Command.

Mr. Jinnah declared that the Secretary of State, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, in his broadcast on May 16, said that the Mission's proposals made it possible to secure the advantages of Pakistan without incurring the dangers inherent in the division of India and invited Indians of all parties to take part in the framing of the Constitution. The Muslim League also took the view that minus the three subjects, Groups B and C constituted Pakistan. They agreed that the Union should confine itself strictly to those three subjects for ten years, but Pandit Nehru had since then made it clear that the Congress was not bound to confine itself to those three subjects only, and that it was free to enlarge the scope and powers of the Union Centre.

Referring to foreign Press reactions to the Muslim League's latest resolutions, Mr. Jinnah said that he could not expect the British Press to say that the Mission was guilty of breach of faith. Naturally, the world knew that the decision which the League had taken was a great one and so it was. He thought that there was an incorrect appreciation of the real situation. When some people talked of democracy, they forgot the realities in India. If India was a homogeneous country and nation, then one could talk of democracy, but India was a sub-continent comprising of nationalities which Lord Pethick-Lawrence had admitted during the recent debate. Mr. Jinnah said: "There are two major nations here. This is the root cause and essence of our troubles. When there are two major nations, how can you talk of democracy which means that a one-nation majority will decide everything and another nation, although it may be in a minority or opposed to it all the measures were to be passed or not agree to this", even then the decision will be binding. The Muslims are as they are three to one. If there is one nation, then there is no trouble at all. These troubles cannot be settled by western democracy. But they should each be treated as a nation and a solution should be made to solve the difficulties by acknowledging that fact. They should meet each other on that basis and only and try to come to some adjustment".

DIRECT ACTION

Mr. Jinnah declined to discuss the details of the proposed direct action. He said: "I am not prepared to tell you that now."

Asked if the Muslim League would join hands with other anti-Imperialist forces, such as the Communists, Mr. Jinnah said: "The Congress' direct action has not been against the British. The whole drift of the Congress on the various occasions it launched it and the last time in 1942, was to coerce and pressurise the British to bypass the Muslim League and surrender to the Congress terms. That is exactly what it is doing now, and that is exactly what the Mission was overruled by the Congress before they left the British to quit. How can it, with self-respect, join the Interim Government which is going to be formed under the Act of 1935? It was willing to do that at Simla, provided the League was kept down."

Questioned if the resolutions adopted ruled out the scope for negotiations, Mr. Jinnah said: "What are the other nations doing? Armed to the teeth with atomic bombs, are they not going on talking and discussing? Are they not, at the same time going on with preparations? Is not the Government of India going on to-day with preparations to put down any party they like? Why do you want me (the Leader) alone to sit with bundled hands? I am also going to make preparations to meet the situation as and when it arises."

Asked if the proposed direct action would be violent or non-violent, Mr. Jinnah said. "I am not going to discuss ethics."

Q: Is this decision irrevocable?

A: If you are a politician, you will not ask me this question.

To further questions, Mr. Jinnah replied: "We are driven to it and I assure we shall include anyone who is willing to join us for the cause for which we may have to launch a struggle."

Asked whether he would consider the possibility of any fresh approach to the Congress, Mr. Jinnah stated. "I have done my best and the initiative must now come either from the British Government or from the Congress."

Asked if he had any communication from the Viceroy relating to the formation of an Interim Government, Mr. Jinnah said that he had received communication, but he also said that the Viceroy had asked him to decline to discuss the nature of the communication.

LEAGUE COUNCIL MEETS

MR. JINNAH'S ATTACK ON CONGRESS

BRITISH CHARGED WITH BREAKING WORD

BOYCOTT OF CABINET PLAN URGED

BOMBAY, July 27.

The Council of the All-India Muslim League met here in Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah Hall, which was beautifully decorated. About 450 delegates attended the Conference. The hall was packed with visitors and Pressmen representing Indian and Foreign Press.

Mr. Jinnah, who spoke for 150 minutes, was frequently cheered.

Mr. Jinnah made the emphatic declaration that, in the light of all that had happened during the three and a half months of constitutional negotiations and subsequent to the departure of the Cabinet Mission from India, he had come to the conclusion that the Muslim League had no other course but to depend on its own strength and to adhere to its goal of Pakistan.

The Council's session to-night was marked by a spirited speech by Sir Feroze Khan Noon, who urged the League Council to boycott both the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly and to stick to the goal of Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah, in the course of his speech, declared: "The Interim Government can never be taken at their word. Within ten days, the representative of the British Government went back on their word. The Cabinet Mission tried that time to propitiate the goddess of the Congress and postponement, the formation of Interim Government. They have declared that the Congress had accepted the long-term proposals which is not acceptance in the real sense of the term.

"I feel the time has come for the Muslim League to rely on its own strength, discipline, unity and trust in the power of our own nation. If there is one nation which can create that power. If we do that the Mission and the Cabinet Mission would have rescued, released, and freed from being coerced and by the threats of the Congress that they would launch a struggle and start non-cooperation. Let us see that we will also do that."

Stating that all efforts of the Muslim League to get fairplay and justice—even supplication and prayers—had failed in spite of any kind from the Congress, Mr. Jinnah declared: "The Congress Mentality has played into the hands of the Congress. It has played a game of its own.

Mr. Jinnah went on: "I tell you the Congress (on which the Cabinet Mission had an overwhelming majority) has done the greatest harm to the people of India by its petifogging, higgling attitude during the recent constitutional discussions. The Congress is full of spite towards the Muslim League. It has done its best to put back forty years by enabling a completely bureaucratic and autocratic Government to be set up at Delhi."

Mr. Jinnah continued: "The Congress thinks that it is going to walk into the Interim Government and by-pass the Muslim League. It is welcome to go there. We are not frightened. That and more will have to deal with that. They are talking through their hats when they talk of joining the Constituent Assembly into a sovereign body —the Constituent Assembly that is being summoned by the Viceroy, appointed by the British Government. It is going to be converted into a sovereign body by the bravado and the childish statements of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru?"

ISSUES FOR CONSIDERATION

At the outset, Mr. Jinnah said that the Council had been summoned to consider certain issues of grave importance. They have to decide finally what course of action the Muslim League should adopt with regard to the Constituent Assembly as embodied in the statements of May 16 and June 25 of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy.

The second thing the Council of the Muslim League had to consider was what steps should be taken by the Muslim League in view of the attitude shown by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy in regard to the constituent assembly, Mr. Jinnah said. "They have gone back on their pledged word. They have given a complete assessment of their final proposals embodied in the statements of May 16 and 25.

Mr. Jinnah said that the Congress had accepted the long-term proposals "in their own reservation and interpretation, notwithstanding the authoritative declaration that was made by the Cabinet Mission on May 25. Quoting extracts from the Cabinet President's letter of June 25 to the Cabinet Mission and the resolution of the Congress, resolution of June 26, Mr. Jinnah said: "Any man of commonsense can come to the conclusion that they are playing with real politicians. It is surprising that the Cabinet Mission should have seriously considered this decision as acceptance. Mr. Jinnah said that the Cabinet Mission had misunderstood the Congress resolution of May 16 (Hear, Hear).

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Mr. Jinnah said: "The Congress was invited to the Constituent Assembly by the statements of May 16 and June 25 and consequently the A.I.C.C. at its meeting held on July 7 at the Cabinet Mission. Mr. Jinnah said, "caught a drowning man ready to catch hold of a straw, treated this conditional acceptance of the Congress as genuine acceptance. Not only did they try to propagate this view in this country, but during the debate in the House of Commons also Mr. Attlee, Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps created the impression that the Congress had accepted the long-term proposal. This language is used in the July 7 Congress Working Committee's resolution was bad enough, but Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the elected President having taken charge of the conference and addressing on Bombay on July 10, made the policy and the attitude of the Congress all the more short-term proposal clear. In that interview Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that the Congress was committed to nothing and they were not bound by either Paragraph 15 or Paragraph 19 of the State Paper.

"CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY NOT SOVEREIGN"

"The Constituent Assembly is not a sovereign body", Mr. Jinnah continued. "Either we accept it or not accept it. Once we accept it then the only procedure open to my party is to treat the Constituent Assembly really as what it is. What is the use of imagining things and dreaming?

Pandit Nehru has stated that the Congress was not bound by the Paragraph 19 of the State Paper, which regulates grouping and which also regulates functions of the Constituent Assembly. The essential part of the Scheme from the Muslim League point of view, is that relating to groups B and C. Even if the whole Scheme of which has been unequivocally repudiated by the Congress, which asserts that provinces in groups B and C are free to opt out finally after the first general elections, if they so provided, until the group constitution and provincial constitutions and general elections are held under the new provincial constitutions.

Mr. Jinnah said that because the Congress had been invited to join the Constituent Assembly it was hoping to take away decisions by majority, ignoring, nullifying and repudiating every one of the fundamentals in a manner which would not be competent in the Constituent Assembly and which would be ultra vires of the functions of the Constituent Assembly.

"The Congress position in a nutshell was Mr. Jinnah said. We are committed to nothing and we are going to the Constituent Assembly to achieve our objective and accordingly we propose to do what we like on the basis of the interpretation which we have given to the Cabinet Mission's statements. The British Government were in contravention of their pledge before the debate took place. And yet, Lord Pethick-Lawrence had declared categorically that the previous exposition of hope. Does this show any sense of responsibility or understanding on the part of the Cabinet Mission, who have been Pandit Nehru, at a mass meeting at Delhi on July 27, said that the Congress stood by the Cabinet Mission's statement, they would end it. When some papers attributed this statement to Congress leaders' emotional and sentimental feelings, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru asserted, repeated and reaffirmed that he had said it deliberately and with a full sense of responsibility. He made it clear that the Congress would construe that line and if necessary kill the Constituent Assembly.

Mr. Jinnah characterised Lord Pethick-Lawrence's statement that Lords had that he had faith and hope in the Indian people and would not allow the present unfortunate opinion" in view of the Congress stand. "I do not have whatsoever any room. It is no use looking to any other quarter for help or assistance. We are the tribunal to which we can go. The only tribunal which is left to us is the League. It is for consolidation to-day that Lord Pethick-Lawrence should have given us such a blow. Mr. Jinnah said that we were very substantial and vital interests wherever the Congress has not budged an inch, while I could say that we have given very large and statesmanlike which have been accepted by the Congress. Therefore I feel we have been right all the time. We have been for co-operation on the part of the Congress but we are going to be partners in the Government of India. Let us see how they behave. We have got to be partners in the Government of India. Let us see how they behave. We have got to be partners in the Government of India. Let us see how they behave. We have got

CABINET MISSION'S PROPOSALS

MUSLIM LEAGUE'S ATTITUDE

WORKING COMMITTEE'S DRAFT RESOLUTION

BOMBAY, July 28.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League spent two hours this evening in formulating the resolution to be placed before the League Council when it resumes its sitting at 11 a.m. tomorrow. While no final resolution has been released, it is believed that the Committee has prepared a draft resolution based on the trend of the discussions that took place in the League Council yesterday and today.

It will be recalled that the main trend of the discussions centred in the Council favoured withdrawal of" support to the Cabinet Mission's plan for participation in Constituent Assembly in view of the Cabinet Mission's statement of their own view on the plan in regard to the formation of the interim Government as envisaged in their statement of June 16. The members of the Council felt that the League should boycott the Constituent Assembly and should not co-operate either with the Congress or the British Government in the work of the Constituent Assembly in framing a new constitution for India on the line of the Cabinet Mission's proposals until a specific guarantee was given that the Cabinet Mission's plan in regard to compulsory grouping would be strictly adhered to and that the Congress would not by sheer weight of its majority get through provisions which are against the Muslim members who would be in a perpetual minority.

The speakers also urged the starting of direct action and denunciation of titles.

The draft resolution which, it is stated, may call for drastic changes before it comes up before the League Council meeting tomorrow morning, is understood to be influenced by the various speakers both yesterday and today at the Council meeting. If the resolution in its final form is not passed by the Council tomorrow morning, the League Council reassembles. It is expected that the members will be given a further opportunity to express their opinion on the attitude the Working Committee will take on the Cabinet Mission's proposals in the light of the latest developments in the meanwhile. The Committee may be permitted to give final decision in the matter, in case the case would be placed before the Council for its decision.

DISCUSSION IN COUNCIL

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Premier Minister, Sind, Nawab Ahmad Yar Daultana, member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and Mr. Ibrahim Hussain Jamali were the principal speakers to-day.

Faiden Daultana, Punjab, the first speaker this morning, assured the wholehearted support of the Punjab Government to the programme of direct action that might be launched by the Muslim League in the event of the thought of the Constituent Assembly not meeting the Muslim League demand for Pakistan. The Premier was "great anxiety that Pakistan can afford to ignore Pakistan," he declared.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah explained that the Constituent Assembly struck at the root and the Union Centre contemplated by the Mission. The time had now come for demanding the immediate setting up of Pakistan. He added, he was on themselves and take some action.

Sir Azizul Huq contended that the Cabinet Mission's proposals were not binding on the Constituent Assembly. Sir Feroze Khan Noon's point that the League Council had committed a mistake in accepting the Cabinet Mission's proposals and said the Constituent Assembly was a sovereign body. Mr. Ibrahim Hussain Jamali, Bombay, in his speech, declared that the Congress with its overwhelming majority in the Constituent Assembly hoped to crush the Muslim League. Muslims should not rely on the promises of the British, but should develop their own inherent strength and fight for the achievement of Pakistan. He also advised direct action, but as to when and in what manner it should be launched, should be left to the Working Committee. Mr. Jinnah gave the call, Mr. Jamali added. All said, that from all walks of life would come forward to carry on the struggle for the attainment of Pakistan.

The session adjourned at midnight, and will meet again at 11 a.m., to-morrow.

The Working Committee of the Muslim League will meet at Mr. Jinnah's residence to-morrow evening.—A.P.I.

Mr. Jinnah thought that the Congress had acted, throughout, in a petty manner and its objective was to discredit and humiliate the Muslim League. If the Congress was really a national body, representing the whole of India, then why should it bestow its attention only on the Muslims and not on other communities?

Amplifying his remarks on the part played by the Viceroy, Mr. Jinnah said: "The British Government have undoubtedly gone back on their word and have played into the hands of the Congress. They have tried to propitiate the Goddess of the Congress and postponed the formation of the Interim Government. They have accepted what is no acceptance at all on the part of the Congress of the long-term proposal. Can it be constitutionally say in what way in which they conducted the negotiations here, that they are entitled to ascertain from Muslim India faith in the Cabinet Mission or the British Government? What has shaken this statement? When representatives of H. M. G. back on their own words within ten days and dishonour themselves and the British Government and the nation to whom they belong, what confidence can we have in their future part of

NIGHT SESSION

When the Council resumed its session at 9-30 p.m., Mr. Jinnah continued and said that there were several resolutions tabled for discussion, but members of the Council felt Mr. Jinnah said that in view of the Cabinet Mission having given back to the League the question of setting up an Interim Government, the League Council must decide what steps they had to take.

"We are now on proposals—both the long-term and short-term. And now the vital question are: first, what are we going to do with that decision of yours? That decision to be accepted or rejected, and in what way?" The second question was why the League Council should not talk about the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, Who had gone through the whole thing.

Since the scheme of Interim Government had been scrapped, what was left was only the long-term proposals, and the Council had to decide what they would now do with them. "Do you want to accept it or modify it?" Mr Jinnah urged the members to confine themselves to the matter placed in their speeches.

Over a dozen resolutions, which have been tabled by the League Council members, vary from the acceptance of the Cabinet Delegation's proposals and the launching of an immediate struggle for the achievement of Pakistan to acceptance subject to the safeguards of security, in regard relating to the Constitution-making Body and the Interim Union Government.

After all these resolutions had been read out by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Finance and Railway, a general discussion began.

SIR F. K. NOON'S THREAT

Initiating the discussion Sir Feroze Khan Noon said the Congress was responsible for the official Viceroy's statement of December 6 last. He said, "If the Congress thinks that they can by such methods break the Muslim League, they much mistaken. In the absence of any agreement between the two communities in the country, it might continue for years."

Sir Feroze pointed out that it was in the interest of British to keep the official Executive Council in power to continue the financial support of the country. If the Congress realise that Britain owes India 1,500 crores of rupees by way of sterling debts. There is an economic drain on the country and the whole of India owes to the world unless the Government want-ed to let them. Pressure on every one of every rupee thus drained would go from the Congress and then it would be:

"If the Congress was thinking of getting into the British saddle, the Muslim League, let them do it. We shall stand aside and see how they work it. They will not be able to work it for a day.

Sir Feroze Khan Noon counselled the Congress to keep out of the Constituency Assembly and to act in a statesmanlike manner. The long-term proposals are nothing but a trick to get into the saddle and to keep the British out for a period of years. The British Government would not be a party to the long-term proposals. They would not be party to the coercion of one community by another.

"If the Congress was thinking of getting into the British saddle, the Muslim League, let them do it. We shall stand aside and see how they work it. They will not be able to work it for a day."

Mian Iftikharuddin appealed to the Congress to observe the rules of the game in working the Constituent Assembly and not to go beyond the scope of the British Cabinet Mission's proposals. Unless the Congress agreed to work hand in hand with the League, the constitutional problem would never be solved. By accepting the British Cabinet Mission's proposals, Mian Iftikharuddin added, the League had given up its demand for sovereign Pakistan. Now it was for the Congress to reciprocate this gesture.

Mr Tamizuddin Khan (Bengal) warned the Council against taking any precipitate action and asked them not to allow anger and passion to influence their decision. He suggested that the Muslim League President, Mr. Jinnah, be authorised to deal with the present situation as well as any situation that might arise in the future as he thought fit and also to withdraw the League acceptance of the long-term proposals if found necessary. This, in his opinion, would be the proper course for the Council to adopt.

"COUNCIL MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY"

Mr. Jinnah intervened in the debate at this stage and said that while he appreciated the high esteem and confidence placed in him, he would like the Council to decide the future course of action. "Mr. Tamizuddin Khan's suggestion shifts your responsibility on to my shoulders. I want you to take your own decision after ascertaining all the facts which I have placed before you," he said.

"It is true the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy have betrayed the Muslim nation. We accepted their proposals as a whole, both long-term and short-term. But since they have scrapped the interim proposals, you have to decide what we should now do, for the proposals are interdependent and inseparable.

"Of the three parties to the proposals, the Delegation and the Viceroy have scrapped the interim proposals. The Congress, one of the two major parties, has accepted the plan conditionally, which is no acceptance at all. What security is there for the League to go into the Constituent Assembly when the other major party has not accepted it and the third party scraps a vital part of the proposals and says, 'We have faith, hope and confidence in the Indians doing the right thing'?

"I am not prepared to accept responsibility for any decision as to the future, unless you force it down my throat. It is your bounden duty to decide what we should now do, for you are the parliament of the Muslim nation. The President and the Working Committee will carry out any policy laid down by you."

Mian Abdul Haye supported the plea for immediate direct action by the League. He said, while denying to Mr. Jinnah the right to nominate all the Muslims in the Interim Government, the Secretary of State for India had repudiated the representative character of the League.

Mr. Abdul Hassan said that Muslims should resist the attempts by the Congress in the name of freedom and liberty to dominate over them. He wanted the League to forge sanction for any demand they might make and said there should be sovereignty in the groups.

Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, voicing the young Muslims' point of view, said that Muslim India supported the League Council's decision to accept the Cabinet Mission's proposals in the hope that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would join the League in fighting British Imperialism. He said it had now become clear that the Congress was not against British Imperialism but against the Muslims. He said the Muslims should not fight on two fronts. They should first fight the British, and if the Congress allied itself with the British then the Congress too would have to be fought. The League should go to the Constituent Assembly and there prove the justice of its case. If the Congress were to refuse the claims of the Muslims, the Muslim members in the Constituent Assembly should sit and frame their own constitution for Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah, in adjourning the Council till to-morrow, said that 15 speakers had addressed the House. Their speeches provided a fair indication of the trend of opinion in the Council. With the approval of the Council, he would suggest that some members should draft a resolution on the lines of the views of the Council. That resolution would be a reflection of the substance of the opinions already expressed and would be placed before the Council to-morrow morning.

LEAGUE REJECTS CABINET PLAN

DELHI DECISION REVERSED

PLANS TO LAUNCH DIRECT ACTION

MEMBERS SURRENDER TITLES

BOMBAY, July 29.

The Muslim League Council unanimously decided to-day to reverse its Delhi decision accepting the Cabinet Mission's scheme embodied in the State Paper of May 16 last. The Council's decision, which means that the Muslim League will not participate in the proposed Constituent Assembly, was taken on a resolution placed before it by the Working Committee of the League.

The resolution was presented to the Council at half past five to-day after the Council had been in session for two hours.

Mr. Jinnah announced to the Council that after great deal of consideration the Working Committee had decided to withdraw the League's acceptance of the Cabinet Delegation's proposals. He said that the decision had been taken after "full consideration of all aspects" and added, "We spent considerable time in preparing the draft resolution."

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the Muslim League, moved the resolution.

By another resolution the League plans starting direct action "to achieve Pakistan and assert their just rights and vindicate their honour and save India and the present slavery under the British and contemplated future Caste-Hindu domination."

Both the resolutions were unanimously passed by the Council.

The resolution regarding direct action in the offing says, as a token of their deep resentment at the attitude of the British towards the Muslims, the Muslimas have been asked to renounce the titles forthwith conferred by this alien Government."

After the two resolutions had been unanimously passed by the League Council, Mr. Jinnah addressed them briefly.

Mr. Jinnah concluded his half hours speech with the words, "Now let us march on" and quoted the Persian verse Firdausi for his motto, "We don't want war but if you want it we accept it unhesitatingly."

Immediately after the Council had passed the two resolutions before the House, a number of top-ranking Muslim Leaguers and others attending the session announced that they had surrendered the titles that had been conferred on them by the British authorities as required under the terms of the second resolution. These included Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the Khan Bahadur Sir Nazimuddin, ex-Premier of Bengal, Sir Feroz Khan Noon, Sir Sir Mehr Shah (Punjab), Sir M. Saadullah, ex-Premier of Assam, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Nawabzada Nasrullah and Khan Bahadur Khuhro, Minister, Sind.

Khan Bahadur Saiduddin (N.W.F.P.) was the first to ascend the platform and surrender his title. Others who surrendered their titles were the Khan Bahadur Haji Hasan Ali Ibrahim (Bombay), Khan Bahadur Karamat Ali, Khan Saheb Allahbai Patel (Bombay), Khan Bahadur Amjad Ali, Khan Bahadur Abdullah-al-Mahmood (Bengal), Khan Bahadur Ismail (N.W.F.P.).

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali, General Secretary of the League announced that although the title of Nawabzada to his name was not a title conferred by the British Government, he wanted to be addressed only as Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan.

Prenzied cheers broke out as each of the above Muslim Leaguers announced the surrender of his title and Mr. Jinnah had to intervene and say that he shared the joy of the people in the surrender of the titles but he wanted it to be done in a disciplined manner.

MONDAY'S DISCUSSION

BOMBAY, July 29.

When the All-India Muslim League Council met for the third day to-day, top-ranking Muslim League leaders, including some members of the Working Committee, addressed the Council.

Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar from the Frontier Province who was one of the Muslim League delegates to the Tripartite Conference at Simla, was the first to address the Council.

Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar said that though the Cabinet Mission's proposals fell short of the Muslim League's demands, it accepted them in order to prove to the world that it was not the League that stood in the way of India's Independence. The Muslim League acted in an honourable and manly manner and wanted to solve the problem by democratic and peaceful methods. The Congress, on the other hand, tried to dominate the Muslim League in whatever way it could. In view of all that had happened during the past three months, the Muslims had only two courses open. They must continue to be under British Imperialism, which would be dishonourable. The other was to fight for the achievement of Pakistan. The Muslims were prepared to make every sacrifice for this purpose.

Sir Mohamed Saadullah, former Premier of Assam, said that the time was now out for the Muslims now and that was to keep their self-respect and withdraw their acceptance of the mission's proposals.

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Ex-Minister of Bengal, made a fighting speech and expressed confidence that the Muslims would decide its future course of action in a spirit of freedom. He was convinced that when the Muslim League accepted the short-term proposals it was done in spite of all the misgivings and in a spirit of oppression. The misgivings of the Muslims have been justified now. He said that the Congress had always been out to create dissensions among the Muslims. But now when we feel that we have to stand on our own legs and search our hearts for our salvation, we find a new enthusiasm amongst the Muslims. Let the Congress know that we are not going to fight just a handful of people fighting for power but we are struggling for the honour of its life and will secure that life (cheers). Let us control our own destiny and not be chicken of all that was taught to us by Imperialism. We are fighting for the most greatest teacher of mankind.

Syed Ali Zaheer (Sind) urged that any course of action chalked out to-day should be such as would not violate the democratic principles and traditions. This they would find in the Muslim League constitution to the British or any other party. The Muslim League is not new. It has been alleged time and again of knights and princes but it is the representative of the united will of the Muslim masses. The Muslims of India have struggled for their freedom to manage their own affairs.

Maulana Jamil-ud-Din Ahmed suggested that the members of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party in the Central and Provincial Legislative Assemblies and Councils must resign from their bodies. It would be a test of their sincerity.

VIOLATION OF EXISTING LAWS

Mr. Qadiruddin, President of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League, amidst applause declared that the Muslims had no alternative of the view that the Cabinet Mission's proposals were not acceptable to them. "We do not believe there would be any civil war in the country under existing conditions. The Muslim struggle for Pakistan would be a struggle for peace. There would be no interference with the violation of existing laws. We would appeal to the Hindu and Muslim masses to organise themselves properly and peacefully. The Muslims had realised that in the struggle with a view to avoiding its harming Hindus or Hindu interests."

Mr. Hossain Imam (Bihar) said that the recent talks between Mr. Jinnah, the Ali Khan Ministers and the Congress had shown that the Muslim League had gone to the utmost limit to reach a compromise. This attitude was misunderstood by the Congress as a weakness on their part. Declaring that their was no alternative, Mr. Hossain concluded, "A red letter day in the history of the Muslim nation. The vital decision to launch a struggle against all the forces that stand in our way. Let us be ready to make sacrifices for the cause."

Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, member of the Working Committee in a brief speech said that the Muslim League Council had taken place in Delhi and Simla, the Congress had completely exposed itself by demonstrating that its only aim was to dominate the Muslim League. On the other hand the Muslim League worked honestly and sincerely for the independence of India. The Congress wanted to reject the proposals but took up a position of neither acceptance nor rejection. The Muslims on the other hand had the courage to accept the plan, had now the Muslim League should as well. Accordingly the Muslim League decided to withdraw its acceptance of the plan.

Khaja Nazimuddin, ex-Premier of Bengal, said that the Muslims had been misled by the Congress. The Muslims had been misled by the Congress. The Muslims had been misled by the Congress. The

CONGRESS RESOLUTION TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Even assuming that this construction was tenable, for which there is no warrant, the Congress, by their conditional acceptance, with reservations and interpretations of their own, as laid down in the letter of the President of the Congress dated June 25 and the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress passed at Delhi on June 26, repudiating the very fundamentals of the scheme had, in fact, rejected the statement of May 16 in its entirety, and therefore there was any justification whatsoever for abandonment of the final proposals of June 16.

As regards the proposal embodied in the statements of May 16 and 16 of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, the Muslim League alone of the two major parties had accepted it.

The Congress have not accepted it because their acceptance is conditional and subject to their own interpretations which is contrary to the authoritative statement of the Delegation and the Viceroy embodied in paras 16 and 25. The Congress have made it clear that they have not accepted the scheme as the fundamentals of the scheme but that they have agreed only to go into the Constituent Assembly and to nothing else; and that the Constituent Assembly is a sovereign body and can take such decisions as it may think proper in total disregard of the terms and the decision on which it has come to it. Subsequently they made this further clear beyond doubt in the speeches that were made at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay on July 6 by prominent members of the Congress and in the statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Congress, to a Press conference on July 10 in Bombay, and once again even after the debate in Parliament in a public speech by him at Delhi on July 22.

DECLARATIONS IN PARLIAMENT UNSATISFACTORY

The result is that, of the two major parties, the Muslim League alone has accepted the statements of May 16 and 25 according to the spirit and letter of the proposals embodied therein and in spite of the efforts of the Secretary of State for India having been drawn to this situation by the statement of the President of the Muslim League of July 29 (Quaid-e-Azam) (Deccan), neither Sir Stafford Cripps in the House of Commons nor Lord Pethick-Lawrence in the House of Lords, in the course of the recent debate, have provided or suggested any machinery to prevent the Constituent Assembly from taking decisions which would be ultra vires and not competent for the Assembly to do. The only reply in the matter that the Secretary of State gave was mere expressions of pious hope and the assurance that "that would not be fair to the other parties to go in".

Once the Constituent Assembly has been summoned and has met there is no provision or power that could prevent any decision being taken by the Congress with its overwhelming majority which would not be competent for the Assembly to take or which would be ultra vires of it, and however regrettable it might be to the letter or the spirit of the scheme. It would rest entirely with the majority to take such decisions as they may think proper as suit them, and the Congress, who already secured by sheer numbers an overwhelming Caste-Hindu majority and thus will be in a position to use the Assembly in the manner in which they have already declared i.e. that they will wreck the basic form of the grouping of the provinces, and extend the scope, powers and subjects of the Union Centre, which are limited strictly to three specific subjects as laid down in paragraph 15 and provided for in paragraph 19 of the statement of May 16.

The Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy collectively and individually have stated several times that the basic principles were laid down to enable the major parties to join the Constituent Assembly and that the scheme cannot succeed unless it is worked in a spirit of co-operation. The attitude of the Congress clearly rejects the fundamental conditions precedent for the successful working of the constitution-making machinery and do not exist. This fact, taken together with the policy of the Hindu Government of sacrificing the interests of the Muslim nation and some other weaker sections of the peoples of India, particularly the Scheduled Castes, to appease Hindu greed, and the way in which they have been going back on their pre-election solemn pledges and assurances given from time to time to the Muslims, leave no doubt that in these circumstances the participation of the Muslims in the proposed constitution-making machinery is fraught with danger and the Council therefore most strongly draws its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals which was communicated to the Secretary of State for India by the President of the Muslim League on June 6, 1946.

RESOLUTION ON DIRECT ACTION

The following is the text of the resolution on direct action:

Whereas the All-India Muslim League has to-day resolved to reject the proposals embodied in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy dated May 16, 1946, due to the intransigence of the Congress on the one hand and the breach of faith with the Muslims by the British Government on the other, and whereas Muslim India has exhausted without avail all efforts to secure an honourable and peaceful solution by constitutional means, and has been forced finally to resort to direct action to vindicate its just rights and to get out of the present chaos and degradation, which is the direct result of the conspiracy of the Congress and the British, and is bent upon utilising its full strength which it has now mobilised; and

Whereas the Congress, which is in power in India with the connivance of the British, and whereas recent events have shown that power politics and not justice and fairplay are deciding factors in Indian affairs; and whereas it has become abundantly clear that the Muslims of India would not rest content with anything less than the immediate establishment of an independent and full sovereign State of Pakistan and would resist any attempt to impose any constitution, long-term or short-term, without the setting up of any Interim Government at the Centre acceptable to the Muslim nation, of the Muslim League, the Council of the All-India Muslim League in its meeting held to-day at this time has come for the Muslim nation to resort to action for the achievement of Pakistan and assert their just rights and to vindicate their honour and their self-respect the present slavery under the British and contemplated future domination of Congress. This Council calls upon the Muslim nation to stand as a man behind their sole representative organisation, the All-India Muslim League, and be ready for any sacrifice. This Council directs the Working Committee to prepare forthwith a programme of direct action to carry out the policy initiated above and to co-ordinate the action of the constitutional struggle to be launched as and when necessary.

As a protest against and in token of their deep resentment at the betrayal of the part British, this Council calls upon the Muslims to renounce forthwith the titles conferred upon them by the allen Government.

MR. JINNAH'S DEFENCE OF DECISION

Mr Jinnah, amidst prolonged cheers, immediately after the House had unanimously passed the two resolutions, declared, "What we have done to-day is the most historical act in our history. Never have we in the whole history of the League taken any such thing except by constitutional methods and by constitutionalism. But now we are obliged and forced into this position. This day we bid good-bye to constitutional methods."

Mr Jinnah recalled that throughout the fateful negotiations in the course of direct action and the Viceroy, the other two parties, British and the Congress, held pistols in their hands—the one of authority and arms and the other of direct struggle and non-co-operation. "To-day, we have also forged a pistol and are in a position to use it," he added.

Mr. Jinnah said that the decision to reject the proposals and to launch direct action was not taken in haste. "We have taken with a full sense of responsibility and after all deliberation that was humanly possible. We have not and realise every word of it. We do not believe in equivocation," declared Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah continued that the Congress had accepted the proposals unconditionally and the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy had construed it to the flagrant breach of faith. When the League accepted the proposals they did it honestly and with full responsibility, and they accepted the statement of May 16 and the statement of June 16 and the original formula for the Interim Government. "I think it is time that is any man who has got any self-respect or honesty or any sense of fairness and justice, he would say that the Muslim League was moved by higher principles and considerations than any other party in India". The League throughout the negotiations was moved by a sense of fairplay and sacrificed the full sovereignty and the right to secession of the Congress for securing the independence of the whole of India. They voluntarily delegated three subjects to the Union and by doing so did not submit themselves mentally. It was the highest order of statesmanship that the League displayed in making concessions.

Mr. Jinnah added, "I do not think that any responsible man will disagree with me that we were moved by a desire not to allow the situation to develop into bloodshed and civil war. This situation should be avoided if possible. In our anxiety to try to come to a peaceful settlement with the other major party, we made this sacrifice of the three subjects. We did it freely and accepted a limited Pakistan. We offered this unparalleled sacrifice at the altar of the Congress."

"But this has been treated with defiance and contempt. Then, are we alone to be guided by reason, justice, honesty and fairplay, when, on the other hand, there is nothing of the kind?" Mr. Jinnah asked. "There was no sign or the slightest gesture of retreat from them. But honour, honesty, statesmanship, justice and fairplay always win in the long run, and I might say that to-day Muslim India is stronger than it has ever been before and as never before and has never felt so bitterly as it does to-day that the two parties (Congress and the British) showed lack of statesmanship. But now we realise that this has been for Muslim India the greatest blessing in disguise. Now we learnt a bitter lesson—the bitterest I think so far. Now there is nothing left for compromise. Let us march on."

Mr Jinnah then referred to Lord Pethick-Lawrence's statement in the House of Lords that he could not agree to Mr. Jinnah having a monopoly over Muslim nominations. "What made the Secretary of State in the responsible position that he is, to make such a stupid phrase?" he asked. "Has he got the monopoly of every Britisher? On what authority does he speak on behalf of the British people having only 60 per cent of the people behind his Government? We cannot agree to a Quisling Muslim being nominated by the Congress to the Executive Council.

"What did the British Government do with their own Quislings like John Amery and to Lord Haw Haw—hanged them. Many other Englishmen, who betrayed their country and became traitors, have been hanged for treason. It is impossible for me to agree to a Quisling being nominated."

Mr. Jinnah proceeded to say that the Cabinet Mission had been "intellectually paralysed" and their report on the Parliament was not even honest to themselves and was devoid not only of political ethics, but every manner of principle and morality.

Immediately after Mr. Jinnah had finished, one after another top-ranking Muslim League leaders ascended the platform and announced the renunciation of their titles.

The election of Joint Secretaries of the League was postponed by common consent to the next session of the All-India Muslim League or the next meeting of the League General Council, whichever is earlier.

Mr. Jinnah declared that only men who could devote their whole time to the League's work could be nominated as the Joint Secretaryship. "The need for men who could work and sacrifice is much more to-day than ten years, or four years or even an year ago. The need is the greatest here and now."

The League session then concluded amidst cheering that lasted for well over fifteen minutes.

FRONTIER WILLING TO JOIN GROUP B

H. Tribune 28/7/46

KHAN ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN CLARIFIES POSITION

(From Our Own Correspondent)

PESHAWAR, July 27.—Badshah Khan writing under the caption, "A Few Misunderstandings About the Grouping System" in the latest issue of his weekly 'Pakhtoon,' says: "I am very sorry to see that some Leaguers and even a few of my friends are spreading reports through table talk and public speeches to mislead the nation and to discredit me. Currency has been given to the rumour that I want the Pathans to join Group A instead of Group B. It is also being said that I want the Pathans to join the Hindus and not their fellow Muslims.

"Islam enjoins on us to verify every thing we hear before passing it on to others. Perhaps these friends do not know that the grouping system was first suggested with my consent and approval in order to placate the League. But I still hold that every province has the option whether to join a particular group or not. I have not got the least objection to join the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan, but only on the condition that we sit down like brothers, reassure each other and remove whatever doubts assail each one of us. It is most necessary that the provinces fully satisfy each other, if they are to be grouped together, that grouping is for their mutual good and that all stand to gain by it.

"It is nearly 25 years since we separated from the Punjab. You will see that even till today we are not free from the Punjab's domination. It continues to sit on us like a dead weight. The Punjabee continues to influence every aspect of our life.

Not A Religious Issue

"Some people are trying to give this question a religious colour. But it should not be so. What has religion to do with it? This is an economic issue. It concerns our bread and butter. It is a matter for mutual discussion. In this world no relationship can be forced. On the other hand, mutual harmony brings prosperity to both. Therefore, we should not oppose things just for the sake of opposition. We should oppose only those measures which are detrimental to our interest.

"Regarding our joining Group A even a little consideration is enough to convince anyone that it is out of the question. We are surrounded by the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan. How can it be possible that we prefer joining provinces far off to joining our neighbours next door? If we can at all be grouped with any set of provinces, it is with the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan and with no other provinces.

"Am I not justified in telling the Punjabees: 'We are brothers and if you want us to join you better win us over by your love and affection. You should not attempt to compel us to join you with the backing of the British bayonets. I am only opposed to compulsion because compulsion and force can never succeed.'

Punjab's Duty

"If the Punjab public really desires that we should join their group, it is only fair that they should make it clear to us whether they want to exploit us or help us? This is necessary because we are a small and poor province with no industry and no technical knowledge, so much so that in many parts of our province even drinking water is not available. If they want us to join them to supply them raw material for their exploitation, I will advise the Pathans against grouping. But if they want us to join them in order to help us, then I can have no objection to such grouping. If it is not so, then we are happy to remain aloof and live within our scanty means.

"There remains the question of subvention from the Centre. Ours is a poor province and cannot exist without subvention. But that will be still available to us because we shall attach ourselves to the new Centre. Mr Jinnah has also accepted and agreed to remain under an all-India Centre. It will help us even under these conditions. But such help is not conducive to the betterment of our province. Whatever help we are getting from the Centre today is not spent for the benefit of our people. It is spent on ventures which are of no use whatsoever to the nation. I am not in favour of receiving such help. I want the Pathans to stand on their own legs and not to depend upon others."

FRONTIER AS RULER OF GROUP "B"

Noon's Reaction To Ghaffar Khan's Attitude To Grouping

Chronicle Clause 30/7/46

BOMBAY, July 29 (A.P.I.): "I have not the slightest doubt that the Frontier Province will be the ruler of Group "B" and not vassal in view of the vantage position which the Frontier vote will exercise in that group", said Sir Firoz Khan Noon in an interview to the Press commenting on Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's article in "Pakhtoon" the official organ of the Red Shirts, defining his (Ghaffar Khan's) attitude to the Grouping clause in the Mission's proposals.

Sir Firoz added: "If the Pathan has never been a vassal to the British, there is no fear of his being a vassal to the Punjab. Among the people of the Punjab, Frontier leaders will have the same weight and carry the same respect as they do in the Frontier. We make no differentiation between a Muslim from one province and another.

"In view of the sacrifices made by the Frontier Pathan in the cause of freedom", he added, "Frontier leaders will stand as high, if not higher, than any other Muslim leader from any province."

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

PATHANS' OPPOSITION TO GROUPING

29/7/46

"NOT ENGINEERED BY HINDUS"

PESHAWAR, July 28.

Mr. Mehrchand Khanna, the Finance Minister of the Frontier Province, has strongly repudiated the charge that the opposition of the Pathans to compulsory grouping with the Punjab was engineered by the Frontier Hindus.

Addressing a public meeting, Mr. Mehrchand Khanna said that the Pathans were by temperament averse to being dominated by the Punjabis. They had more in common with the people of the tribal areas than with the Punjabis with whom they had no cultural affinities. The Hindus of the Frontier, he said, enjoyed the goodwill of the majority community.

RIGHT TO OPT OUT OF GROUI

MADURA, July 27.

The question when a province could exercise its right to opt out of the group to which it is assigned in the British Cabinet Mission's State Paper was examined by Mr. K. R. Venkatrama Aiyar, President of the Madura Bar Association and a member of the Legislative Council, under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, in a lecture he delivered this evening under the auspices of the local Y.M.C.A. on the British Cabinet Mission's proposals.

Mr. Venkatrama Aiyar, after an exhaustive analysis of the provisions in the State Papers, reached the view that almost at the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly, the claim of any province not to enter the Group to which it was assigned should and would be upheld by the Assembly.—A.P.I.

BENGAL CAN STRANGLE ASSAM !

Free Press 26/7

Saadullah's Argument In Favour Of Grouping

BOMBAY, Thursday.

"Assam has everything to gain and nothing to lose by joining Bengal" said Sir Mohammed Saadullah, ex-Premier of Assam and one of the Muslim League delegates returned by Assam to the Constituent Assembly, in an exclusive interview with the Free Press Journal today.

"Bengal is like a cork that sits on Assam. Assam has no outlet except through Bengal. Unless, therefore, Assam makes common cause with Bengal, Bengal can completely strangulate her economically," added Sir Mohammed.

Sir Mohammed Saadullah has arrived for the Muslim League Council Session which commences on Saturday. He personally felt that in view of the categorical statements made by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons, the Council might not go back on its decision. "But one could not say," he remarked, "the Muslims felt that they had been badly let down by the abandonment of the Interim Government proposal."

Speaking of Assam and the grouping proposal, Sir Mohammed said that those who viewed the matter from a practical and realistic point of view favoured grouping with Bengal. The small opposition was mainly based on sentimental reasons that would not stand scrutiny. "From the linguistic point of view as well as from the land tenure system they have adopted, the Assamese are part and parcel of Bengal. The Assamese mainly speak Bengali."

HISTORY

Narrating the history of Assam, Sir Saadullah said that Assam was first ceded to the British by the King of Burma in 1826 after the second Burmese war. The British made it a part of Bengal. In 1872, Assam was created as a separate province. As Assam was a thinly populated area due to continual decimation because of the rapacity of the Burmese Kings, the Sylhet district was added to it in 1878.

THIN POPULATION

Even now, Sir Mohammed said, Assam has a thin population. Bengal, 80,000 square miles in area, has a population of 6 crores, while Assam which has an area of 72,000 square miles has a population of only 1 crore, 2 lakhs. "Ever since this separation," he continued, "Assam has been agitating for unification with Bengal. In 1925, the As-

(Continued on Page 5)

Bengal Can Strangle Assam !

(Continued from page 1)

sam Legislative Council by a resolution recommended the cessation of Sylhet to Bengal. But Sylhet being a deficit area, Bengal demanded a contribution from Assam for its maintenance. But Assam was unable to do so and Sylhet continued to remain with Assam. Today the people of Sylhet find the grouping proposal a godsend. Sylhet has a population of 40 lakhs out of the total of 102 lakhs in the whole province. These 40 lakhs definitely favour grouping. The Muslim population of Assam about 35 lakhs, including 7 lakhs of immigrants from Bengal all favour grouping. There are also 32 lakhs of tribal people. The Hindus are 35 lakhs of whom 7 lakhs are Scheduled Caste. It is only the Caste Hindus who are opposed to grouping because they are afraid that their culture would be swamped by 6 crores of Bengalese."

"Assam will have decided advantages if if joins Bengal," Sir Mohammed asserted. "Bengal is like a cork that sits on Assam Assam has no outlet except through Bengal. Unless, therefore, Assam makes common cause with Bengal, Bengal can completely strangulate her economically.

For instance, "Assam" grows her rice only, but for all other necessaries of daily diet she has to import and the imports have to pass through Bengal. Bengal could prohibit such imports passing through her if she so desired. Then Assam's largest industry is tea. We produce 2 lakhs tons of tea and this can only be exported through the ports of Bengal to the world market in London. An alienated and infuriated Bengal might put an export duty and thus cripple the industry.

GROUPING ALREADY THERE

Sir Saadullah went on to point out that a certain part of the administrative machinery contemplated under the grouping system was already at work in Assam. Assam had no university of her own and had to go to Calcutta or Dacca for it. She had neither a medical nor an engineering college and she reserved seats in Bengal for them by a contribution.

FINANCIAL ADVANTAGES

Among financial advantages that would accrue to Assam as a result of this grouping, Sir Mohammed listed customs duty which was all collected at the ports of Bengal. Unless Assam joined hands with Bengal she could not ask for a share of that income. Then the bulk of the income-tax on tea produced in Assam was paid in Bengal, as all the managing agents were in Calcutta. The grouping would bring them a good share of it. He also pointed out that at present the Central Government were giving them a rebate of Rs. 12 lakhs on the jute export duty collected by them at the ports of Bengal. Under the new Union Constitution, they could not claim any share, if Bengal continued the export duty unless they grouped with Bengal.

MILITARY THREAT

Above all, when India became free, Sir Mohammed said, Assam required a standing militia to keep her security and to maintain law and order. Assam was surrounded by semi-civilised hill tribes, who had raided the plains in the past and were checked to a certain extent by the might of the British Raj. The last such raid occurred as recently as 1917. This militia would be a drain on her finances unless she joined Bengal.

LIBERALS' APPEAL TO PARTIES

"Work Out Plan In Spirit In Which It Is Made"

POONA, July 21, (API): The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India, which met in Poona today under the presidentship of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad passed a resolution welcoming the formation of a Constituent Assembly to frame the constitution of free India but deploring that the scheme for the establishment of an Interim Coalition Government at the Centre had failed to materialise. The resolution says "The functioning of a Constituent Assembly formed of purely Indian personnel with the existence of a bureaucratic Government at the Centre is entirely inconceivable."

The Council also strongly urges that the major parties should go into the Constituent Assembly frankly and fully accepting the basic principles and the necessary implications of the Cabinet Mission's plan. Resolution says, "The Muslims should not consider and use the Constituent Assembly as merely a stepping stone to the achievement of Pakistan as declared by some of its members and the Congress should not act in the spirit of the recent announcement of its President that the Congress was committed to nothing except going into the Constituent Assembly."

The council recognises that the minorities, particularly the Sikhs and the Scheduled Classes have legitimate grievances regarding their position in the Constituent Assembly In the absence of any authoritative statement regarding the composition, functions and powers of the Minority Advisory Committee as envisaged in Para 20 of the statement of May 16 the whole position with regard to this important issue, the resolution says is highly unsatisfactory and calls for immediate clarification.

TRAVANCORE DEWAN ON STATES' REPRESENTATION

TRIVANDRUM, July 23.

An important statement supplementing his speech on the opening day of the Budget session was made by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan, at the Sri Mulam Assembly to-day.

The Dewan said that one of the members of the Assembly had telegraphed to the Viceroy asking for reservation of one seat for a member of the Catholic community on the Constituent Assembly. The Dewan pointed out that the Viceroy had no part to play in regard to the nomination of members to the Constituent Assembly. The Cabinet Mission had clearly stated that the method of selection of representatives would have to be determined by consultation, that is, consultation between representatives of the States and the representatives of the British political parties. Neither the British Government nor the Cabinet Delegation had any direct role to play in this matter.

The State Congress, proceeded Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, had forwarded to him a resolution passed by them, reiterating their demand for full Responsible Government and asking that only representatives of the people elected on adult franchise should be sent from Travancore to the Constituent Assembly and that the constitution for Travancore should be framed by a Constituent Assembly composed of representatives of the people elected on adult franchise. To this communication the Government had replied stating *inter alia* that it was not their intention to initiate Responsible Government on the model of the British Constitution and pointing out that the proposed reforms were as far-reaching as any system of Responsible Government was likely to be, and more beneficial from the point of view of continuity and long-term planning. The reply added that it had already been made clear that not less than 50 per cent of the persons who would be sent to the Constituent Assembly would be non-officials chosen by the Legislature.—A.P.I.

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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

CONGRESS STAND EXPLAINED

MR. NEHRU'S SPEECH AT DELHI

NEW DELHI, July 21.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking this evening at the Ramila grounds, said that circumstances had forced the British Government to agree to India's demand of summoning a Constituent Assembly for framing a constitution for a free and independent India. The Congress was entering the Constituent Assembly with the object of working it and if they found that they were unable to achieve their purpose, they would withdraw from it and wreck it.

Pandit Nehru was speaking at a public reception accorded to him on behalf of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee on his first visit to Delhi after assuming Congress Presidentship.

If the Constituent Assembly was once set up, continued Pandit Nehru, it would become a completely independent organisation. It would be composed of elected representatives from the different provinces. If the British Government or the Viceroy wanted to destroy it, they could not do so. It would only be done by Indians themselves. It was his firm conviction that after the setting up of the Constituent Assembly, no outside power could destroy or crush it.

The Congress President said that during the last 25 years, people had been following the Congress in the hope of achieving full national independence. The Congress, to-day, was more powerful than ever before. He admitted that there was internal weakness in the Congress but felt that it should not be allowed to stand in the way of their progress when they were engaged in fighting British imperialism. All that was required at this critical period of Indian history was unity and strength of the people. The Congress was a platform for all shades of opinions, and it was working for the common goal of independence of the country.

SIKHS' DECISION DEPLORED

Referring to the action of the Sikhs who withdrew their nomination papers to the Constituent Assembly, Pandit Nehru said that, in his opinion, the Sikhs had not done the wise thing. They had done it in haste and anger. They had their grievances in the grouping system, but their hasty action would not take them forward.

Pandit Nehru said that he had been elected President of the Congress at the most critical period for the country. His responsibility was very great and the task ahead of him difficult. At first he did not want to shoulder the heavy responsibility. He had to spend sleepless nights and do a great deal of heart-searching before deciding to accept the presidentship. Pandit Nehru said that he would be able to go on working as long as the people continued to help and co-operate with him. It was, in fact, the strength and love of the people which moved him forward.

Pandit Nehru did not know what was ahead of them. They wanted to move forward by peaceful means. The Government on the one side was trying to come to a settlement with the Indians and on the other making all arrangements to meet any possible upheaval in the country. The Congress, he said, was also ready to throw itself into the struggle against British imperialism, if necessity arose.

Regarding the proposed Congress volunteer corps organisation, Pandit Nehru said that Mr. Shah Nawaz had been appointed in charge of the volunteer department. He was a man of great calibre and ability. Pandit Nehru urged the formation of volunteer organisations in every city, town and village and exhorted the people to join the volunteer corps in lakhs and crores. Indians of all shades of opinion and religions were free to join it.—A.P.I.

DANGER OF DELAY IN INDIA

MAJOR WYATT'S WARNING

"COALITION GOVERNMENT ESSENTIAL"

LONDON, July 20.

If the British fail to find a solution to the problem of handing over smoothly to Indians in India, there may be a revolution to drive them out—that this will probably bring the Congress Socialist Party out on top, says Major Lloyd Wyatt, Adviser to the British Cabinet Mission when they were in India, in an article in to-day's issue of the Left-Wing weekly *New Statesman and Nation*.

"After a revolution, there would be no chance of friendly relations between Britain and India," Major Wyatt adds: "Communal civil war would draw on for years and trail off into an uneasy stalemate, while millions starved and the hope of economic development was put off indefinitely. The potential of the fight between the Right and the Left would almost certainly be exploited immediately by Fascist elements."

Indians," says Major Wyatt "are awed by the prospect of running this vast country, possibly without British support, and they cannot feel confident in their ability to do it, unless they get a government on conditions favourable to their own particular viewpoint."

Saying that Indians in their hesitation in accepting independence when it is so near their grasp, think more of themselves, Major Wyatt says: "To some extent Indian political leaders are responsible. The definition of irresponsibility is being without responsibility. The easiest way to do it is to see that they get responsibility without delay."

From the British point of view, Major Wyatt adds, it is essential to have a coalition Government in India. "If there is government by one party in the face of the resistances by others, the Viceroy would be ordered to call in British troops to quell disturbances and Britain would be taking sides in a civil war. In the last war Mr. Attlee said 'we cannot allow a minority to place a veto on the wishes of the majority but he did not say that the majority would be allowed to use the authority with the aid of the British.'

Concluding, Major Wyatt says: "With a fresh approach be made to the solving of the insoluble problems, the people of India—who are by no means divided on communal lines on both sides—wait for a National Government which alone can solve their alleviation of their poverty and malnutrition and development of their agriculture and industry."—Reuter.

"HASTENING AGREEMENT IN INDIA"

LONDON, July 19.

Speaking in his constituency (Aston Division, Birmingham) the Right Hon. Mr. Wood, M.P., who has just returned the British Ministers, said that but for the Mission's visit India would by now have been in the throes of a terrible commotion.

Since his return, Major Wyatt said one Conservative M.P. told him that he did not like the idea of Indians coming over the map. His answer to remarks like that, Major Wyatt said, was that he did not do that India would be dripping red with blood and Indians would have been in the fighting.

Commenting on the difficulty of following the Mission's work from this distance, Mr. Wood said: "Reports which appeared about the 'bright side' from Mr. Gandhi are enough to confuse anybody. Indians have begun to wonder if Indians really wanted independence. Whether they do or not, it is for us around to poke fun at which I some times begin to wonder myself.

The Conservative attitude to India, Major Wyatt said, was always to try to get the Indians to agree among themselves before they granted them self-government. The Labour Party on the other hand decided that if forty-five million Moslems in India could not always agree you could not expect four hundred million Indians to do so. "I profess we decided to hasten the process—and in fact we have succeeded—mainly by adding the words 'quickly' and 'continuously' to that provision."

The main problem, continued Major Wyatt, was the Moslem fear of Hindu India or two. Ninety million Muslims said they were getting British rule replaced by Hindus and they threatened civil war if subjected to Hindu domination. "If you get ninety million people who feel so strongly about the matter that they talk in that way you got to do something about it."

With reference to the Constitutional making body, Major Wyatt said, "It might take a few months to get it going on a proper basis. And meantime there was the problem of interim Government. That was the most desperate problem. He hoped it would be solved by agreement, but unexpected things had been done."—P.O.C.

BRITISH PRESS COMMENT ON INDIA DEBATE

LONDON, July 19.

The *Times* first carries the report on the India debate in a half-column item on its main news page and supplements this with almost a full page report under Parliamentary Activities of the debate in both the House of Lords and the House of Commons. It also devotes one full column editorial comment on its leader page.

The *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Herald* similarly devote a column to editorial comment.

Other London papers each carry very compressed accounts of the Parliamentary proceedings, but generally overshadowed by the continued controversy regarding Palestine.

The *Times* in its leading article "Testing Time" in India" says: "The statements by Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps on the work of the Cabinet Mission were sober in tone and well calculated to impress Parliament with the real difficulties which that work encountered and with the delicacy of the issues hanging in the balance.

In both Houses discussion was on the whole restrained by the desire to refrain from any action which might provide ammunition for controversy, but the sincere goodwill of this country for the success of Indian endeavours to achieve the new constitutional advance was clearly manifested. When the work of the Mission is viewed in perspective against the background of the Indian political scene, there seems to be no reason for doubt that its members have done all that it was in their power to assist the people of India to form a great new national State.

The *Times* continues: "They have manifested faith in the belief that the work of the determination of the people of Britain—a determination which the Mission's proposals no parallel—to transfer unconditionally to the people of India the supreme right of authority wielded so firmly and so long without reservation by successive British Governments. No strategic bases or any other limitation upon sovereign independence of any kind has been made clear to the statesmen in India that the future of India must rest in the hands of their own hands.

"While this belief is now generally recognised in India its full implications are still inadequately understood. Whether or not this position in some quarters to believe that their cooperation with Britain to be achieved through a Constituent Assembly in accordance with the 'long-term' plan of the Cabinet Mission is essential in the nature of a British decision or award which, when announced, has the sanction of British authority behind it.

"NO BRITISH AWARD

The *Times* continues: "There is nothing of the kind; it is a suggestion put forward after careful consideration of claims and protracted consultations with the party leaders on the practicability of constituting a constitution by a highly sectionalised country without civil war. Its only sanction is the consequence of its acceptance or rejection by the principal political life, the Congress Party, the Muslim League and the Indian States not one of which is free to go outside the main basis, unless it is prepared to face the repercussions of such an action and the attitude of the other two. The assumption that the major parties would do this they are not when they accepted the procedure proposed by the Government in the May declarations, to delay the decision of the Government on the question of the form of the Constituent Assembly, but to suppose that the British are prepared to use coercion as a substitute for the processes of agreement and compromise upon which alone the new constitution can be based is to mistake the situation entirely.

The *Times* says: "In estimating the significance of the recent Parliamentary debate certain Indian leaders from party platforms, allowances must be made for the difficulty of transition from freedom for opposition to the responsibilities of constructive statesmanship; and it may well be that the definite lines of cleavage between the two wings of the Congress Party with their distinctive approaches to difficulties of both the Muslim League and the Indian States, proceeds more rapidly than has been the appearance at the strength of their party position in the event of Indian Independence.

"But the very strength of the Party and the responsibility of its share in the administration and Legislatures of so many provinces imposes a responsibility not lightly to be disregarded, for taking the lead in smoothing away difficulties in the absence of which dependence the participation of other major elements in Indian political life in the process of peaceful reconstruction. It is a good augury for the success of the Constituent Assembly that the Congress Party leadership is showing no pains to secure the inclusion of the most significant possible elements in them whether inside the party or outside its ranks. It is reported that the Congress Party is to nominate Representatives

SIKHS' ATTITUDE

The *Times* continues: "Perhaps the community that believed that its prospects would still be adversely affected by the agreed proposals, if the Sikhs' case is mistaken, the Sikhs must decide for themselves, and they are not represented in the Constituent Assembly, their claims must be considered fairly as possible in their absence. Britain may, and indeed must, do all in her power to ensure that the rights of the minorities are fairly represented before the Advisory Committee which the Constituent Assembly will appoint; but a decision on the justice of their claims is quite of the Sikhs' eloquent appeal yesterday, no

Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, forsake as organisations representing the oppressed Classes; but it is of the utmost importance to India's future that the responsibility of settling this and other similar issues now rests with Indian statesmen.

The *Times* concludes: "Upon their treatment of these difficult but basically soluble elements among their own people, the good-will of this country and the sympathy and help of Britain alone but of the United Nations will assuredly be forthcoming. The statement issued by Government spokesmen or the Opposition to minimise any wide measure of the goodwill which the Mission's work and it has still to be seen whether the Muslim League will accept the invitation to nominate members of Congress Party leaders that entry into the Constituent Assembly will be now impossible. Difficulties of forming an Interim Government remain, but the essential interests of India are to be safeguarded by the prompt replace of a Coalition Government have yet to be faced. Cultivation of a spirit of accommodation, of mutual and patriotic subordination of party and sectional interests to the general good, though notably initiated by Mr. Jinnah, needs to be universally practised.

"But however small may be the encouragement, considerable has been brought about by the Congress Party and other elements to the Constituent Assembly, the encouragement ably their duty as well as their interest to honour their undertaking. It is to their own countrymen that their case is to be addressed."

"CABINET MISSION HAS FAILED"

For those who look for any early settlement of the Indian issue, Mr. Churchill's statements made yesterday in the two Houses of Parliament are depressing reading, says the *Daily Telegraph*.

"Lord Pethick-Lawrence in the House of Lords claimed no more for the Cabinet Mission than it 'has been able to reach a partial solution of the problem.' The partial solution, account of the results of three months' strenuous negotiations by no less than the side of optimism—it continues. No amount of sophistry conceals the fact that the main purpose the Mission which was to bring about the co-operation of the two great communities failed to realise the hopes with which they went out.

The *Daily Telegraph* adds: "The offer of complete and unqualified independence to-day whether with or without the British Commonwealth which Mr. Churchill in a pains to make at all stages of the negotiations has not recorded the slightest impression. The pressure of complete self-government has, as Mr. Churchill said, been the prelude to the grant of independence. The present is the moment when there can no longer be doubt in Indian minds of the reality of the British purpose and there can be no endeavour to force the Indian people into a decision. The great future and prosperity for all India must be sought in the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly of all parties who will presently assemble in Delhi. Will it be sought? Invain?"—Reuter.

"LEGACY OF SUSPICION REMOVED"

Admitting that it has not been easy for the British Government to follow the detailed and complicated negotiations in India, the *Daily Herald* to-day commends: "The great achievement of the Cabinet Mission is that the atmosphere of suspicion which made an honourable settlement is now largely removed. Mistrust is recognised as the first—as all who grapple with the problem know—the situation in India in June 1946 are very different from the conditions of 1939. Then there was no plan. Now a plan plan. Its purpose was not to impose a settlement but to help Indians to adopt a procedure on which all could agree. How simple it would have been for the Mission to seize upon the bait of continued disagreement between the Indian parties as an excuse for permitting a relapse into a deadlock. That has sometimes been the attitude of previous British Governments. But the new Government and the new Mission imparted a different spirit into the whole task. It is a splendid record of faithful endeavour to enable India to take her rightful place among the nations."—P.O.C.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

CONGRESS STAND EXPLAINED

MR. NEHRU'S SPEECH AT DELHI

NEW DELHI, July 21.

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Pandit Nehru was speaking at a public reception accorded to him on behalf of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee on his first visit to Delhi after assuming Congress Presidentship.

If the Constituent Assembly was once set up, continued Pandit Nehru, it would become a completely independent organisation. It would be composed of elected representatives from the different provinces. If the British Government or the Viceroy wanted to destroy it, they could not do so. It would only be done by Indians themselves. It was his firm conviction that after the setting up of the Constituent Assembly, no outside power could destroy or crush it.

The Congress President said that during the last 25 years, people had been following the Congress in the hope of achieving full national independence. The Congress, to-day, was more powerful than ever before. He admitted that there was internal weakness in the Congress but felt that it should not be allowed to stand in the way of their progress when they were engaged in fighting British imperialism. All that was required at this critical period of Indian history was unity and strength of the people. The Congress was a platform for all shades of opinions, and it was working for the common goal of independence of the country.

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Referring to the action of the Sikhs who withdrew their nomination papers to the Constituent Assembly, Pandit Nehru said that, in his opinion, the Sikhs had not done the wise thing. They had done it in haste and anger. They had their grievances in the grouping system, but their hasty action would not take them forward.

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Pandit Nehru did not know what was ahead of them. They wanted to move forward by peaceful means. The Government on the one side was trying to come to a settlement with the Indians and on the other making all arrangements to meet any possible upheaval in the country. The Congress, he said, was also ready to throw itself into the struggle against British imperialism, if necessity arose.

Regarding the proposed Congress volunteer corps organisation, Pandit Nehru said that Mr. Shah Nawaz had been appointed in charge of the volunteer department. He was a man of great calibre and ability. Pandit Nehru urged the formation of volunteer organisations in every city, town and village and exhorted the people to join the volunteer corps in lakhs and crores. Indians of all shades of opinion and religions were free to join it.—A.P.I.

DANGER OF DELAY IN INDIA

MAJOR WYATT'S VIEWS

"COALITION GOVERNMENT ESSENTIAL"

LONDON, July 20.

If the British fail to find a solution to the problem of handing over smoothly to Indians in India, there may be a revolution, he thinks, says Reuter. He will probably bring the Congress Socialist Party back on top, says Major Wyatt, Adviser to the British Cabinet Mission when they were in India, in an article in to-day's issue of the Labour-Wing weekly, *New Statesman and Nation*.

"After a revolution there would be no chance of friendly relations between Britain and India", Major Wyatt adds. "Communal civil war would draw on for years and trail off into an uneasy stalemate, while millions starved and the hope of economic development was put off indefinitely. The first round of the fight between the Right and the Left would almost certainly be won by potential-ly Fascist elements."

Currently says Major Wyatt "are awed by the prospect of ruling this vast country possibly without British support, and they cannot feel confident in their ability to do it, unless they get a government on conditions favourable to it from the nationalist viewpoint."

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"From the British point of view, Major Wyatt adds, it is essential to get a coalition Government in India. "If there is government by one party there will be no confidence by others, the Viceroy would be ordered to act in British interests, serious disturbances and Britain would be taking sides in the Indian civil war. Lord Pethick-Mr. Attlee said 'we cannot allow a minority to place a veto on the advance of the majority but he did not say that the majority would be allowed to rule a minority with the aid of the British.

Concluding, Major Wyatt says: "While a fresh approach is made to the solving of the insoluble problems, the people of India—who are the chief victims of the arrangements on both sides—wait for a National Government which alone can bring about a alleviation of their poverty and malnutrition and development of their agriculture and industry."—Reuter.

"HASTENING AGREEMENT IN INDIA"

LONDON, July 19.

Speaking in his constituency (Aston Division, Birmingham) for the first time since his return from India, Major Wyatt, Labour M.P., who was recently attached the British Ministers, said that but for the Mission's visit India would by now have been "in a state of extreme commotion".

Since his return, Major Wyatt said one Conservative M.P. told him that he "did not like the idea of handing over the whole over the map." His answer to remarks like that, Major Wyatt said, was that he did not do that India would be dripping red with blood and the whole continent would have been in the fighting.

Commenting on the difficulty of following the Mission's work from this distance, Mr. Wyatt said: "Everyone is talking about the bright side from Mr. Gandhi are enough to comfort anybody and then you begin to wonder if Indians really wanted independence or not. You look for the catch in it and you begin to poke fun at which I sometimes think we wonder really."

The Conservative attitude to India, Major Wyatt said, was always to say that it was the Indians to agree among themselves before granting them self-government. The Labour Party on the other hand decided that "if only five out of the seven could not always agree you could get even four together and then you could

NO CHANGE FROM CABINET PLAN

REPLY TO CONGRESS LEADERS' CLAIM

LAST-MINUTE ADDITION IN COMMONS STATEMENT

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, July 19.

The immediate political significance of ministerial utterances in the course of the India debate in Parliament yesterday is believed to consist, according to informed observers here, in the statement that the British Government will not be bound to accept decisions of the Constituent Assembly if there is any departure from the terms outlined in the Statement of May 16 and "accepted" by the main parties as well as the States.

This warning is generally regarded as the Government's reply to Congress leaders' claim that the Constituent Assembly is a sovereign body and that the Congress would be going into the Assembly without any advance commitments.

I understand that the desirability of reaffirming at this stage the binding character of the Cabinet Delegation's long-term proposals was the subject of anxious discussions in high Government circles in the last few days. The original intention was simply to give Parliament a colourless summary of the work of the Cabinet Mission, without emphasising any point except generalities like the helpfulness of all parties, the trying climate of India and the sincerity of the British desire to promote a settlement and grant Independence. However, in view of the statements of Pandit Nehru and other Congress leaders at the Bombay A.I.C.C. meeting, it was apparently decided at the last minute that some explanatory pronouncement should be made and no room left for any misunderstandings.

Advance copies of the text of Sir Stafford Cripps's speech supplied to newsmen in the House of Commons press gallery did not contain the passage which was included in the speech as delivered—the passage beginning with a reference to "Reports coming from India as to the alleged intentions of the parties in framing the Constituent Assembly" and ending with the statement, "Union cannot be by force. It must be by agreement." It will be the task of the Constituent Assembly to attain that agreement, etc."

Although Sir Stafford's and Lord Pethick-Lawrence's opening speeches covered the same ground and recited the same arguments and facts, they varied in length and phrasing, but special importance attaching to the pronouncement was evidenced by the fact that it was made in identical terms by both the Ministers.

STATUS OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

With this passage in mind, Mr. W. G. Cove asked pointedly whether the Constituent Assembly would be a sovereign body. "It is not clear even now," he said, "as to what the powers of the National Assembly will be. Is it to be free or not free as a sovereign body? Will the National Assembly have all the full rights of democracy or is it to be hampered again by any communal difficulties or restrictions?"

Although Mr. Cove specifically asked that the Government should be invited to make this clear, Mr. Alexander, replying, ignored the point altogether.

The attendance during the debate was scanty as usual, the numbers present never rising beyond 40 or 50. The atmosphere throughout was dull and listless, perhaps because the members in the crowded House had previously worn themselves out in an excited and noisy half-hour when Mr. Churchill provoked a stormy scene by his veiled and vehement opposition to the Speaker's ruling that a certain public poster against Soviet propaganda should be referred to the [illegible] Committee on Privileges. Many [illegible] M.Ps.; well-known for their [illegible] interest towards India, were absolutely absent from the debate.

INTERIM GOVT. ESSENTIAL

INDIA SECRETARY'S CALL TO PARTIES

REPORT TO LORDS ON MISSION

WORKING OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

NO CHANGE FROM AGREED SCHEME

LONDON, July 18.

An appeal on behalf of the British Cabinet Mission to the two major parties in India to put aside their keen communal and party feelings and work together for the good of India was made by the Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, in concluding his review of the Mission's work in India in the House of Lords to-day.

The India Secretar emphasised the need to "set up an efficient and representative Government which is so vital to India's future welfare."

A similar sentiment was expressed by the President of the Board of Trade, Sir Stafford Cripps, who opened the debate on India in the House of Commons

Lord Pethick-Lawrence said that from reports reaching him "some of the best human material in India" was likely to be returned to take part in the deliberations of the constitution-making body. "If my expectations are fulfilled," added Lord Pethick-Lawrence, "a good start has been made in the creation of a constitutional structure for India."

Describing the purpose of the Constituent Assembly, Lord Pethick-Lawrence said: "It is on a free consensus of the many diverse elements of the Indian people that the success of the new constitution will depend. I am confident, from all that was said to me in India, that all parties appreciate this fundamenal fact. Union cannot be by force. It must be by agreement, and it will be the task of the Assembly to obtain that agreement."

Lord Pethick-Lawrence added: "The members of the Mission appeal to those on both sides, with whom they developed such true and friendly relations, to put aside their keen communal and party feelings and act together for the good of India in this difficult time when an efficient and representative Government is so vital to her future welfare."

Sir Stafford Cripps, in his statement in the House of Commons, said that the members of the Mission saw representatives of both the parties shortly before they left India and they stated to them quite categorically that it was their intention to go into the Constituent Assembly with the object of making it work.

Sir Stafford paid a tribute to all with whom they had negotiated in India and said when they left there had undoubtedly been a change of attitude.

Mr. Churchill and Mr. Cove participated in the debate and Mr. Alexander wound up for the Government. There was a sharp exchange between Mr. Alexander and Mr. Churchill, who accused the Government of going beyond the Cripps offer of 1942. Mr. Alexander retorted: "If we approach the situation today entirely from the viewpoint of 1942, we would have come back with the same failure."

INDIA SECRETARY'S STATEMENT

REVIEW OF CABINET MISSION'S WORK

Lord Pethick-Lawrence made the following statement on his stewardship of the Cabinet Mission in the House of Lords:

"As there is so much to tell, I will only say one thing by way of introduction regarding the problems with which we have to deal. If you take all the population of the United States, and all the population both in Europe and Asia of the Soviet Union, and all the people of the British Isles and all the White people throughout the British Empire and add them all together, even then, you do not reach a total as great as that of the Indians in India. Not only that, but that vast subcontinent has great diversities of race, religion, language and culture. No wonder then that Indian statesmen are deeply conscious of their responsibilities and take divergent views as to the precise constitutional future of that country.

"The two great parties in British India, Congress and the Muslim League, who between them, nearly swept the polls in the recent provincial elections are acutely divided on this matter. While the Congress has always stood for one United India, the claim of the Muslim League has been for the division of India into Hindusthan and Pakistan.

"Therefore, while the first task of the Mission was to convince Indians of the sincerity of the British people in offering them Independence within or without the British Commonwealth according to their choice, their second task was to bridge the apparently unbridgeable gap separating the rival views of the two great Indian parties. I think I can claim without fear of disagreement that, as for the first, we were entirely successful (Cheers). All leaders of Indian opinion now realise that the British people mean what they say and will do their part, to carry it into effect. As to the second, I believe the facts as disclosed in the voluminous Command Papers (White Papers), which I hope to make more clear, speak for themselves.

TALKS AT SIMLA

"We began by getting into direct personal contact, orally and by correspondence, with the most representative men and women in India, not only of the great Indian parties and from the States, but also of other sections and minorities in British India. Their views profoundly influenced us in forming our opinion as to the best way to approach the problem.

"The main difficulty lay in the fact that not only were the major parties differing in their views of the future constitutional structure of India, but this divergence prevented them from agreeing on a constitution-making machinery. The Congress wanted a single constitution-making body, while the Muslim League wanted two separate constitution-making bodies—one for Hindusthan and one for Pakistan.

"After considerable discussion with them separately, we decided to invite them both to send four representatives each to meet us together at Simla and consider a proposal for forming a constitution on a three-tier basis. This they agreed to do while reserving complete freedom of comment and action. The Simla talks were marked by a very welcome spirit of accommodation shown by both parties and, although a final agreement was not reached, the talks ended amicably and sufficient progress had been made to justify us in putting out a statement on May 16 which, we believed, was sufficiently near to the views of both parties to be likely of acceptance.

"That statement did not purport to lay down a constitution for India. This was a matter only for Indians. What we did was to put forward the three-tier suggestion and offer it as a basis for the constitution-making machinery. The three-tier basis is nothing more than our recommendation to the Indian peoples, but on the basis of these proposals we were asking the parties to join in the formation of a Constituent Assembly. But it was necessary to stipulate that the provisions should not be altered without a majority of the two major communities. In paragraph 18, we gave our reasons for taking a population-basis for the allocation of seats on the Constituent Assembly and this method has met with general approval.

"In paragraph 14, we dealt with the question of the Indian States. We had discussions with the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the Nawab of Bhopal, and were very impressed with the helpful and co-operative attitude they adopted throughout and to that attitude can be attributed much of the success of the solution of the problem of the Indian States.

"Our attitude to the States is expressed in paragraph 14 of the statement where we record their willingness to co-operate and also their helpful attitude as to the winding up of Paramountcy relationship. This matter was further elaborated in the memorandum handed by us to the Chancellor. The views of the States for whom the Chancellor is responsible are given in Command 6862, Document Four. It will be seen that a Negotiating Committee has been set up to arrange for the participation of the States in the constitution-making body.

"The May 16 statement as a whole had an excellent reception, though there were points in it that were criticised on many sides. Neither of the major parties could achieve their whole objects, though it presented a practicable and flexible compromise and we hoped they might both accept it.

"After issuing that statement, there followed another period when all the parties in India were discussing among themselves our proposal and weighing up the pros and cons in minute detail as it affected their own principles and the principles of their particular sections.

ACCEPTANCE OF PLAN BY CONGRESS & LEAGUE

"There were also verbal exchanges between them and ourselves as to the Constituent Assembly, as will be seen in some of the earlier letters published and from the statement issued by the Mission on May 25. On June 6, the All-India Muslim League Council passed a resolution which, while critical of the contents of our statement of May 16, particularly on the issue of Pakistan, and while reserving opinion on those points, definitely accepted the scheme put forward by the Mission. This was a great step forward and I pay tribute to the courage and statesmanship of Mr. Jinnah that, in advance of the Congress, he should have advocated in his Council and carried through that body acceptance of our proposals, which differed substantially from the views held until then and vigorously expressed by his followers.

"The Congress did not at that time come to any final decision but, if I may anticipate events, they, too, on June 26, in a resolution and in a letter to the Viceroy, while expressing their views on interpretation, announced their acceptance of the proposals set out in our statement of May 16.

"Thus, we have secured in the end the acceptance of both the major parties in India to these proposals. Nominations and elections to the constitution-making body have accordingly been proceeding in the present month and, from the news which reaches me, it would seem that some of the best human material in India are likely to be returned to take part in the deliberations. If my expectations in this respect are fulfilled, a most valuable start has been made in the creation of a constitutional structure for the future of India.

"Before leaving this, I would like to say a few words about some recent reports from India as to the intentions of the parties in joining the Constituent Assembly. We saw both parties shortly before we left and they stated to us quite categorically that it was their intention to go into the Assembly with the objective of making it work. They are, of course, at perfect liberty to advance their own views as to what should or should not be the basis of the future constitution. That is the purpose of the Constituent Assembly—to hammer out agreement from diverse opinions and plans. Likewise, they can put forward their views as to how the Assembly should conduct its business but, having regard to the statement of May 16 and the Constituent Assembly elected in accordance with it, they cannot, of course, go outside the terms of what has been agreed to. That would not be fair to the other parties who go in and it is on the basis of that agreed procedure that the British Government has said they will accept the conclusions of the Constituent Assembly.

"STATES FREE TO COME IN OR NOT"

"As to the States, they need have no anxiety since it is for them to decide freely to come in or not, as they choose. It is for that purpose that they have set up a Negotiating Committee and I am sure that that Committee will have the wisdom to work out an acceptable basis for their co-operation in the Assembly.

"It is on a free consensus of the many diverse elements of the Indian people that the success of the new constitution will depend.

INTERIM GOVT. ESSENTIAL

(Continued from Page 4)

Jinnah went to the meeting of the League Working Committee which passed the resolution accepting the scheme of June 16. Immediately Mr. Jinnah met the Committee of his interview with us. Mr. Jinnah seemed to think that the acceptance by Congress of the May 16 proposals had put him into a false position and that we should have gone on with the negotiations for an "Interim Government with the Muslim League alone."

It was then that we suggested to Mr. Jinnah that the Congress had not rejected the proposals as an acceptable arrangement, while at the same time suggesting informal consultation upon the formation of some other Interim Government which was willing to operate the plan of May 16. The "breakdown" now is that the Viceroy proceed to act on Paragraph 8 of the statement of June 16 after a very short delay.

FRESH NEGOTIATIONS FOR INTERIM GOVT.

"I must make it clear that during this short delay, purely protectively, an official announcement had been sent out that this is purely a temporary expedient to tide over the period until representative Government has been formed. No one desired an official Government, and any other solution was impossible.

"Only those who carried out the intensive negotiations can realise how exhausted all the participants were. It was essential to have a short interval of two or three and a half months of intensive work and so that the Muslim League could participate in the elections to the Constituent Assembly.

"Then would be the time for Congress to resume negotiations at the earliest practicable moment for a new and agreed pattern for the formation of an Interim Government. This will be a difficult task, but we hope that the fact that the constitution-making machinery has been launched will make both parties realise the absolute necessity for agreeing on the setting up of an Interim Government.

"This Interim Government does not purport to be any permanent structure. It was purely a device to enable India to carry on for the time being. It would, therefore, seem unnecessary for a new election on printed lines which would affect the long point of the interim arrangement. Both parties should, we feel, sink their communal differences and come together for the good of India in this difficult time and in the interests of the interim Government, which was so vital to her future welfare."

APPEAL TO SIKHS

"So far I have concentrated on the major parties," he continued. There was also the question and the representation that large proportion of the population other than the major parties in the provinces was entitled to very serious consideration. He had, he said, already met the Sikh representatives in the discussion they had had with the Indian leaders.

There was the question of the Sikhs. The difficulty was, he explained, the result of the geographical position of the Sikhs. Their population was about 6 million. Here the Muslims numbered 90 million and the Sikhs were not a geographical entity. Consideration must, however, be given to their claim and full consideration had been given to it by the Viceroy and himself. The most the Mission could do was as outlined in the White Paper. On a population basis, they had been given 4 out of 32 seats in the Punjab Cabinet. Their claim had been put up and considered by the Advisory Committee on Minorities. He appealed to the Sikhs to reconsider their attitude and their decision not to take part in the work that was now being done.

DEPRESSED CLASSES AND OTHER MINORITIES

There were two other claimants for representation with which he wished to deal. Mr. Jinnah had spoken to him about the Depressed Classes led by Dr. Ambedkar and said that they would like very full representation through the Congress-affiliated organisation. The Mission had interviewed the leaders of the Congress organisation and were convinced of their genuine desire to help the Depressed Classes. It was another matter on which the Advisory Committee on Minorities might reach some solution and he hoped that the Committee would be generous in their allocation of seats to minorities.

There was also the question of other minorities, namely the Christians and the Anglo-Indians whose representatives would, he understood, be interviewed by the Minorities Committee.

In the statement of May 25, the Mission had implied that the only provision of protection for minorities as one of the two matters on which the British Government required assurances before it would recommend Parliament to accede authority. They profoundly hoped that the matter would not be allowed to become controversial.

He went on to pay tribute to his Cabinet colleagues and the Viceroy whose resource, initiative, and wise judgment had been invaluable. Without them they could help they might not have got anywhere, he said. He also paid a tribute to the Indian Princes with whom they came into contact. Although they were not officially concerned, they were acutely controversial, their personal relationship was extremely cordial and friendly. And, though the Mission at times had felt a little impatient, they felt that they must in mind the tremendous importance of having the Princes on their side when think again, when they were considering a frame, work which would last, they hoped, for a long for centuries to come.

He was quite sure that the Lords would bear in mind the delicate state of the negotiations which were being carried on and that they would refrain from any remark that might cause harm. The work which he and his colleagues had been engaged on for three and a half months had been no light task and it was fraught with consequences of the greatest importance, not only to India and Britain, but to the world. If they had failed in the task to reach a real solution of some of the problems and helped their Indian friends in any way, he was very glad to have taken his part in this great work.

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS'S STATEMENT

LONDON, July 18.

Sir Stafford Cripps, in his statement in the House of Commons, said:

"The failure to reach an agreement is due purely to the fact that the circumstances of the present time are entirely different from those of 1942 or 1939. India has shared to the full in the political advance which is evident all over the world after the war and nowhere perhaps more than in the Far East. Pressures which were sufficiently in evidence during the war have since the war have become greatly accentuated and what might have been possible at a more leisurely speed of progress before the war would now be regarded as entirely inadequate.

"I have always personally believed that our best hope of maintaining the valued friendship and co-operation of the Indian people was to offer them their full and unfettered independence, to their own nation and to help them to the best of our ability to achieve their desires as rapidly as they quickly as possible. There is no doubt whatever that after any rate the first few months of this year, no other approach than this would have had any chance of success at all.

"When the Mission first arrived in New Delhi, the atmosphere for agreement between the parties was favourable, but the task of the highly-charged political atmosphere resulting from the elections which were still in progress in some of the provinces and a deep suspicion that somehow or other our object would be to delay and frustrate the hopes of Indian independence.

"The issue of 'one or two Indias' had been distinctly contested at the elections and the two major parties, the Congress and the Muslim League, had each of them almost swept the board in the Hindu and Muslim constituencies. To some extent, perhaps this outstanding success of the two major parties simplified the matter because the smaller parties had been relegated to the background by the electorate, but, on the other hand, it had, of course, reinforced both the major parties in their directly opposed policies.

"There was also the question of an Interim Influence and that was the weather. Summer in New Delhi is not the best place and time for negotiations; excessive heat and latterly, in June, dampness made it difficult for all parties to maintain that atmosphere of calm and patient deliberation which is so essential in dealing with such complex problems.

PRELIMINARY TALKS

"Perhaps the House will permit me in this association to pay a very real and sincere tribute to the noble Lord who presided over our Mission and whose calm, patient and determined conduct of the negotiations was

FORMATION OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Dealing with the negotiations for the creation of Interim Government, Mr. Pethick-Lawrence said: "I need hardly spell out that, during this interim period, it is most desirable, if possible, to get an Interim Government which is in the nature of a coalition and in which, at any rate, the two major parties are to be adequately represented. No agreement was reached at Simla on this point, or after our return to Delhi. A very strong point with the Congress was related to the composition and status of the Interim Government and the treatment of it by the Viceroy in consultation. The exception to parity between the two parties and attempts were made to meet this by forming an Interim Government on the basis of six Congress representatives—five Caste Hindus and one representative of the Scheduled Castes—five Muslims, and five others. Mr. Jinnah might possibly have agreed, but the Congress were not satisfied with this.

"We parted a complete deadlock and it seemed the only possible way to break it was for the Viceroy, in consultation with the Mission, to choose a suitable Interim Government on a basis that he thought including one from the Depressed Classes, five Muslims, one Sikh, two others, one a Parsi, another an Indian Christian. The Viceroy had had many tentative lists of names from both sides and these were largely used in this choice.

"Mr. Jinnah took up the position that he would wait the Congress decision before giving that of the Muslim League. The Congress were then confronted by the type of parity still remaining between the Muslim League and the Caste Hindus and on the matter concerning minority representation.

"But the Congress despite all difficulties, might have consented to the Government had there not been, unfortunately, a widely-published disclosure at this time letters written by Mr. Jinnah at that moment. The most important of the words contained in a sentence that the Muslim League would never accept the appointment of the Muslim by the Viceroy other than a Muslim League. Jinnah became of the view the Congress had suggested that they should be allowed to substitute a Muslim for one of their number, but this had been opposed by the Viceroy and Jinnah would have waived the suggestion, had it not been that a public challenge was made at this moment to their right to do so. The Congress had always insisted on the political character of their organisation and this is fully demonstrated by their nominations of personnel in the Provincial Assemblies—I mean political, as opposed to communal character.

LEAGUE'S MONOPOLY CLAIM NOT ACCEPTED

"It was made clear to Mr. Jinnah that neither the Viceroy nor we could accept his claim to a monopoly of Muslim appointments.

"We felt we could not at this stage accept the position of the Viceroy's plan. In the statement of June 16, we had laid down the course we should pursue in the event of both or either of the two major parties not being able to enter the Coalition Government on the basis proposed. If either opposed it the whole object of the coalition fell to the ground. In this event our statement of May 16 stated that the Viceroy would seek to form an Interim Government which would be as representative as possible of all those willing to accept the proposals of May 16.

"When the Congress ultimately came to their final decision to accept the May 16 arrangement, while unable to enter the Interim Government, they quite clearly implied that they would not let the Muslim League take interim in such a representative capacity. Their letter of June 25, received from the Congress President letter No. 31, we and Mr. Jinnah discussed the position, giving him a copy of the letter and informing him that the scheme of June 16 had fallen to the ground.

"Up to that moment, the Muslim League had arrived at no decision as to their attitude to the proposals of June 16 and they had adopted the line that they must await the Congress decision before they themselves decided. In view of the Congress decision, it was then too late for any decision of the Muslim League to be effective, Mr.

(Continued on Page 6)

so largely responsible for the results that we are able to report".

Speaking of the initial month of the negotiations and the formal interviews with all communities, sections and individuals, Sir Stafford said: "There was some criticism of the time we took, but I am convinced that only we were all convinced that they were well worth while and they certainly enabled us to appreciate the feelings and desires—vastly differing desires—of the very diverse population of 400 million people for whom representatives we were dealing."

Sir Stafford said that before leaving New Delhi for a four-day holiday in Kashmir the Mission indicated their hope that the two principal parties might come together for negotiation during their absence. He added: "Immediately upon our return, finding that nothing further had transpired, we set ourselves the task of bringing together the Muslim League and the Congress. We were determined not to lose any opportunity of reaching an agreement.

Apart from the difficulty in arriving at a common view as to the form of the Constituent Assembly and the composition of the Interim Government the position at the initial stages a wide difference of approach on the part of two parties was disclosed. Congress held strongly that the question of the Interim Government should first be settled after which a settlement as to the Constituent Assembly should follow. The Muslim League took the other view and were firm that they could not discuss the composition of the Interim Government until the longer-term question associated with the setting up of the Constituent Assembly machinery had been settled.

"It was not practicable to obtain a settlement of both questions simultaneously and we were willing to concede to them the chance of ultimate agreement upon the whole matter to the extent that the short-term question first and thereafter, immediately to tackle the problem of the Interim Government. It was on that basis that we proceeded. It, therefore became necessary to work first with the Congress, all main parties some basis upon which these parties would be prepared to enter into discussion of the long-term problem.

"Our difficulty here was that the Muslim League were committed up to the hilt to an independent, fully-sovereign Pakistan as a separate entity, while the Congress were equally strongly pledged to a United India though they had stated that they could not compel the people of any territory to be remain in an Indian Union against their declared will."

THE SIMLA CONFERENCE

"The second stage of our negotiations was therefore introduced at Simla by a further period of personal, interviews and conversations during which a basis was worked out for discussion and ultimately both parties while reaching it on the basis that were in no way bound expressed their willingness to meet in Simla to discuss the matter."

Sir Stafford then quoted the basis of the future constitutional arrangements for India—a Union Government dealing with Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications; two groups of provinces, one predominantly Hindu and the other predominantly Muslim, dealing with all other subjects which the provinces in the groups may subsequently decide to deal with in common; Provincial Governments to deal with all other subjects and have all residuary sovereign rights and communities to be entitled to compulsorily vague formula, worked out in conjunction with the leaders of the two parties that we were able to bring together to confer with us in Simla four representatives each from the Congress and the Muslim League. We were not over-optimistic regarding the final agreement on that standbut what we hoped for and, in fact, realised was a much nearer approach to a settlement which would narrow the gap between the two parties and so avoid the opportunities to put forward to them suggestions for bridging that gap.

Sir Stafford said that towards the end of the Simla Talks, the two sides produced written statements of their respective views which, he said, showed that both had moved very considerably from their original standpoints. Sir Stafford continued: "It was not possible to get the parties to agree with one another at Simla and so with that object in view meetings were arranged after a fortnight's adjournment and the Mission announced that they were returning to Delhi and put out a statement of its own views which had, in fact, been the basis for the introduction of a compromise at Simla, adapting it in the light of the discussions. On our return to New Delhi, we were able to finalise it quickly, so that it was issued on May 16.

"It is perhaps worth stating that—contrary to the suggestions which were made by some quarters in India—we had not gone out to India any cut and dried scheme. We went out with open minds since our object was not to impose a plan on India but to help Indians to agree on a plan amongst themselves. We did not desire in any way to interfere with the making of the future constitution of India, which was and is a matter entirely for Indians. On the other hand as we were asking the different communities to join in the forming of a constitution—making machine on a certain basis which we believed to conform to the greatest possible common measure of agreement between them, we had to offer each of them, if they so desired, the opportunity on that basis, if they so desired to withdraw from it.

"Therefore, if any of the Cabinet Ministers had gone for the future constitutional basis which was finally announced on May 16 as it has been christened—is nothing to be blamed for in addition to the Indian people."

Sir Stafford went on that basis that the Cabinet Mission was asking the parties to join in the formation of a new Constituent Assembly, it was necessary to stipulate that the representation should be divided into three parts, a majority of each of the two major communities, Muslims and others, with, we were advised, a section of the Congress to give a degree of representation to Muslims if they came in on the basis of our recommendations. (Cheers from Muslims).

Commenting on the part of the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16 giving their reasons for adopting the population-basis for the election to the Constituent Assembly Sir Safford said that this method had met with general acceptance.

PROTECTION FOR SMALLER MINORITIES

Of the special procedure for the extra protection of the minorities, Sir Stafford said: "To this, we attach great importance. A straight population-basis for the Constituent Assembly with election by single transferable vote would operate unfairly to the minorities, to some extent, losing their existing weightage in the provincial legislatures. It was wholly impracticable to extend the proportional system to the smaller minorities individually, because their numbers are too divided in the provinces. In the provinces that it, in practice, would have resulted in giving to the Sikhs a claiming any representation at all. We, therefore, took only three major communities—Muslim, Sikh and General. In the latter category, the Congress are, of course, the vast majority and, if—as in fact they are doing—they provide adequate opportunities for minority representatives to get elected, the minorities will be content to leave it by the arrangement.

"Despite this, we still felt that the minorities should have some special considerations, and we, therefore, made the negotiations that both the major parties were anxious to give adequate and fair treatment. We proposed, therefore, an Advisory Committee for each section as a way of Initiating recommendations—for minority protection which should consist mainly of minority representatives. We believe that this method is more likely to produce sound and fair results than the setting up of a minority in the Constituent Assembly which is the method that many of the minorities have been obtained for the minorities".

Sir Stafford said that the basis of settlement of May 16 sailed an excellent reception in India and, generally, we encountered there were points in it that were criticised on many sides. Nevertheless, the two major parties could achieve the whole of their objectives, we presented it as presented a practicable and flexible compromise which we hoped they would be willing to accept.

EFFORTS FOR INTERIM GOVT. FORMATION

Regarding the formation of an Interim Government, which the Mission regarded as a matter of great importance Sir Stafford said: "We stated then (May 16) and we still take up the position that a Coalition Government having full popular support in the Centre during the critical period—would go forward together. Moreover, it should be formed by May 31." He, however, pointed out, that the Congress was unlikely to accept the Mission plan until a solution had also been found for the short-term question of an Interim Government."

Sir Stafford said that the letters exchanged during the period of waiting, which was essential to allow the party leaders time to consult, showed a gradual elimination of areas of difficulty. This seemed almost inseparable to the parties in the first instance. He emphasised that the points of disagreement were few and the general degree of agreement very wide.

Of the All-India Muslim League's resolution of June 6, accepting the scheme put forward by the Mission, Sir Stafford said: "That was a great step forward and it must have required no little courage and determination on Mr. Jinnah's part in the light of the difficulties which he must have felt by expressed by his followers to support and carry that resolution through the Muslim League."

PROVINCES' RIGHT TO OPT OUT

Sir Stafford said that there were two main points in the Congress resolution disagreeing as to the statement of May 16. "The first so as to make it impossible for a province afterwards to opt out. We do not have expressed that somehow or other the new provincial constitutions might be so interpreted as to make it impossible for a province afterwards to opt out. We do not think that such a thing would be possible, but, if anything of that kind were to be attempted, it would be a clear breach of the basis understanding of the Mission.

Sir Stafford said that the question of constitution-making machinery and the provisional arrangements should have an opportunity of reaching agreement and the Congress on the desirability of forming "Groups" and upon the nature and extent of the powers subject to be dealt with by the Group. "If, when the pattern of a group ultimately emerges, any provinces desire to withdraw from the group because it is not satisfied, then it is at liberty to do so after the first general election under the new constitution when with, no doubt, a wider electorate than at present, a decision can be made a straight election issue.

"A LEAN VOTE"

"The second point which disturbed the Congress was as to the European vote. The Congress contended that it had not been laid down that the constitution was to be made, by Europeans. European representation is a lean vote in the matter. So far as sitting in the Constituent Assembly was concerned this seemed pretty clear and, while we were in India, the European Group in the Bengal Legislature—which is an important case in point—decided—clear decision neither to nominate nor to vote for any European. Since our departure they have gone further and have decided to take no part in the elections at all and the position has been done. I understand, by the European Group.

"That matter has, therefore been got out of the way but our decision but by the sensible and co-operative attitude of the Europeans themselves. We were throughout done their best to assist towards the working out of the new regime in India.

Sir Stafford Cripps continued: "Before I leave this matter of the Constituent Assembly I must mention one point in connection with the Statement of May 16 and of the meaning of the Constituent Assembly. Many representatives

HINDU - 20/7/46.

COMMONS DEBATE ON INDIA

CRIPPS'S REVIEW OF DELHI PARLEYS

CHURCHILL RAISES MINORITIES BOGEY

SPIRITED REPLY FROM ALEXANDER

LONDON, July 18.

The debate in the House of Commons on the Cabinet Mission's negotiations in India ended, to-day after Mr. A. V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty and one of the members of the Cabinet Mission, had replied for the Government. Dealing particularly with Mr. Churchill's criticism that the Cabinet Mission's scheme went beyond the Cripps offer of 1942 and that minorities' interests had to be safeguarded, Mr. Alexander said that events had travelled since 1942 and "if some attempt had not been made to get the agreement we have so far secured in India" there would have been an uprising and disturbances in India.

As regards the minorities, Mr. Alexander refuted the suggestion that all of them were outside the Congress. There were millions of them behind the Congress and his experience in the last three months showed that the majority of the Depressed Classes, for example, were with the Congress.

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS'S APPEAL

Sir Stafford Cripps in the course of his statement on the Cabinet Mission's work (earlier parts of which have already appeared in these columns) said that there could be no departure from the procedure laid down in the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16. He said:

"It is on the basis of that agreed procedure that the British Government have said they will accept the decision of the Constituent Assembly. As for the States, they need have no anxiety. It is for them to agree to come in or not as they choose. It is for that purpose they have set up a negotiating committee, and I am sure the Committee will have the wisdom to work out an acceptable basis of co-operation in the Constituent Assembly. It is upon the free consent of many diverse elements of the Indian people that the success of the new constitution will depend, and I am confident, from all that was said in India, that all parties appreciate that fundamental fact. A union cannot be forced. It must be by agreement, and it will be the task of the Constituent Assembly to attain that agreement which will be possible if majorities and minorities are tolerant and prepared to co-operate for the future of all India."

INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Regarding the Interim Government, Sir Stafford Cripps said that the Viceroy had started his discussions in Simla on the basis of five representatives of the Congress, five from the Muslim League and two representatives of the minorities. That basis was, to some extent, he said, influenced by the discussions which the Viceroy had conducted in Simla in 1945.

Sir Stafford added: "The Congress took strong exception to parity between the two parties, and parity at this stage became the foremost obstruction to progress. There are three possible forms of parity. First, between the Muslim League and the Congress on a party basis. Second, between Hindus and Muslims on a communal basis, and third, between Muslims and Hindus other than Scheduled Castes. We are aiming at a coalition of political parties, and so were concerned with the first form of parity between the Muslim League and the Congress.

"We sought to overcome the difficulty about this by adding a Congress representative of the Depressed Classes to their five representatives, thus making six Congress to five Muslim League, still retaining two other minority representatives one of whom would be a Sikh. This would have given an Interim Government of 13 in all and not 12 as originally suggested. This proposal Mr. Jinnah was prepared to put to his Committee and it would, I think, have been accepted by them, but the Congress was not satisfied with it. At this stage, we tried to get a meeting between Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Jinnah in the hope that at such a meeting, a compromise could be achieved, but that attempt proved abortive. There was, apparently, some misunderstanding by Mr. Jinnah as to the status of the original five-five-two proposal. This is shown by his letter of June 9, which makes it perfectly clear that no assurance was ever given upon this point. It was the basis of the negotiations upon which it was hoped that an agreement might be reached but nothing more happened."

Proceeding, Sir Stafford said: "We thus reached a complete deadlock and it seemed that the only possible way to break that deadlock was for the Viceroy—in consultation with the Mission—to choose a suitable Interim Government on a basis judged most likely to be acceptable to both parties in view of their expressed opinions and to make a statement publicly that he was going ahead on that basis. He so informed the parties, telling Mr. Jinnah that the Congress had not accepted the six-five-two basis. There resulted the second main statement of June 16, that proposed that a Government be built up on the basis of six Congress (including one from the Depressed Classes) five Muslim League, one Sikh and two others, a Parsi and an Indian Christian, thus making 14 in all. The Viceroy had had unofficial and tentative lists of names from both sides and these were largely used as a basis of selection of the 14 names. This ended the third state of the negotiations.

MR. JINNAH'S ATTITUDE

"On this occasion, Mr. Jinnah took up the position verbally that he would await the Congress decision before giving that of the Muslim League. The Congress were very much troubled by the type of parity that still remained between the Muslims and the Hindus other than the Scheduled Castes and also by the inclusion of Sir N. P. Engineer, not because of his personal qualifications which they admitted were of the highest, but because they considered that he was holding an official post which they thought gave him an official, rather than a representative character. The major problem, however, was still that of parity. It might have been that, despite all difficulties, the Congress would have consented to this arrangement had not there been unfortunate and widely published disclosure of certain letters written by Mr. Jinnah at this precise moment. The most important of these was that which contained the following sentence: 'The Muslim League would never accept the nomination of any Muslim by you (that was the Viceroy) other than a Muslim Leaguer.'"

This at once became a major issue. The Congress were in fact considering the possibility of asking for substitution of one of their Hindus by a Muslim in order to get over the parity difficulty. They might, perhaps, have waived this suggestion of nominating a Muslim had it not been that public challenge was at this moment made to their right to do so.

"The Congress, have, of course, always insisted upon the non-communal nature of their organisation, and they have fully demonstrated this fact by their nomination of personnel to those Provincial Governments in which they have a large majority. It was made perfectly clear to Mr Jinnah on more than one occasion that neither the Viceroy nor the Mission would accept his claim to a monopoly of the Muslim appointments, though the Muslim League were, certainly, to be regarded as the major representative of the Muslim interests."

Sir Stafford Cripps said that in the statement of June 16, the Cabinet had laid down a course which it should pursue in the event of both or either of the two major parties being unable to accept a Coalition Government on the basis there laid down.

"If either of the parties did not accept the scheme of June 16 the whole basis of the proposed coalition fell to the ground, but we desired to protect any who had agreed to co-operate in the Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of May 16. Upto June 16 this indicated the Muslim League only, as neither the Congress nor the Sikhs had upto that time given any decision. They decided, I am glad to say, to accept the statement of May 16 while unfortunately rejecting the Interim Government proposed for reasons I have already

ALEXANDER—CHURCHILL EXCHANGES

Winding up the debate, Mr. Albert Alexander, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the third member of the Cabinet Mission, said: "Mr. Churchill has really suggested that we have taken almost a revolutionary departure from the offer of 1942 in that we have not merely offered Dominion Status but independent status. Who suggests that it is a departure from 1942?"

Mr. Churchill: I do. The offer of 1942 implied the setting up of Dominion Status first.

Mr. Alexander: That is really splitting hairs.

Mr. Churchill: If you say "Take independence now", that is what they are going to take. Don't blind yourselves to the situation. There will be no hesitation on the part of those with whom you are dealing.

Mr. Alexander said: "If we approach the situation to-day entirely from the viewpoint of 1942 we would have come back with the same failure." He regretted hearing Mr. Churchill speak as if the British offer in 1942 was made only because the enemy was at the gates. "We offer India independence and freedom because it is our own birthright and because it is the birthright we desire to accord to men and women in all parts of the world."

The whole British nation wished India nothing but good and desired that India should become a great power for good for all people in the world.

The debate then concluded.

There was no question of a vote.

stated. This acceptance of the statement of May 16 was an act of statesmanship on their part, as it enabled progress to be made towards working out a new constitution.

"Immediately we received the letter from the Congress, we saw Mr. Jinnah and told him the position, giving him a copy of the letter and informing him that the scheme of June 16 had fallen to the ground since the Congress had turned it down. This was confirmed the same evening. Up to that moment the Muslim League had arrived at no decision as to their attitude to the proposal of June 16. As I have already pointed out they had adopted a line that they must await the Congress decision before themselves deciding. Mr. Jinnah went straight from his meeting with us to his Working Committee who passed a resolution accepting the scheme of June 16. Presumably, Mr. Jinnah told his Working Committee what had passed at the interview, though he does not make this clear in his letter.

"Mr. Jinnah seemed to think that acceptance by the Congress of the statement of June 16 had put him into a false position and that we should have proceeded forthwith to the formation of an Interim Government with the Muslim League alone.

"It is easy to realise the disappointment of Mr Jinnah that the Congress had not accepted what apparently seemed to him an acceptable arrangement of June 16 for a Coalition Government being set up, while at the same time, qualifying themselves for consultation upon the formation of some other Interim Government by agreeing to operate the plan of May 16. Mr. Jinnah was anxious to enter the Coalition Government as laid down in the statement of June 16, but as paragraph eight of that statement made the setting up of such a Government dependent upon acceptance by both parties, it was impossible to proceed upon that basis when one party—and the major party—had stated its unwillingness to accept".

Replying here to an interjected inquiry by Mr. Richard Butler (Conservative) as to the meaning of paragraph 8 in the statement of June 16, Sir Stafford Cripps said: "If either the Congress or the Muslim League would not consent to come into the Coalition Government, then the scheme for the Coalition Government went because it would no longer be a coalition and we should have to find some other interim government of those who accepted the scheme of May 16."

CARE-TAKER GOVERNMENT

Sir Stafford continuing said: "The situation now, is that the Viceroy will proceed to act under paragaph 8 of the statement of June 16. There had been quite understandable criticism of the fact that a purely temporary official Government has been set up in the meantime. It was admittedly necessary to take some immediate steps as regards the Viceroy's Executive as a number of its members had resigned, some of them having returned to this country.

"There were only two possible alternatives, either to proceed at once with fresh negotiations with the two major parties, or else to appoint a purely transitional government until such time as further negotiations could take place.

"For the purpose of such a transitional government the only practical method was to set up a purely official care-taker government, and as the House knows that is what has been done, and that Government is now functioning. I must make it clear that this is a purely temporary expedient to tide over time until a representative Interim Government can be formed.

"The deciding factor in the choice between the two alternatives was purely a practical one. No one desired an official government had any other solution been possible. Only those who have carried through the intensive negotiations during the summer months in New Delhi can realise how exhausted all participants were.

"It was essential that there should be a pause after three and a half months of intense work, and this necessity was further emphasised by the fact that all the members of the Congress Working Committee had to leave for the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Bombay on July 8 and that all parties wished to participate in the elections to the Constituent Assembly.

"I must here pay a tribute to the amazing way in which the Viceroy carried the great load of these negotiations throughout all these months (cheers) during which he had the task of carrying on all his many day to day duties in the Government of India as well.

"It is not surprising that he too was feeling tired and needed a period of comparative rest. So it was that this purely temporary expedient was adopted.

"The next step which will come very shortly will be for the Viceroy to resume negotiations at the earliest practical moment with the two major parties for the formation of an Interim Government.

"This will admittedly be a difficult task, but we hope that the fact that the constitution-making machinery is being now at last launched, will make both the parties realise the absolute necessity for a compromise on the question of the Interim Government. This Government is no part of any permanent structure in India. It is purely a provisional Government to carry on until such time as the new constitution comes into operation and it would, therefore, seem inappropriate for either party to delay its formation by insisting upon principles which for a purely temporary purpose will have no influence upon their future position.

"Members of the Mission would wish to appeal to all those on both sides in India with whom they developed such truly friendly relations during their stay in India, to put aside for this purpose their keen communal and party feelings and to come together for the good of all India in this difficult time when an efficient and representative Government is so vital to her future welfare.

THE STATES

"So far, I have, of necessity, concentrated upon the position of the two major parties, but although these represent a large proportion of the total population of British India, there are other important elements which are entitled to the fullest consideration.

"First, perhaps, I might deal with that large section of Indian territory and population which comes within the Indian States.

"The House will be familiar with our relationship with the Indian States, described by the word, Paramountcy.

"We have had a series of very interesting talks with the representatives of the Princes and some of the leading States' Ministers as well as a good deal of correspondence, and we were most impressed by the co-operative attitude which they adopted throughout. The Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, was very helpful and will, I am sure, contribute much to a solution of the problems of the Indian States.

"The States are willing and anxious to co-operate and to bring their own constitutions into such conformity with those of British India to make it possible for them to enter the Federal Union.

There will, of course, have to be close negotiations between the Negotiating Committee which the States have set up and the major British Indian parties both as to the representation of the States in the Constituent Assembly and as to their ultimate position in the Union.

"If the same reasonable temper continues to be shown about these matters as was the case while we were in India, we may well hope that accommodation will be arrived at which will enable all India to come within the Union set up by the constitution-making machinery.

THE SIKHS

"I now pass to the question of the Sikhs. It was a matter of great distress to us that the Sikhs should feel that they had not received the treatment which they deserved as an important section of the Indian people.

"The difficulty arises—not from anyone's under-estimate of the importance of the Sikh community—but from the inescapable geographical facts of the situation.

"What the Sikhs demand is some special treatment analogous to that given to the Muslims. The Sikhs, however, are a much smaller community, five and a half against ninety millions, and are not geographically situated so that any area as yet desired—I do not put it out of possibility that one may be devised—can be carved out in which they would find themselves in a majority.

It is, however, essential that the fullest consideration should be given to their claims for they are a distinct and important community, and this we have done. But on the population basis adopted, they would lose their weightage and consequently have only four out of a total of twenty-eight seats in the Punjab, or out of thirty-five in the north-western section.

"This situation will to some extent, we hope, be remedied by their full representation in the advisory committee on minorities set up under paragraph 20 of the statement of May 16.

"Over and above that, we have represented to the two main parties—who were both most receptive—that some special means of giving the Sikhs a strong voice in the affairs of the Punjab and the north-western section should be devised. I feel most hopeful that if only our Sikh friends will maintain a single and undivided view among themselves and are patient, they will find their position is generally recognised and that they will be able with the two main parties to work out some satisfactory arrangement.

DEPRESSED CLASSES

"I now come to the third element outside the two major parties—the Depressed Classes.

"The difficulty that arises here is that there are two claimants to represent this large body of Indians.

"One is identified with the name of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar who has fought so strenuously for the rights of the Depressed Classes, and the other which works in close association with the Congress.

"Dr. Ambedkar's organisation is somewhat more local in its character, being mainly centred in Bombay and the Central Provinces; the Congress-affiliated organisation is spread widely over the whole country.

"We naturally considered with great care as to what could be done to obtain representation for both organisations in accordance with their popular support in the country.

"The House will remember that the electoral basis for the Depressed Classes representatives is what is known as the Poona Pact, agreed to under pressure by Dr. Ambedkar, which lays down a most complicated system of election, in which there are primary elections by the Depressed Classes electors alone, in which four candidates are chosen from which subsequently in the second election one is chosen by the general electorate.

"Whether this is a good or bad system it is one to which the parties agreed and which is in operation and as a result of it, at least in the provincial elections the Congress made practically a clean sweep of the whole Depressed Classes constituencies.

"That is a fact and as it was almost universally agreed that members of the provincial legislative assemblies formed the only possible electorate for the Constituent Assembly, it was not possible, even had we desired to do so, to arrange for Dr. Ambedkar's organisation to have any special right of election to the Constituent Assembly. It had failed in the elections and we could not artificially restore its position. The Depressed Classes will, of course, have their full representation through the Congress-affiliated organisation. We interviewed leaders of that organisation and were convinced of their very genuine and strong desire to support the case of the Depressed Classes.

"Here again, however, the Advisory Committee on Minorities can provide an opportunity for reasonable representation of both organisations and we hope very much that the majority of the Constituent Assembly in setting up that advisory commitee, will be generous in their allocation of seats to all minorities, but particularly to minority organisations which though they have a considerable following in the country, have little or no representation in the Constituent Assembly itself.

"Other minorities, though of course each important in their own field, do not, I think, raise any major questions with which I need here deal. They will all, we hope, be fully represented on the advisory committee.

TRIBAL AREAS

"I should perhaps draw the attention of the House to one other matter in this respect. Members will observe that in paragraph 20 of the statement of May 16, we deal not only with the rights of citizens (fundamental rights) and the minorities but also with Tribal and Excluded Areas. Here again it was impossible to arrange for any worthwhile representation for these particular interests in the Constituent Assembly and in consequence we felt that having regard to the very special nature of the problems raised, it was far better for them to be dealt with by a more specialised body. We hope that the advisory committee will appoint small committees of specialists to deal with these matters in various areas so that the Constituent Assembly may have the best possible advice before it comes to any decisions.

"I have attempted in what, I fear, is rather a long review of our negotiations to cover some of the major points. I hope that members will not think that because I have omitted to mention them, there were not a mass of other matters to which we gave most careful attention. We met daily, including Sundays, and often two or three times a day so that we might consult fully upon every point that arose and, despite the heat and long hours, I can, I am sure, say on behalf of myself and my colleagues that we were a most cohesive and good tempered team and we certainly did not shirk any single issue that was brought to our attention.

"Before coming to a short summing up of the situation as I now see it, I want to pay a sincere tribute to all those with whom we negotiated. It would be invidious to mention names but I am convinced that every single person with whom we dealt was genuinely anxious for a solution of these most difficult problems.

"They each rightly pressed and pressed very strongly the particular views of their community or party, but also they, one and all, made very considerable compromises which were especially difficult in view of the very pronounced election propaganda-period which had immediately preceded our visit.

"We are most grateful to them for their contribution as well as for the very friendly and helpful way in which they received and entertained us in their country.

"We were sent to India to try and work out with Indian parties a way of completing the structure of Indian independence which has long been planned and contemplated. Every step that had been taken before and since the first World War has been in that direction, but so far it has not been possible to bring to full fruition the plans and promises that had been made.

"There is no doubt that at the time of our arrival in India, there was a universal and dangerous spirit of frustration and disillusionment. The first great step to clear away this form of doubt and hesitation was taken when the Prime Minister made his speech in this House on March 15 last.

"That speech which was accorded a friendly reception from every quarter of the House and by all the British Press had a profound effect in India. We quoted some of the more important passages from it in the opening paragraph of our statement of May 16 that we tried to build.

"In this statement of Government policy the Prime Minister in one respect and in one respect only went further than any British Government had gone before.

THE OFFER OF 1942

"In the offer of 1942, India was promised the position of a Dominion and it was then expressly stated on instructions from the Coalition Government that should India so desire to do, once she had achieved her independence, she would be free to go out of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

"Since 1942 conditions have changed.

"What was then rejected would have been one hundred times more certain of rejection in 1946. The one hope of a peaceful and friendly change of sovereignty was to offer Indians their complete and unqualifying independence, whether within or without the British Commonwealth. In that way alone was there a hope of retaining their friendship and ultimate co-operation.

"It was largely this change in approach, announced by the Prime Minister on March 15, that made it possible for our Mission to make headway towards settlement. Without it our visit to India would have been pointless and fruitless.

"When we left India there had undoubtedly been a change of atmosphere. There was trust in the sincerity of the British Government which had formerly been absent and a desire and willingness for co-operation in the solution of India's problems.

"That is the first positive gain, and is something which, we believe, augurs well for our future relationship with an independent India, whether she chooses to remain within or to go without the British Commonwealth.

"Second, we have negotiated an agreement between the main Indian parties and acceptable to the Indian States, which provides a machinery for working out a new constitution. It is not our task to make that machinery work. We must now stand aside always ready and anxious to help if we are wanted but determined not to interfere.

"No one would be so foolish as to imagine that the course of constitution-making will be a smooth one. The principal parties will not give up their deeply-held convictions at the moment. But we have succeeded in doing what, it has often been suggested, was necessary. We have negotiated the means of bringing the representatives of the Indian people together—without our presence—to settle for themselves their own exceedingly difficult problems.

"We believe that given the accommodation which both sides have shown in agreeing to the plan, it will not be impossible to work out a solution of the many problems that confront the Constituent Assembly.

"One factor is certainly encouraging and that is that all parties are trying to get the very best persons elected to the Constituent Assembly, including many who are not party men at all.

"There is every hope that that body, when elected, will represent the views of nearly every element of Indian life including, of course, the minorities, although it is regretable that the Sikhs have recently withdrawn their co-operation.

COMMONS DEBATE ON INDIA

(Continued from Page 4)

"Unfortunately, we did not succeed in accomplishing the second task which we regard as of great importance—that of the setting up of a representative Interim Government.

"We did not fail because of any difficulty between the Viceroy or the British Government and Indians. We have failed because so far we have not been able to devise the composition of a government acceptable to both parties.

"In the ultimate stages the issue came down to very narrow one upon which neither party was prepared to give way—whether the Congress could nominate a Muslim as one of their representatives in the Interim Government.

"It would obviously be undesirable to comment on that situation which is the one with which the Viceroy will have to deal in the forthcoming negotiations, nor as I am sure, the House fully realises would it be helpful if the members were to canvass one or the other of the contentions put forward. On both sides convictions are honestly held and both parties attach great importance to this issue.

"There can be no doubt in any of our minds that the course of the Constituent Assembly will run more smoothly if a representative Government can be set up at the Centre, nor have we any doubt whatever that the circumstances of India demand the setting up of such a Government as an urgent matter.

"Both the major parties equally agree that a Coalition Government is highly desirable and indeed necessary. After a short respite from negotiations, we hope that both the parties may find the way out of this dilemma, for no one can contemplate with any equanimity the breakdown of progress to Indian independence, because of the method of allocating a single seat in the Interim Government."

"The magnitude of what we are trying to accomplish cannot be overestimated. It is nothing less than the transfer by peaceful means of sovereignty to over four hundred million people situated in many diverse territories of differing religions and different races.

"To achieve such an aim would be to revitalise the faith of the world in peaceful methods and human reasonableness. Success, though not yet by any means certain, is within the grasp of ourselves and our Indian friends, and we may hope that in this realisation, the remaining difficulties may be overcome.

"There is one thing of which I feel certain, that every person in this House and this country will desire their most heartfelt wishes for success to be conveyed to those representatives of the Indian people who will shortly be meeting in the Constituent Assembly.

"May God bless their labours and may they achieve for India upon a sound and lasting basis that freedom for which her people long."

Sir Stafford spoke for six hours and ten minutes.

THE DEBATE

MR. CHURCHILL'S CRITICISM

Mr. Winston Churchill, who followed Sir Stafford Cripps, said that everyone was glad to see his health restored. The House had been anxious about him when he was in India, because these "long, intense, and soul-searing conferences" with Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Nehru, accompanied by the exceptional heat of the Indian summer, might have imposed a very severe strain on him.

Declaring that, after the Parliamentary recess, there would be a full debate, Mr. Churchill said that all he wished to do now was to put on record some of the principal divergences which separated them, while recognising the point to which they were all committed. "We are all committed to the offer made at the time of the Cripps Mission in the Spring of 1942".

"1942 OFFER MADE IN DAYS OF PERIL"

"That offer was made at a moment when the Japanese held full naval command of the Bay of Bengal and it seemed that India might be invaded and ravaged by a large Japanese army. As Prime Minister, I take my full share of the responsibility for making the offer of 1942. Those days of peril are gone, although we received no assistance from the Congress Party of India. Their attitude throughout the war was one of non-co-operation, in spite of which two million or more Indians volunteered to fight for the cause of freedom. The Congress Party gave us no assistance. On the contrary, they did us the utmost injury in their power".

Mr. Cove (Labour): "What did the Muslim League do?"

Mr. Churchill: ""The Muslim League did not give active co-operation as a League, but the Punjab States produced upwards of 800,000 volunteers. The remarkable thing is that political parties did not at all sway the action of the Indian millions.

Millions volunteered and millions assisted us, all without the co-operation of the political parties. The people with whom the Government are dealing had no means of controlling the enthusiasm and loyalty of their people.

"Nevertheless, although we got no assistance, we declared that the offer which we had made should stand. The present Government had therefore sought our agreement and support in sending out a mission of Cabinet Ministers who have just returned after an arduous experience.

"Instructions given to the Mission, however, went needlessly beyond those which governed the war-time Cripps Mission of 1942.

"The Coalition Government offer was of Dominion Status. Dominion Status includes, of course, the clause in the Statute of Westminster which confers the right of secession in the last resort, from the British Commonwealth of Nations.

OFFER OF INDEPENDENCE OBJECTED TO

"The present Government went beyond the offer of 1942. They instructed their delegates to offer full independence directly instead of Dominion Status which left the final decision to a fully constituted Dominion of India after they could see how they got on and how their general situation lay. The result, so far as I can see it, which is now put before us, is the immediate independence of India and severance of all constitutional ties uniting our former Indian Empire to the British Commonwealth of Nations. I wish to register my dissent from this short-circuiting of the original offer.

"I consider this short-circuiting or telescoping of the normal procedure, upon which both parties agreed, does not give the best chance to hope for a peaceful solution of the Indian problem. Having regard to the elements in India to which the Home Government mainly addressed themselves, it prejudiced, in an adverse sense, the case of whether the vast sub-continent of India, with its population of 400 million, should remain, of its own free will, within the Commonwealth of nations. The Government had the power to make this change. Theirs is the responsibility for making it. Secondly, the offer of 1942 was conditional upon agreement being reached among the principal forces and parties in the life of India.

"This has certainly not been achieved. The Mission proceeded themselves to shape the outlines of a settlement and they endeavoured as far as possible to induce all the elements concerned to agree to it as a working basis. Again, I do not see the right of the Government to take this action. I am only anxious to make it clear in this respect also that as on the question of agreement, the Government have gone beyond any position to which I and my colleagues in the National Coalition Government were committed by the offer of 1942".

CRIPPS CONTRADICTS STATEMENT

Sir Stafford Cripps, intervening: "Surely, Mr. Churchill will agree that I had precisely the same job to do in 1942. I took the scheme which the Government agreed to and tried to get the two parties to agree to it."

Mr. Churchill: "You took out a different scheme".

Sir Stafford Cripps: "Mr. Churchill is not quite accurate. What he was saying was that we ought not to impose some settlement and that it should have been a condition that both the parties agreed to it; that it was something we imposed upon them. In 1942, under the Churchill Government a scheme was got out by the Cabinet and was sent out and my object then was to try to get both the parties to agree to it."

Mr. Churchill continued: "He has not got both parties to agree; They are in most violent disagreement and their passion is mounting day by day. In the second place the scheme Sir Stafford Cripps took out was a different one. In the first place, that scheme did not commend itself to those to whom he addressed himself and he took positive action of trying to solve the Indian problem for Indians, instead of leaving it for the Indians to solve or not to solve. I do not say he was wrong. But, in 1942, he had

no authorisation to attempt to make a separate declaration, apart from any views built up between the Indians. I am not making a complaint of this against Sir Stafford Cripps. I say it is different from the proposals agreed to.

"OBLIGATION TO MINORITIES"

"There is a further point of great importance, namely, the faithful discharge of our obligations, contracted over so many years and confirmed by so many British Governments to the various minorities in India. It was sorry that the Prime Minister in his speech of March 18, should have spoken in a somewhat adverse or contemptuous way of the rights of the minorities because protection of these fundamental rights affects our duty and the discharge of pledges which we have so often given".

Mr. Churchill said that the minorities in India were very considerable. There were 40 to 60 million of Depressed Classes who were concerned by the lack of the representation which they were to receive in the Constituent Assembly. "I have received the most clamant and painful appeals from the leaders of these great communities and I discussed them with my colleagues in opposition. When one speaks of a community as large as sixty millions the word minority loses much of its significance. Such immense masses of human beings deserve to be treated with respect and consideration positively and not relatively, even if there are other still larger masses who receive a different view. After all, in these islands we have only 45 million inhabitants and than the Depressed Classes of India—but we should be sorry to be just out of a minority of Europe and have our way of life ordered for us by the vote of a majority.

When the issue also concerns the fundamental rights of these minorities, a pledge in regard to them requires the most scrupulous attention. We are dealing with them at the moment when it hands over these masses with their fate and their interests to another system of government.

"That is a point which I think we will not find to be one of difference in principle though there may be differences in emphasis.

"Then there are the Muslims who number about 90,000,000 and who make up so large a proportion of the Muslim race of India. There is no doubt that there is complete lack of agreement as to the future as times between the two principal communities.

"The Mission have laboured hard and they have dealt patiently with the views of communities allowing many other valuable and gallant forces who have fought for India, also to fall back on the background.

"The gulf between these two communities was never more wide than it is at the present moment. The outlook is very grave. Acceptance by the martial races of the final settlement which we hope for, will leave India is indispensable to future peace.

Among the elements which go to make up India we have the Indian States, bound together compact with the Crown.

The position of these States has been fixed by solemn treaties made with their Rulers. It is proposed to override these treaties and the principle of paramountcy.

Mr. Churchill added it was proposed to abolish the principle of paramountcy to whatever new central government may set up in India.

"If all the minorities are added together they constitute among them much more than half of the inhabitants of India. It is right to say that so far as I understand the position, the British Government have not renounced the principle of their discharge of their responsibility towards the minorities in India which aggregate at least 225,000,000 out of 400,000,000.

The attitude of the Mission and the Government on this point was expressed in a single sentence of the plan they put before the representatives of India with whom they dealt.

This sentence declared that when the Constituent Assembly was formed, the British Government would recommend to Parliament such action as might be necessary for cession of sovereignty of the Indian people subject only to two provisos which were believed not to be controversial—namely adequate protection for the minorities and willingness to conclude a treaty on matters arising out of transfer of power.

"This seems to be a some what light and almost casual manner of treating this responsibility extending to an appreciable part of the human race and touching those fundamental rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness which we have regarded as the birthright of every human being.

arrangements which are being made for the Constituent Assembly and any treaty which may be concluded between it and the Crown and Parliament, to assure the future of India as a sovereign, independent Government of India, to whom will be entrusted the honourable discharge of our obligations.

"I hope that we all agree on that point. A bill or perhaps several bills will have to be presented to Parliament and they will have to pass through all their stages and that is the time when the final decision will have to be taken. Nothing must be agreed on by us in the process of the transference of sovereignty which will be any departure from the principle mentioned.

A great part of the Mission's work in India was devoted to a vain attempt to form a coalition cabinet acceptable alike to Moslems and Caste Hindus. The failure of the Mission in this respect has led to temporary reversion to the government of well tried and experienced officials. For the moment, Indian affairs have turned the full circle and we are back where we started.

Mr. Churchill quoted the terms of Paragraph 8 and continued, "The Muslim League agreed to enter this coalition government and, when Mr Jinnah and Congress members refused and it broke down on a point of procedure, I understand the Muslim League made a violent complaint.

Sir Stafford Cripps interjecting said: "As to the timing, Mr. Churchill had said that the Muslim League had agreed to that that Congress had refused. The Congress had refused because it was premature at any decision and they knew, before they arrived at a decision, what the Muslim League attitude would be, because already the scheme had broken down.

Mr. Churchill, continuing, said: "I am not making accusations against Government. The General Secretary of the Muslim League has given us to understand that, unless the situation is clarified, it would be suicidal for them to enter the Council of the Constituent Assembly. All this raises a most formidable issue. It is a grave threat to India know well that agreement or opposition on the Muslim-Hindu issue will affect the whole foundation of the Constitution. One method remplate British troops being used to crush the Muslims in the interests of the Caste Hindus. Whatever our responsibilities may be and whatever may be the appointed day when we will quit India, we must not make ourselves liable to be used by Government or a particular sectional Government in the event of a civil armed force and modern weapons another community which, although numerically inferior, is numbered at 90 millions.

"Having put these propositions and facts on record and being well aware of all the difficulties and dangers, I express no judgment of the steps which the Government propose to make, on their side of the House, are content that further discussions should stand over till the Government has full opportunity for entering on the merits of the various aspects of this problem as will be given and when we shall possess fuller knowledge than we have now. Meanwhile, all at work in India in that it is possible to have at the present time."

SIR STANLEY REED

Sir Stanley Reed (Conservative) said that he presumed that Mr. Churchill had spoken for his own party and not for the Opposition benches. Sir Stanley added: "I speak with for myself alone. I think that the agreement of a considerable number of the members here will be with me. I hope they will.

They were faced. Sir Stanley said, with one of the greatest events in the history of the human race—the transfer of power and authority from the British people in India for over a century and a half in a manner which had done immense work for that Indian people in the world. He welcomed this wise and courageous speech which the Prime Minister had made when the Cabinet Mission was going to India and paid a tribute to the wisdom, statesmanship, patience and endurance of those three colleagues of his who went to India.

He said he had looked forward for the last four years to the time when India would enter the British Commonwealth as a free nation. He welcomed the preferred independence in a Treaty of Partition with Great Britain. He would not allow that standing in the way of full recognition. Here was the choice and here was the freedom. "Let us accept that confidently and wholeheartedly however much we could welcome her association in the Commonwealth as a free and independent partner."

Sir Stanley Reed said the setting up of a Constituent Assembly was the only way of placing squarely on the shoulders of the Indian people the responsibility of framing their own constitution and giving them a collective means of carrying it out.

Attitude of the Mission and the Government on this point was expressed in a single sentence of the plan they put before the representatives of India with whom they dealt.

This sentence declared that when the Constituent Assembly was formed, the British Government would recommend to Parliament such action as might be necessary for cession of sovereignty of the Indian people subject only to two provisos which were believed not to be controversial—namely adequate protection for the minorities and willingness to conclude a treaty on matters arising out of transfer of power.

"This seems to be a some what light and almost casual manner of treating this responsibility extending to an appreciable part of the human race and touching those fundamental rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness which we have regarded as the birthright of every human being.

MR. W. G. COVE

Mr. W. G. Cove (Labour) congratulated Sir Stanley Reed on his speech and contrasted it with that of Mr. Churchill. He said, with all respect, that the "war past and whom he described as an eminent historian" was not the man he believed from Mr. Churchill's speech that Mr. Churchill desired to see in charge of India, and thought that the speech was deliberately designed to provoke strife among the minorities in order that the path to Indepen-Dinia might be rendered more difficult. Mr. Churchill's speech would be regarded in certain quarters as a mischievous speech intended to prevent progress, and he hoped it would be withdrawn. In this country.

"The plan is very resilient which is not only with the position in India, but particularly with that of Britain in the realm of world politics," Mr. Cove said. Britain could not afford to offend millions. The plan did recognise their position throughout the Middle and East, and down to the Far East. He hoped the minorities would be so safeguarded as to prevent the voice of the majority having its rule in India. There was the danger of over-obsession with the rights of minorities which might yet spell disaster to a settlement.

He asked whether entry into the groups would be free or compulsory. Was the Constituent Assembly to be free or not free of the governing party and would it have full rights of sovereignty?

"CONGRESS HAS MADE EVERY SACRIFICE"

There has been great stimulation with regard to communal difficulties. The Congress had made every sacrifice to meet the present situation and could not give up one colour bar. Every Indian knew that they would not brook any electoral register based upon communal principles to interfere with their rights.

He hoped, having regard to the fact that the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah had achieved a great deal in the present stage, that was their legitimate right, that the League would enter the Council as the best means of interests in this country to destroy any hope of succession.

Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, Conservative member for the Farnham Division of Surrey, which recently visited India, said that the Cabinet Mission had made a great step forward in that they had set at rest once and for all the fallacy that the Indian problem in India that the British were willing to let Indian politicians be given an excuse for not making further constitutional progress.

Mr. Thomas Reid (Labour and retired civil servant who had been many years in the East, recalled his connections with India and said that, if the Mission had done nothing else but allay the tension, it had done remarkably valuable service. The time was long past when Britain could rule India without consent. Speaking as a friend of India, he could see no limits to an Interim Government and sweep aside little trivialities. I want the Indians to show that they would not fail and disgrace themselves in the eyes of the world.

Mr. Hugh Molson (Conservative) said that the Prime Minister's speech showed that the problem should be put fairly and squarely to the politicians of India themselves. He was glad that Sir Stafford Cripps made it plain that the Interim Government proposals would at any time be replaced by a Government of a permanent character. That Government would take place before long. All, he said, felt goodwill to the Mission.

"WORLD OF ASIA ON THE MOVE"

Mr. Davies (Labour) who was in India in February, said that he was not so much concerned with the politicians in India as about raising the general standard of life. The world of Asia is on the move and the king-pin in any design for the future is India. He was glad to see in the new prominent place which Mr. Jinnah occupied. The people were fully ready to accept the Cabinet Mission's proposals. The cheers of Congress and Muslim League were for the Mission. Mr. Gallacher advised the Government in which they were to take the initiative and the responsibility as the Congress and the Muslim League to co-operate. Any attempt at intervention would be all British trickery and interference.

Mr. Rhodes Boiler (Conservative) former Under-Secretary for India, said that the Cabinet Mission had done a great job. The Depressed Classes would look to the Constituent Assembly to see that the conditions of their people were improved.

MR. A. V. ALEXANDER'S REPLY TO DEBATE

Mr. Albert Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty, winding up the debate, said he did not complain about Mr. Churchill's speech because they expected that kind of speech from him. Apart from Mr. Butler's defence of Mr. Churchill, all other Opposition members who had spoken, seemed to have disagreed with him. Mr. Alexander said.

He added: "To say we have made divergence from 1942 is really splitting hairs. What is really the difference in the negotiations we have been trying to conduct between saying, 'Will you choose to be within the British Commonwealth now or choose independence now' or 'Will you choose to opt out now?' "

Mr. Churchill: "If I am tackled on this question, I would say there is all the difference in the world. The Statute of Westminster allows to every Dominion the right to secede. If it is raised by a great many Dominions there would be no difficulty about it. But there may be a great difference of opinion, if one of the Dominions has a proposal for secession raised. That might exercise a great deterrent on the decision which a Dominion would take and my hope would be that such a deterrent would have the effect of making a Dominion unitedly to decide to remain in the British Commonwealth—a result which I hope we have not altogether brushed aside. When we short-circuit the process and say to them: 'Take independence now', don't blind yourself to the idea that there is going to be any resignation on the part of the House you are now dealing with in taking full and immediate independence. It is well-known that I have differed in the past years from the line taken by the Conservative Government and I do not think we would be in this miserable plight to-day if my advice had been taken then."

Mr. Alexander continued: "I quite understand Mr. Churchill's point of view. He is concerned, as many of us are, to extend in every possible way that great circle of free, but completely independent nations within the British Commonwealth and no one would welcome that more, at the Prime Minister had stated, than those who sit on these (Government benches)".

1942 APPROACH OUT OF DATE

Mr. Alexander observed that events had travelled since 1942 and it could not be controverted that for the Cabinet Mission to have approached the problem from the point of view of the situation as it was in 1942 would have meant that "we would have come back with the same failure".

Mr. Alexander said that he regretted to hear Mr. Churchill speak as if the offer of 1942 was only made when the enemy were at the gates. That was the very complaint which Indians made in their expressions of doubt about British *bona fides*. He certainly did not think that all members of the Government in 1942 made the offer to India on that basis. "But, at the present time", Mr. Alexander said, "we have to deal with a situation when there is political awakening throughout the world, and especially in the East, and, if some attempt had not been made to get the agreement we have so far secured in India, I am certain that we should have faced a position of uprising of bloodshed and disturbances in India already, and with a future military commitment that no one could at the present time forecast."

"MAJORITY OF DEPRESSED CLASSES BEHIND CONGRESS"

Mr. Alexander referred to points which, he said, Mr. Churchill had raised about the minorities. The kind of argument which Mr. Churchill used, he said, was leading them to think that, if they added the total number of present minorities together, that would make a majority in India and that would be a reason for not accepting the Prime Minister's statement that, ultimately, the minorities ought not to be allowed to prevent the progress of the majority. In fact, if they took the total figures of the minorities—Muslims, Depressed Classes, Indian Christians, Sikhs and Anglo-Indians—and added them all together, they could make that kind of case. But, if they went through all the minorities they must subtract from them a the millions in, or behind, the Congress party. His experience in the last three months demonstrated that the majority of the Depressed Classes, for example, were behind the Congress.

Mr Godfrey Nicholson (Conservative) intervened to ask whether they were not departing from the spirit of the debate which had been intended to-day.

Mr. Alexander said that he was most anxious not to depart from the spirit of the debate, but he did not want to allow the impression to go out that the question of the minorities was not a matter of concern to the Government or the House.

Mr. Alexander, replying to a further intervention, said that his experience in the last three months demonstrated that the majority of the Depressed Classes were with the Congress and behind the Congress. Mr. Alexander said that the Congress secured from the Depressed Classes a very large number of efficient candidates for representation in the Assembly. Mr. Butler, he said, could raise these matters in more detail during the October debate.

He agreed very much with the tribute paid to the Indians' voluntary war effort and to the two million Indians in the great struggle that they were in with Britain for freedom and liberty. But the British were not offering this independence and freedom to India, simply because they had done Britain a great military service.

"We give it on the basis of its being our own birthright in this country and the birthright we desire to see given to men and women in all parts of the world. Although we are very much misunderstood from time to time in different parts of the world, the ultimate end of British rule should be to bring independence and freedom to the peoples with whom we have been associated. It is in promotion of that spirit that we have taken our Mission to India. We believe that we have got to a position where, although there are many difficulties to be overcome, providing the main parties will combine in working the constitution-making machinery, there is no reason why we should not make rapid and substantial progress to the complete freedom of that great sub-continent for whom this nation wishes nothing but good".

The debate then ended. There was no question of vote.

DEBATE IN LORDS

TEMPLEWOOD STRESSES NEED FOR INTERIM GOVT.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence having made his statement reviewing the Cabinet Mission's work in India, there was a debate on it.

Lord Templewood (Conservative and formerly Sir Samuel Hoare and once Secretary of State for India) said that there had never been a case in the history of the world in which a great nation had so insistently attempted to hand over its governmental responsibilities.

He said that, if a representative Indian Government was not formed, the Interim Government would inevitably become the butt of every kind of criticism and, if another Government of Indian notables was proposed, he doubted whether they would find notables to take part and the same position would apply. He hoped that such a position would not arise. It was essential that Indian States should be properly represented in the Constituent Assembly and he expressed fears that this might not be attainable and that a similar position might arise over the Scheduled Castes.

Viscount Samuel (Liberal) joined in expressing very earnest hope that problems presented by Sikh and Scheduled Caste minorities would be solved. He said that he felt more anxiety than at any time during the last 40 years during which there had been many anxious times as to how the future India was to be united or divided.

Lord Cherwy, a member of the recent Parliamentary Delegation to India, said that he was confident that there were men in India as capable of carrying on a parliamentary Government as there were in Britain.

LORD SINHA'S MAIDEN SPEECH

Lord Sinha, in his first speech in the House of Lords, congratulated the Government on their "bold and courageous" action in deciding that India had won her right to independence and freedom. He felt sure that the friends of India, including the Princes and major parties would, through the Constituent Assembly, see justice done to the various minorities.

Lord Scarborough, a former Under-Secretary for India, sincerely hoped power would not be transferred to one party. That would deepen the division in India.

Lord Simon (Liberal) said that it was a splendid thing to remove Indian suspicion. He asked whether the Constituent Assembly could not go outside the framework, terms of which were evolved in the Government's broad outline on which they agreed. He hoped so. It would, he said, be considerable relief to some communities if that was clear, because there was a risk of uncertainty on that point.

INDIA SECRETARY WINDS UP DEBATE

Lord Pethick-Lawrence, replying to the debate, said, "I am going to put my confidence, faith and hope in the Indian people doing the right thing. It seems to me that the day when we could determine exactly how this constitution-making body should conduct its business has gone by. The day when we might have suggested how a Special Advisory Committee for dealing with minorities should work is also past." He refused to contemplate any failure on the Indians' part. He had every hope that the Viceroy would succeed in getting an Interim Government.

He concluded, "I have confidence from the personal goodwill expressed to me by individuals in India that we shall gain the solid friendship of the people of that great country."

The debate then ended.—Reuter.

Viceroy's Confidential Letters To Party Leaders

CORRESPONDENCE PUBLISHED IN WHITE PAPER

NEW DELHI, July 18.

The following is further correspondence between the Cabinet Mission, on the one hand, and the Congress Party, the Muslim League, the Sikhs and the Indian States, on the other, taken from two White Papers presented to Parliament this month.

Letter from Maulana Azad to the Secretary of State, dated May 20:—

"My Committee have carefully considered the statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation on May 16 and they have seen Gandhiji after the interviews he has had with you and Sir Stafford Cripps. There are certain matters about which I have been asked to write to you.

"As we understand the statement, it contains certain recommendations and procedure for the election and functioning of the constituent assembly. The assembly itself, when formed, will, in my committee's opinion, be a sovereign body for the purpose of drafting the constitution, unhindered by any external authority, as well as for entering into a treaty. Further that it will be open to the assembly to vary in any way it likes the recommendations and the procedure suggested by the Cabinet Delegation. The constituent assembly being a sovereign body for the purposes of the constitution, its final decisions will automatically take effect.

"As you are aware, some recommendations have been made in your statement which are contrary to the Congress stand as it was taken at the Simla Conference and elsewhere. Naturally we shall try to get the assembly to remove what we consider defects in the recommendations. For this purpose we shall endeavour to educate the country and the constituent assembly.

"There is one matter on which my committee were pleased to hear Gandhiji say that you were trying to see that the European members in the various provincial assemblies, particularly Bengal and Assam, would neither offer themselves as candidates nor vote for the election of delegates to the constituent assembly.

BALUCHISTAN DELEGATE

"No provision has been made for the election of a representative from British Baluchistan. So far as we know, there is no elected assembly or any other kind of chamber which might select such a representative. The individual may not make of a difference in the constituent assembly, but it would make a difference if such an individual speaks for a whole province which he really does not represent in any way. It is far better not to have representation at all than to have this kind of representation which will mislead and which may decide the fate of Baluchistan contrary to the wishes of its inhabitants. If any kind of popular representation can be arranged, we would welcome it. My committee were pleased, therefore, to hear Gandhiji say that you are likely to include Baluchistan within the scope of the advisory committee's work.

"In your recommendations for the basic form of the constitution (para 15 of the statement of the Cabinet Delegation of May 16) you state that provinces should be free to form groups with executives and legislatures and that each group could determine the provincial subjects to be taken in common just previous to this you state that all subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the provinces. Later on in the statement, however, in para 19, you state that the provincial representatives to the constituent assembly will divide up into three sections and that these sections shall proceed to settle the provincial constitutions for the provinces in each section and shall also decide whether any group constitution shall be set up for these provinces. There appears to us to be a marked discrepancy in these two separate provisions. The basic provision gives full autonomy to a province to do what it likes, and subsequently there appears to be a certain compulsion in the matter which clearly infringes that autonomy. It is true that at a later stage the provinces can opt out of any group. In any event, it is not clear how a province or its representatives can be compelled to do something which they do not want to do. A provincial assembly may give a mandate to its representatives not to enter any group or a particular group or section. As sections B and C have been formed, it is obvious that one province will play a dominating role in the section, the Punjab in section B and Bengal in section C. It is conceivable that this dominating province may frame a provincial constitution entirely against the wishes of Sind or the North-West Frontier Province or Assam. It may even conceivably lay down rules for elections and otherwise, thereby nullifying the provision for a province to opt out of a group. Such could never be the intention, as it would be repugnant to the basic principles and policy of the scheme itself.

INDIAN STATES ISSUE

"The question of the Indian States has been left vague and, therefore, I need not say much about it at this stage. But it is clear that State representatives who come into the constituent assembly must do so more or less in the same way as the representatives of the provinces. The constituent assembly cannot be formed of entirely disparate elements.

"I have dealt above with some points arising out of your statement. Possibly some of them can be cleared up by you, and the defects removed. The principal point, however, is, as stated above, that we look upon this constituent assembly as a sovereign body which can decide as it chooses in regard to any matter before it and can give effect to its decision. The only limitation we recognise is that in regard to certain major communal issues the decision should be by a majority of each of the two major communities. We shall try to approach the public and the members of the constituent assembly with our own proposals for removing any defects in the recommendations made by you.

"Gandhiji has informed my committee that you contemplate that British troops will remain in India till after the establishment of the Government in accordance with the instrument produced by the constituent assembly. My committee feel that the presence of foreign troops in India will be a negation of Indian independence.

"India should be considered to be independent in fact from the moment that the national provisional Government is established.

"I shall be grateful to have an early reply so that my committee may come to a decision in regard to your statement."

Letter from the Secretary of State to Maulana Azad dated May 22: (The substance of this letter and certain other points were the subject of the Delegation's statement of May 25).

"The Delegation have considered your letter of May 20 and feel that the best way to answer it is that they should make their general position quite clear to you. Since the Indian leaders, after prolonged discussion, failed to arrive at an agreement, the Delegation have put forward their recommendations as the nearest approach to reconciling the views of the two main parties. The scheme, therefore, stands as a whole and can only succeed if it is accepted and worked in a spirit of compromise and co-operation.

"You are aware of the reasons for the grouping of the provinces, and this is an essential feature of the scheme which can only be modified by agreement between the two parties.

"There are two further points which we think we should mention. First, in your letter you describe the constituent assembly as a sovereign body, the final decisions of which will automatically take effect. We think the authority and the functions of the constituent assembly and the procedure which it is intended to follow are clear from the statement. Once the constituent assembly is formed and working on this basis, there is naturally no intention to interfere with its discretion or to question its decisions. When the constituent assembly has completed its labours, His Majesty's Government will recommend to Parliament such action as may be necessary for the cession of sovereignty to the Indian people, subject only to two provisions which are mentioned in the statement and which are not, we believe, controversial, namely, adequate provision for the protection of minorities and willingness to conclude a treaty to cover matters arising out of the transfer of power.

"Secondly, while His Majesty's Government are most anxious to secure that the interim period should be as short as possible, you will, we are sure, appreciate that, for reasons stated above, independence cannot precede the bringing into operation of a new constitution."

Letter from the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah dated June 4:—

(This letter is published with Mr. Jinnah's agreement).

"You asked me yesterday to give you an assurance about the action that would be taken if one party accepted the scheme in the Cabinet Delegation's statement of May 16 and the other refused.

"I can give you on behalf of the Cabinet Delegation, my personal assurance that we do not propose to make any discrimination in the treatment of either party and that we shall go ahead with the plan laid down in the statement, so far as circumstances permit, if either party accepts; but we hope that both will accept.

"I should be grateful if you would see that the existence of this assurance does not become public. If it is necessary for you to tell your Working Committee that you have an assurance, I should be grateful if you would explain to them this condition."

"PUNJAB SIKHS' PREJUDICED"

Secretary Of State's Letter To Leader

NEW DELHI, July 19: The following is a continuation of the correspondence between the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy on the one hand, and the Congress President, the Muslim League President, the Sikh leader and the Maharaja of Bhopal, on the other, taken from the White Papers published in Parliament this month.

The Viceroy, in his letter to Maulana Azad, dated June 16, the earlier portion of which appeared in this paper on Friday, said:

"We also informed you that, in view of the inability of the Congress to participate in the interim Government proposed in our statement of June 16, we situating that scheme which paragraph 8 of that statement took effect. Accordingly, we shall shortly make a further attempt to form an Interim Government as representative as possible of the main parties. We recently failed to reach agreement, it would be desirable, we have a short interval before the matter is taken up again, and have therefore decided to form a Caretaker Government of officials to carry on the administration temporarily.

Letter from the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah dated June 29:

"Thank you for your letter of yesterday. In regard to your paragraph 3, I refer to the last sentence of paragraph 5 of my letter of June 26 which reads as follows: 'On the points of detail which may call for clarification in connection with the Government *to be formed under our statement of June 16*, I give you the following reply after consultation with the delegation.'

"I have underlined the relevant words, it was clear from this sentence that the assurances given applied only to the particular Interim Government proposed in the statement of June 16.

"I have to draw your attention to paragraph 4 of your letter of June 28, suggesting the postponement of elections to the constituent assembly or your letter under reply."

Letter from Master Tara Singh to the Secretary of State dated May 30:—

"Since the British Cabinet Mission's recommendations for the future constitution of India have been published, a wave of rejection, resentment and indignation has run throughout the Sikh community. The reasons are quite obvious.

OF MUSLIMS'

Master Tara Singh's View

"The Sikhs have been entirely thrown at the mercy of the Muslims. Group B comprises the Punjab, the N.-W. F. P., Sind and Baluchistan, and the representation given to each community will be Muslims 23, Hindus nine, Sikhs four. Can this body expect from this assembly consideration of the Sikh position or justice for the Sikhs? The Cabinet Mission recognises "the very distinct and acute cleavage among the Sikhs lest they should find themselves subjected to a hostile Muslim majority rule" If the British Government are not aware of the Sikh feelings, the Sikhs will have to resort to some measures in order to convince everybody concerned of the Sikh anxiety. Otherwise they are subjected to a perpetual Muslim domination. The Cabinet Mission has not only put under Muslim domination the non-Muslim areas of the Punjab and Bengal but the whole province of Assam where the Muslims are the "controlling majority." This is evidently done to placate the Muslims. If the first condition of the Cabinet Mission's recommendation is to put complete trust in the Muslims, why should the same consideration be not shown for Sikhs? But it appears that the Sikhs have been entirely debarred from having any effective influence in the province, a district or general Union. I refer to section 15 (ii) and section 19 (vi) which says that provision may be provided that the majority of both the Hindus and Muslims is not necessary for any purpose. The Sikhs are entirely ignored, though they are as much concerned as the other communities.

"This is how I read the recommendations of the Cabinet Mission. But as the issues are very grave and momentous, the Sikh executive committee decided here today to consider the situation created, have advised me to make clarification from you and find out if there is any hope of such amendments as may save the Sikhs from perpetual domination.

"So I put three questions:

"(1) What is the significance of recognising the Sikhs as one of 'the communities'?

"(2) Suppose the majority of Section B or C decides in the Union to frame under 19 (v) but the Sikh members do not agree, does it not amount to giving the opposition of the Sikh members mean simply disassociation?

"(3) Is there any hope of obtaining for the Sikhs the same right as is given to the Muslims and non-Muslims under section 15 (ii) and 19 (vi)?"

Letter from the Secretary of State to Master Tara Singh, dated June 1:

"Thank you for your letter of May 29.

"The anxieties of the Sikhs were kept prominently in mind when we were drafting the Cabinet Mission's statement, and I can certainly claim that of the various alternatives we put up the best one from the Sikh point of view was chosen. You will, I am sure, admit that if India had been split up into two sovereign States, or if the Punjab had been partitioned, either of these decisions would have been far less acceptable to the Sikhs than the one which was actually chosen.

"I have considered carefully the detailed points you raise at the end of your letter. I fear the Mission cannot usefully add to the terms of interpretation of the statement. There is, however, no intention whatever to prejudice the position of the Sikhs in the Punjab or in the North-West Group, nor do I think they could properly be prejudiced, for, it is inconceivable that either the Constituent Assembly or any future Government of the Union will overlook the special place in the province of the Sikhs on account of the importance of your community would ensure that a fair number of seats that you held in the Constituent Assembly. The Viceroy has told me that he will be glad to discuss the anxieties you have expressed on behalf of the community because the position of the Sikhs specially with the leaders of the main parties when the Constituent Assembly has been formed. He hopes he may be able to persuade them, if persuasion is necessary, that the interests of the Sikhs should on no account be overlooked.

"If you and Sardar Baldev Singh would care to see the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy in the first week of June, we shall be glad to see you."

PRINCES' ATTITUDE

Letter from H. H. the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, to the Viceroy, dated June 19—

"The Standing Committee of Princes gave most careful consideration at their recent meetings in Bombay to the proposals of the Cabinet Mission and Your Excellency in regard to the long-range constitutional arrangements and for the interim period. Their views are embodied in the enclosed statement which has been released to the press and of which an advance copy was forwarded to Sir Conrad Corfield, Political Adviser to the Viceroy in his capacity as Crown Representative. I would invite Your Excellency's particular attention to the attitude taken by the Standing Committee of Princes

on the question of internal reforms in the States as indicated in Paragraph 4 of the press statement.

"The Standing Committee desired me to convey to the members of the Cabinet Mission and to Your Excellency their graceful appreciation of the genuine efforts made by them, notwithstanding obvious difficulties, to reach as far as possible an agreed settlement of the Indian constitutional problem. The Standing Committee are of the view that the plan provides the necessary machinery for the attainment by India of independence as well as a fair basis for further negotiations. They welcome the declaration of the Cabinet Mission in regard to paramountcy, but consider certain adjustments necessary for the interim period which have already been indicated by them. Final decisions of the States and of the Standing Committee, as to the doctrines now appropriated, will depend on the completed picture which may emerge from the proposed negotiations and discussions.

"The Standing Committee desire in particular to convey their gratitude to Your Excellency for your valuable advice and assistance during these negotiations to safeguard the legitimate interest of the States, and they would request that their grateful thanks may also be conveyed to Sir Conrad Corfield whom Your Excellency knows, has been very helpful. The Committee are confident that with your support, the various matters which have been left undefined or for future negotiations and discussions will be settled on merits to the satisfaction of the States.

NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE

"The Standing Committee have decided, in response to Your Excellency's invitation, to set up a Negotiating Committee whose personnel is given in the enclosed list. The Committee did their utmost to keep the number small as desired by Your Excellency, but they felt that it would not be possible for them to do with a smaller number. It shall be grateful if I am informed, as early as possible, of the time and place when this committee is expected to meet, and the personnel of the corresponding Committee which may be set up by the representatives of British India on the Constituent Assembly. The result of these negotiations are proposed to be considered by the Standing Committee of Princes, the Committee of Ministers and the Constitutional Advisers. These committee recommendations will be placed before a general conference of Rulers and representatives of States. The decision on the question whether the States should or should not join the Constituent Assembly will be taken by that conference and will depend on the result of the forthcoming negotiations.

"A list of representatives of the States for the proposed meeting on matters of common concern to British India and the States is also enclosed. It was necessary to accommodate on it various important interests of groups of States and to include persons with special knowledge of subjects which are likely to be taken up at the deliberations of this committee. It is understood, however, that all the members of this Committee would not be required to attend every meeting, and that ordinarily not more than five or six, whatever the number from British India, would be called by the Chancellor to participate in the discussions according to the nature of the subjects on the agenda. Provision will also have to be made for the co-option of representatives of States or a group of States, not represented on the Committee, when any questions particularly affecting them are under discussion. Draft rules for the conduct of business and other details relating to this committee will be discussed with Sir Conrad Corfield. It is believed that Your Excellency may also have to consult the interim Government in regard to these matters.

"In the meantime, as Your Excellency, questions relating to the exercise of paramountcy in the interim period are proposed to be dealt with Sir Conrad and any outstanding points will be submitted to Your Excellency. The Standing Committee have also authorised me to conduct further negotiations in regard to these matters with a view to reaching early decisions."

Letter from the Viceroy to H. H. the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, dated June 20—

PRINCES' ATTITUDE TO PLAN

Mission's Welcome

"The Cabinet Mission and I welcome the attitude which the Princes have adopted towards the plan which we have proposed for the solution of India's constitutional problem, and we particularly appreciate the action of the Standing Committee in endorsing the suggestions we made in regard to the manner in which States could best fit themselves to make their due contribution to India's new constitutional structure. We are confident that, when the time comes for the States to make their final decision, that decision will be characterised by the same sense of realism and the same spirit of accommodation as have already been manifested.

"I greatly appreciate the sentiments expressed by the Standing Committee in regard to myself and my Political Adviser. I should like to assure Your Highness and the Standing Committee that we shall continue, during the forthcoming negotiations, to give such assistance as is in our power to the promotion of agreed conclusions satisfactory alike to the States and to British India.

"I have taken note of the personnel selected by the States to represent them on the Negotiating Committee. I will inform Your Highness, as soon as I am in a position to do so, of the time and place of the Committee's meeting. The composition of the corresponding committee from British India cannot, I think, be determined in advance of the preliminary session of the Constituent Assembly.

"I understand from Sir Conrad Corfield that he is already engaged in active discussions with the authorities of the Central Government about the machinery for giving effect to the Princes' proposal for a Consultative Committee to deal with matters of common concern to British India and the States. Sir Conrad will, no doubt, keep Your Highness fully informed of the progress made in these discussions, and I myself intend, at a later stage, to place the proposal before the Interim Government.

"I shall be grateful if Your Highness will convey to the Standing Committee of Princes my appreciation of the helpful attitude they have adopted towards the complex constitutional problems with which India is confronted. Under Your Highness's presidency, the Standing Committee have given a lead which will, I trust, be followed by all Princes of India."

"No Limiting The Sovereignty Of Constituent Assembly"

PANDIT NEHRU ON PROBLEM OF MINORITIES

Tuesday 15th July

A CHARACTERISTIC spirit of defiance coupled with a measure of caution and responsibility marked the first public utterance of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru since he assumed the Presidentship of the Congress.

Addressing a large press conference in Bombay on Wednesday, he refused to accept any limitations on the constituent assembly barring "a certain compulsion of facts" and the ex... desire of the Congress to avoid a break-down of the machinery.

Not what the British say or intend but how to make the constituent assembly a success would be the governing factor, he said.

Pandit Nehru recognised the two conditions imposed by the Cabinet Mission, namely, proper safeguards for the minorities and an Indo-British treaty, but would accept neither as a factor limiting the sovereignty of the constituent assembly.

The minorities problem had to be settled satisfactorily, but it was "our problem" and no doubt the Congress would succeed in solving it. There could, however, be no outside interference in that behalf—certainly not British interference.

Likewise he acknowledged that if there was to be any kind of peaceful change-over in India it was bound to result in some kind of treaty with Britain. "But," he added, "if the British Government presume to tell us that they are going to hold up anything in India because they do not agree either in regard to minorities or regard to treaties, it might be a casus belli between them and us; we are not going to be imposed upon in that way." He claimed for Indians the right to do what they liked, and to face the consequences.

If one read the correspondence between Maulana Azad and the Cabinet Mission, one would see, Pandit Nehru said, that the Congress had agreed to go into the Constituent Assembly. It had agreed to nothing else. "It is true," he added, "that in going to the Constituent Assembly, inevitably, we have to agree to a certain procedure of going into it. What we do there we are absolutely and entirely free to determine. We have not committed ourselves in any single matter to anybody.

He made light of the League Secretary's statement that a new situation had been created by the Congress insistence on interpreting the grouping provisions in its own way and did not answer a question as to what the Congress would do if the League stayed out or withdrew from the constituent assembly.

GROUPING ISSUE

Pandit Nehru revealed that the very first thing that the provinces in the 'A' section would do was to decide against grouping of any kind. As for Section 'B' and 'C' he said the odds were three to one or four to one against grouping there. The voting position in 'C' Section would be somewhat balanced, but Assam, he declared, will not tolerate grouping. Grouping in 'B' Section he ruled out as an arithmetical improbability. Apart from the fact that every party outside the League was opposed to grouping, he felt that for non-political reasons even the Leaguers of Sind disliked the idea of grouping with the dominant Punjab. "Irrespective of any imposed discipline from above, sentiment in the Frontier and Sind may be said to be unanimously against grouping because they are afraid of being swamped by the Punjab. Even inside the Section the majority will be against grouping."

CENTRE'S POWERS

Another point on which the Congress President anticipated the constituent assembly was in respect of the powers of the Union Centre. He felt sure that the close examination of the question the framers of the constitution would be compelled to enlarge the scope of the Centre and to invest it with wide powers of taxation.

Amplifying the point he said that defence and communications had a large number of industries behind them which would inevitably have to come under the Union Government. They were likely to grow, especially defence, which was a wide subject which would tend indefinitely to grow and expand. Similarly, foreign trade could not be divorced from foreign policy and external affairs. Again the Central Government must be responsible for foreign markets, loans, *et*cetera so that it would have to control currency and credit, which could not be left to each unit or province to regulate as it liked. The Union Centre must also have the power to step in, in the event of an economic break-down brought about by failure of finance, for example, or when there was trouble between provinces and States. It was inevitable that the Centre should have some over-all power to intervene in grave crises or a break-down of the administration. The scope of the Centre, however limited, would inevitably grow in spite of the opposition of some people. The constituent assembly would have to examine that point and provide for such development.

Referring to central finances he thought it was "bunkum" to suggest that some kind of contribution or doles from provinces and States could provide the central resources. He was convinced that the Union finance had to be raised by taxation, as no Central Government could live on doles. The American Republic, in its early days had tried the experiment but failed. Pandit Nehru mentioned customs, tariffs and income-tax as possible sources of revenue for the Centre.

On the question of the representation of the States in the constituent assembly he refused to accept the proposition that they should be represented by rulers' nominees but was ready to see the anomaly of securing representation for the people in States which had no representative Government.

THE KASHMIR ISSUE

Similarly in respect of Kashmir he was content to abide by the advice of the Congress Working Committee which, he said, "had formally taken over" the subject of his visit to that State. It had become a first-class issue, he said, between the Indian National Congress and the States Peoples' Conference on the one side and the Kashmir Government and the Political Department of the Government of India on the other. It might even affect the whole question of the States and the constituent assembly because it has such far-reaching consequence we have tried as far as we can to restrain our action," he said, and added that he was waiting and watching and normally speaking, might go to Kashmir in time for the next hearing of Sheikh Abdulla's trial.

Pandit Nehru could not say when the Provisional National Government would be formed, but the Constituent Assembly was not going to put up for long with the kind of care-taker Government that existed now. The care-taker Government had no stability; nor was there any possibility of its long continuance.

Replying to a question on the situation in Goa, Pandit Nehru said "It was obvious that in future there was going to be no such islands of foreign authority as the Portuguese and French territories. They simply could not exist. Portuguese authority had existed in Goa not because of Portuguese power but because of British power in India. British power went other powers would also go."

Referring to the treatment of Indians in Ceylon, Pandit Nehru said, unfortunately, the recent policies of the Ceylon Government were apparently almost deliberately designed to eject Indians from Ceylon. As far as possible the Congress did not want to embitter the relations between Indians and the Singhalese, "because we look upon the Singhalese almost as a people of another part of India." He had no doubt that in future there would be close relations between India and Ceylon. India was very much like a big brother to Ceylon, big in size and in economic power, and one did not like to be big and powerful as might be normally used elsewhere in such a situation.

Indian workers in Ceylon, Pandit Nehru said should be protected against unfair treatment. He declared that it was his desire to go to Ceylon and see things. Two members of the committee appointed by the Congress executive would go there immediately.

Mr. Abdul Aziz, a leader of the Indian community in Ceylon, was present. Enumerating the excuses made by the Ceylon authorities for turning Indians out Indians from the plantations he said a land officer asked an Indian labourer if he was born in Ceylon. On the labourer giving him a reply in the affirmative the officer enquired where his father and his father's father were born in Ceylon. These questions also elicited an answer in the affirmative. Thereupon the officer inquired "What was your grandfather's intention at the time your father was born." (laughter). Subsequently, said Mr. Aziz the officer had admitted to him the ridiculous nature of the question, but had said that the authorities had directed him to make such inquiries.

Editors of daily newspapers in Bombay met the Congress President. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, informally at a Press Conference at the Taj Mahal Hotel.

Free Press. 18/4/46.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WON'T BROOK DICTATION

17/2/46.

Congress Not Committed To Any Plan

BOMBAY, Wednesday.

The Congress President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in a 75-minute press conference at the Congress House, this morning, discussed a number of important questions relating to the position of Indians in Ceylon, the Constituent Assembly, the granting of provinces as contained in the Cabinet Mission's statement of June 16, the subjects that will come up now in the purview of the Union Centre, what the Congress proposes to do in the Constituent Assembly, how the Kashmir Government's ban against his entering that State has focused an all-India issue between the Indian National Congress and the States' Peoples Conference on the one side and the Political Department of the Government of India and the Kashmir State on the other.

This he said is likely to affect other matters including the whole question of the states in the Constituent Assembly. Normally speaking he said he might go to Kashmir first from the next date of Sheikh Abdulla's trial.

FRIENDLY PRESSURE

In regard to Indians in Ceylon Pandit Nehru emphasised that the Congress was anxious not to say or do anything which would embitter feelings between the people of India and Ceylon. He hoped a friendly spirit but firm pressure from India would persuade the Ceylonese Government to change their approach to the question of Indian settlers there.

NO COMMITMENTS

As regards the Constituent Assembly, he reiterated his earlier statement that the Congress has made no commitment whatever either in regard to the long-term or the short-term plan of the Cabinet Mission except agreeing to go into the Constituent Assembly.

But, obviously, once the Constituent went into the Constituent Assembly, he reiterated, it would be for the Congress to decide what its objective would be and how to make it a success and in so doing, the Congress would certainly have to take into consideration the situation created by the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16.

But, added Nehru, "the Constituent Assembly would not be bound to accept any dictation or any directive from the British Government in regard to its work. The only two factors which limited the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly were those relating to the ministries and the Indo-British Treaty.

The minorities question was also an Indian problem and the British had no say in the matter. As regards the Indo-British Treaty, the Congress would not accept anything imposed by the British Government. If the British Government sought to perpetuate any control therein, the Congress would resist it.

KASHMIR EVENTS

In regard to the Kashmir State he said that the Prime Minister of Kashmir State, Rai Bahadur Ramchandra Kak who recently visited Bombay met Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Azad and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and had gone back to Kashmir to consult his "boss" the ruler and perhaps also the Political Department of the Government of India.

Dealing with the position of Indians in Ceylon, Pandit Nehru made an exhaustive statement recalling his earlier visit to that island and said: "There has long been trouble in regard to Indians in Ceylon on so many matters such as franchise and other conditions of citizenship. The present trouble began with the eviction of some hundreds of Indian labourers from the Knavesmere Estate. We have been placed in a difficult position. As far as possible, we do not want to do anything to embitter relations between Indians and the Sinhalese because we look upon the Sinhalese almost as people of another part of India. They are our stock culturally, racially, linguistically and geographically, and no doubt in future there will be the closest union between India and Ceylon."

NATIONALITY

Unfortunately, the recent policies of the Ceylon Government have been apparently almost deliberately designed to make Indians from Ceylon or to make their existence very delicate. We can understand the Ceylon Government's view that only those Indians who choose to be Ceylon nationals should enjoy rights of Ceylon citizenship of full rank. I think Indians there, as Indians in Burma and elsewhere will have to decide sometime or other, whether they are nationals of the country they reside in or whether they retain their Indian nationality. These questions have not arisen so far because of the supposed common nationality of the British Empire. It is not very "common", as you see how the common nationality of the British Empire is not functioning at present in South Africa. But now these questions are bound to arise and each person will have to decide which nationality he chooses.

"Most Indians in Ceylon, continued Nehru "are not people who have gone there for a short visit. They have lived there for generations as the Ceylonese themselves admit. They might well decide to be Ceylon nationals, not of course cutting themselves away from India culturally. Some Indians in Ceylon

Pandit Nehru appealed to the Indian Press to take up the question of Indians in Ceylon and "deal with it not in an aggressive and offensive manner but rather in a firm peaceful and friendly manner." He pointed out that the Ceylon Press as a whole was giving very little publicity to the cause of Indian nationals in Ceylon.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Asked to amplify his statement in the A.I.C.C. that the Congress had made no commitment in regard to either the long-term or the short-term plan except to go into the Constituent Assembly, Pandit Nehru said: "As a matter of fact it was during the correspondence that has passed between the Congress President and the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy that we will see in what conditions and circumstances we agreed to go into this Constituent Assembly. The first thing is we have agreed to go into the Constituent Assembly and we have agreed to nothing else. It is true that in going to the Constituent Assembly inevitably we have agreed to a certain process of going into it i.e. election of the candidates to the Constituent Assembly. What we do there, we are entirely and absolutely free to determine.

"We have committed ourselves to no single matter to anybody. Naturally even though one might not agree to commit oneself in advance, a certain compulsion of facts which makes one accept this thing or that thing, do exist in every case which might be in a particular context. But the nature of compulsion of facts would be not the British Government's desires or intents but how to make the Assembly a success and how to avoid its breaking-up. That will be certainly a very important consideration. But the British Government does not appear there at all.

TREATY AS EQUALS

When the Congress had stated that the Constituent Assembly was a sovereign body, Pandit Nehru said: "The Cabinet Mission's reply was that it was more or less 'yes,' subject to two considerations. Firstly proper arrangement for minorities and the other a treaty between India and England. I wish what the Cabinet Mission has stated about both these matters are not controversial. It is obvious the minorities question has to be settled satisfactorily. It is also obvious that if there is any kind of peaceful change over in India it is bound to result in some kind of treaty with Britain.

"What exactly that treaty will be I cannot say. But if the British Government presumes to tell us that they are going to hold up the treaty because they do not agree either in regard to minorities or in regard to treaty we shall not submit to that position. We shall have no treaty if they seek to impose anything upon us and we shall tear up the treaty if they seek to impose. If they treat us as equals and come to terms there will be a treaty. But if there is the least attempt at imposition, we shall have no treaty.

"In regard to minorities it is our problem and we shall no doubt succeed in solving it. We accept no outside interference in it. Certainly not the British Government's interference in it and therefore these two limiting factors to the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly are not accepted by us.

LIMITING FACTOR

"How to do the job in the Constituent Assembly for a success or not is the only limiting factor. It does not make the slightest difference what the Cabinet Mission thinks or does in the matter.

Referring to grouping, Pandit Nehru said "the big probability is, from any approach to the question, there will be no grouping. Obviously, Section 'A' will decide against grouping. Speaking in Bengali language there was four to one chance of the North-West Frontier Province deciding against grouping. Then group 'B' collapses. It is highly likely Bengal and Assam will decide against grouping although I may not like to say what the initial decision may be since it is evenly balanced. But I can say with the greatest force and conviction that there is going to be finally no grouping there, because Assam will not tolerate it under any circumstances whatever. Thus you see this grouping business approached from any point of view does not get on at all."

GROUPING IMPOSSIBLE

Pandit Nehru also explained how provincial autonomies would work against grouping. Firstly, he pointed out "everybody outside the Muslim League was entirely opposed to grouping. In regard to this matter, the Muslim League stands by itself isolated. Secondly, what principle you will find in the north-west zone there is a kind of balance of interest less seven of grouping and anti-grouping.

Secondly, entirely for other reasons, non-political, non-Congress, non-League, there is a good deal of feeling against grouping with the Punjab both in the North-West Frontier Province and Sind for economic and other reasons. Even to say, seven a Muslim leaguer in Sind dislikes the idea of grouping with Punjab because he fears that the Punjab will dominate Sind. Punjab being a dominant party in that group and more developed, they dreamed in some ways. Apart from that, imposed discipline from the Muslim League, both in the Frontier and in Sind, the people were unanimously against grouping because both these provinces dreaded of being swamped by the Punjab.

Asked when the Provincial Sections of the Constituent Assembly met at the centre Pandit Nehru said: "I cannot just now into the future and tell what will happen. At the present moment we are somewhat engaged in the Constituent Assembly elections. But remember that the Constituent Assembly is not going to put work for long with the kind of expenses, labour Government has entailed. There is bound to be conflict between them. In fact, the Caretaker Government is holding on to power merely because of its knowledge of the inevitability of its long-term functions, how and when and what shape the Constituent Assembly will take. I cannot say. It will be just entering into planning stage."

TACTICS

When his attention was drawn to the forthcoming meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council at Bombay on May 10, Pandit Nehru said: "Whatever the Congress does is always intended to create new situations. We do not follow other people's decisions. I am glad that the Muslim League has realised that we have created a new situation. We propose to create many further new situations. What we shall do if the League decides not to enter the Union will see what the conditions then are and decide accordingly."

CENTRE'S POWERS

Dealing with the powers of the proposed Union Centre, Pandit Nehru said according to the Cabinet Mission's proposals there were three or four basic subjects in it—i.e. Defence, Foreign Affairs, Communications and the power to raise finances for these.

"Obviously, defence and communications have a large number of industries behind them. So these industries inevitably come under the Union Government and they are likely to grow. Defence is such a wide subject that it tends to expand its scope and activities more and more. All that comes under the Union Government.

Similarly, external affairs inevitably include a trade policy. You cannot have foreign policy if you divorce foreign trade from it. Then include all those things which are not put down there but which can be brought in.

DOLES

Referring to the question of raising finances for the Union, Pandit Nehru said: "It had been done by taxation. If anyone suggests that some kind of contribution or doles are going to be given by the Provinces or States, it is bunkum. No Central Government carries on on doles. After recalled how an attempt to carry on with contributions had ended in a failure in the United States in the early days of the American Confederation.

"Inevitably therefore, he added, the Central Government must raise its finances by taxation. I cannot make a list now but obviously customs including Tariff is bound to be one. In fact Tariff is connected with foreign trade policy. It may be income-tax will be another. I do not know what else."

Pandit Nehru pointed out that the Central Government will be responsible for foreign markets, loans and such other subjects. It must also obviously control currency and credit. Who is going to do it if not the Centre? You cannot allow each unit to provide ways even in a comparable type of credit and foreign policy."

WIDE POWERS NEEDED

Suppose there is trouble between the provinces or States or an economic breakdown due to famine conditions. The Centre comes in again, inevitably. However limited the centre might be, you cannot help giving wide powers because they have grown in that if there were no central authority, the conditions would have been far worse.

However, the fact that there has been a central authority has not done much good to the country, because it has been incompetent. It is obvious, that without the central authority you cannot bring about problems mentioned above. There must be some overall power to intervene in grave cases, be it in the administration or economic breakdown or famine. The scope of the centre, even though limited, inevitably grows because it cannot exist otherwise. Though some people might oppose this widening of the centre the Constituent Assembly will have to decide on the point.

PAKISTAN

When a correspondent suggested that the Congress should launch on a direct action against the Pakistan demand in Goa, Pandit Nehru said: "I do not think it will be necessary for anybody to start any direct action in Goa because the Portuguese administration will disappear once British power disappears from India."

Pandit Nehru recalled the attention of the French Governor at Pondicherry a few months that it would be open to the people of Pondicherry to join the proposed Indian Union. "In fact the Governor had told the people of Pondicherry to join the Indian Union. The Governor had himself become an Indian citizen."

"The existence of foreign administrations other than the British in India was only a small trouble for the moment. "You cannot expect the Congress to lead agitations against little pimples. It is for the local people to do what they like and the Congress will deal with the question, normally speaking, when British power has vanished—as it is vanishing"—through diplomatic and other channels and, no doubt, settle it.

NOT A PERSONAL ISSUE

Referring to Kashmir, Pandit Nehru said: "It is my intention to go to Kashmir but I have not moved any date partly because I have some other important work to do and partly also because I have been watching certain developments there. The Kashmir State affair has been formally taken over by the Congress Working Committee as was revealed by the telegram which Maulana Azad sent on my asking me to return from there. Therefore, any action that I should now take has to be in consultation with them. It has ceased to be, if it ever was, just a personal adventure of mine. Although I may like adventure, the matter has to be looked on as a more serious level. It has really become one of the first class issues in India.

It affects the future of the Indian States. It also affects the position of the Political Department of the Government of India that has been dragged into the picture. The parties concerned are now not merely Jawaharlal Nehru on this side and the Kashmir State on the other, but the Indian National Congress and the States' People's Conference on one side and the Political Department of the Government of India and the Kashmir Government on the other.

Whatever happens now, likely to affect other matters including the whole question of the Indian States in the Constituent Assembly.

Because it has such far-reaching consequences, we have to act as I feel as we can, to restrain our ardour, and to go ahead rather slowly. Normally speaking, I might go to Kashmir in time for the next date for Sheikh Abdullah's trial.

Pandit Nehru stated that the Kashmir Prime Minister had, during his recent visit to Kashmir, not met only Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, but also Mahatma Gandhi. He had now gone back to Kashmir to consult the Maharaja and, may be, the Political Department.

STATES' REPRESENTATIVES

Pandit Nehru reiterated that Congress stand in respect of States participation in the Constituent Assembly and said: "States decision has been and is that elected representatives of the States people must go there. The rulers say that they should nominate representatives. What their stand today is, I do not know. But, obviously, we cannot accept that position. The real difficulty is that apart from the rulers' position, the Governments in the Indian States are so unrepresentative that a proper procedure must be adopted to make them representative and representatives of such Governments should go to the Constituent Assembly.

PRIVATE ARMIES

The Congress President's attention was drawn to some of the bigger states like Hyderabad not demobilising their war-time army. Pandit Nehru said: "It is highly undesirable for all these small, separate armies to continue. They are bound not to continue under the Union Government of India. There will be only one central army. May be, during the intervening period of transition some of these may carry on."

Pandit Nehru referred to the Hyderabad State retaining its war-time army. "The history of Hyderabad's army or the military history of Hyderabad is not one to inspire anybody." He said even if I think ever in terms of a conflict, the Hyderabad State forces will not cause me the least trouble or loss of sleep."

Fundamentally, the problem is that of British power supporting these states. Once that is removed, the picture changes completely. No local state army can carry on independently against the rest of India, because it is a physical impossibility."

FANTASTIC NONSENSE

Pandit Nehru was asked whether he believed the recent agitation in Kashmir was inspired by Russia. He replied: "It is not a question of belief. It is fantastic nonsense." The Frontier was full of bazaar rumours. One met various nationalities from Tibet, China and Central Asia. One entered a new atmosphere. He had no doubt at all that in such places there were possibly a number of spies of various foreign powers.

There might also be British spies on the other side of the Indian border. "It is quite absurd for any intelligent person to talk of any Russian bogey in Kashmir or the possibility of a Russian advent into Kashmir now or in the near future. It might happen fifteen or twenty years hence."

Asked why no member of the Scheduled Castes or Labour representative had been included in his new Working Committee the Congress President said he had to choose the cabinet from among the members of the A.I.C.C. He proposed, however, to invite such representatives from outside to the Working Committee meetings whenever necessary. —A.P.

Ceylon Indians' Faith In Pandit Nehru

COLOMBO, July 10.

Mr. Thondaman, President, Ceylon Indian Congress, has wired to Pandit Nehru thanking the Indian National Congress Working Committee for its 'solicitude in the welfare of Ceylon Indians' and welcoming the announcement appointing under Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's leadership to "redress our grievances."

Interviewed Pandit Nehru of the prompt calling of the hartal, Mr. Thondaman adds: "Ceylon Indians have full confidence in endeavour will meet with success."

BRITISH SHOULD DISCHARGE OBLIGATION TO CEYLON INDIANS

In a cable addressed to six British M.P.'s and the Trade Union Congress and editors of *Daily Herald* and *Times*, Mr. Mutha, Secretary, Ceylon Indian Congress, urges discharge of the "British obligation" in the matter of securing Ceylon Indians franchise and citizenship rights."

THE BHARAT JYOTI

Congress Pushing Country Into Chaos!

MAMDOT NAWAB'S HIT AT NEHRU

LAHORE, July 13.

The Nawab of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Muslim League commenting on Pandit Nehru's latest press conference says in a statement:

The Congress is rapidly pushing the country into chaos and bloodshed. Its latest achievement is the resurrection of its so-called Socialist Party. Socialism everywhere and of all schools of thought has been a practical device against social and economic mal-adjustments, but in India it has unfortunately become an instrument of social tyranny. Evidently the caste system has got the better of it as it did get better of religion and all humanitarian institutions in the past. The main objective of Hindu Socialism today is to deny the right of self determination to one hundred million Mussalmans and to vilify their greatest and national organisation (Muslim League). Saint Simon and Karl Marx must be howling from their graves at this new hybrid off shoot of their economic theories which are being used to their own ends by Hindu capitalist financiers of the Congress.

Pandit Nehru's somersaults are perhaps among the greatest tragedies of modern India. His dynamic personality should have gone to help his country regain freedom and social justice, but instead he has thrown his weight on the side of turmoil, camouflage and black-mailing.

FANTASTIC INTERPRETATION

He has celebrated his presidential election by giving a most fantastic interpretation of the Cabinet Mission's statement. Every one knows it that the Mission has sought to confine the functions of the Central Government to three subjects namely, Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. The Muslims have never accepted this position willingly. They are out for complete separation and sovereign independent Pakistan State and it is only for the sake of a compromise that they have agreed to consider a centre in the context of the Cabinet Mission's statement. It is obvious that they can never agree to any interference in other subjects in which the group-units would be completely sovereign.

ECONOMIC DIRECTION MUST REST WITH GROUPS

Industries of all types, heavy or light, whether allied to defence or not, in fact the entire economic direction in the internal and external trade, foreign exchange, central banking, etc., must rest completely with the group administrations and the Centre would not have any say whatsoever in these matters. Certainly there will be some coordination somewhere, but it will be the result of an agreement between two or three autonomous units and not a matter of constitutional obligation to be devised beforehand.

The Muslim masses have long been exploited by [illegible] and other communities they are now determined to fashion their economic life in the iron way and nothing under the sun would deter them from achieving this end.—AP.

JINNAH'S "ULTIMATUM" TO PARLIAMENT

HYDERABAD, (Dn.), July 14.

MR. Jinnah has issued an "ultimatum" to British Parliament calling for a repudiation of the Congress interpretation of the Constituent Assembly procedure.

Mr. Jinnah charges both the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy with timidity in dealing with the Congress, adding that they had been suffering from "a fear complex and constant threats of the Congress resorting to Civil Disobedience."

In an interview to the Associated Press of India on the statement made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, at his recent Press Conference in Bombay, Mr. M. A. Jinnah said:

"It has been clear from the outset to those who understand from the letter of the President of the Congress of June 25, addressed to the Viceroy and the resolution of the Congress Working Committee that followed it next day, rejecting the interim Government proposals contained in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and Viceroy dated June 16, that the so-called acceptance by the Congress only of long-term pla of May 16 was never intended to honour its terms and obligations with the desire to carry out the scheme in the spirit of constructive and friendly co-operation. It ended with covert threat that the successful working of the Constituent Assembly will depend upon the formation of a satisfactory provisional Interim Government. After that they themselves had wrecked the final proposals put forward by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy in their statement of June 16.

CONGRESS RESERVATIONS

"In their resolution they make reservations and put fantastic interpretations upon the fundamentals of long-term plan and finally they make it clear that they were only going to prevent other people, whom they consider undesirable, from getting into the Constituent Assembly and seek elections to wreck the long-term plan also. They are going into the Constituent Assembly as he has now seen, so frankly and clearly defined by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, on his assumption of office as the President of the Congress to achieve their objective. He has also made it quite clear that they are not going to honour any of the terms of the long-term plan and that they are only entering to put it shortly to use it as platform for their propaganda in utter disregard of rights and obligations of those agreeing and who are in honour bound to fulfil or abide by it. This is simply because they have secured a brute majority of 292 against 79 Muslims in the Constituent Assembly.

"What Pandit Nehru says while referring to the correspondence that passed between the Cabinet Mission and Viceroy and the Congress and of their final decision of June 25-26 is, 'You will see on what conditions and circumstances we agreed to go into the Constituent Assembly. We have agreed to go into the Constituent Assembly and we have agreed to nothing else.'

"This is complete repudiation of the basic form upon which the long term scheme rests and all its fundamentals and terms and obligations and rights of parties accepting the scheme.

"I understand that there is going to be a debate in the British Parliament very soon on the report of the Cabinet Delegation and it is for the British Parliament and His Majesty's Government to make it clear beyond doubt and remove the impression that the Congress has accepted the long-term scheme which is sought to be conveyed abroad by the timid efforts of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, who throughout these negotiations suffered from a fear complex and constant threats of the Congress of resorting to Civil Disobedience, which is now repeated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his present statement to the Press Conference and further, in their undue anxiety to secure success of their mission at any cost and the sacrifice of everybody else.

"In spite of knowing fully well the true situation and the intentions of Congress, the Mission have tried to treat the decision of the Congress as acceptance by the party, who did so with real spirit of constructive co-operation to perform their obligations as honourable organisation, according to spirit and letter of the long-term scheme.

"We shall have to consider the situation when the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League will meet on July 26, 27 and 28 and adopt such action as we may think proper in the circumstances that have arisen."—A.P.I.

Morning Standard – 13/7/46.

TURN IT INTO BATTLEGROUND FOR FREEDOM!

Jai Prakash's Do's & Don'ts For Constituent Assembly

A "POSITIVE policy" for those Congressmen who are opposed to the Constitutional drift has been outlined by Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, General Secretary of the Congress Socialist Party, in a long statement to the Press.

Admitting that not to enter the Constituent Assembly is "merely a negative attitude," Mr. Jai Prakash calls for turning it into a "bat leground for freedom and democracy."

Jai Prakash says: "The A.-I.C.C. endorsed the decision of the Working Committee that the Congress should participate in the British sponsored Constitution-making body, miscalled a Constituent Assembly. After this verdict of the A.-I.C.C., Congressmen who were opposed to the policy of the Working Committee have to decide their future course of action. In this connecti I venture to place my views before them for what they may be worth.

"First, in view of our reading of the present situation, I think it undesirable for us to go to the so-called Constituent Assembly. Doing so would distort the perspective in which we wish to view these constitutional developments, distract revolutionary energy from its proper course and add to the general complacency and smugness prevalent, if not in the country, at least among overwhelmingly large numbers of Congressmen.

POSITIVE POLICY

"But not going to the Constituent Assembly is merely a negative attitude, and is likely to involve but a very small number of Congressmen. The question is what may be a positive policy for to-day. First and foremost, it is necessary to combat smugness, to combat false hopes, to dispel the lusio.. that discussions in the so-called Constituent Assembly would give us freedom and democracy. The perspective of a struggle, of a final all-out struggle with the British power should not be allowed o be dimmed or pushed into the background by the impending constitutional talks.

"The official Congress too talks of building up the strength of the Congress and organising the masses, but it is so submerged in constitutional and administrative work these talks become nothing but empty words. So it is the task of those Congressmen who are opposed to the Constitutional drift to prepare the Congress and the country for the inevitable struggle for Swaraj."

ORGANISE CAMPAIGN

"An essential part of the preparation for a struggle is to organise a country-wide campaign to place the positive aspects of freedom and democracy before the people so that they might be able to put the proposed Constituent Assembly to test, have it ultimately prorogued and make a demand for a real sovereign Constituent Assembly and fight to enforce it.

CHALLENGE TO NEHRU

"President Nehru has put a new interpretation on the British sponsored Assembly. The people should be able to demand of their President that either the Assembly he commends to them should declare India immediately an independent republic, establish a free provisional Government, sending away the British Viceroy, all the armed British forces and other British personnel, and every penny of British capital, and ensure the unity of the country and a free social democracy, or denounce the whole British Plan and bring the Congress again to the path of revolutionary action."

TWO WAYS

"There are only two ways of utilising the Constituent Assembly, once the Congress enters it. One is to make every necessary compromise to ensure that a settlement is reached with all the British stooges and undemocratic forces in it and strangle the struggle for freedom. This path the Congress can accept only to commit suicide. The other path is to try to turn the Assembly into a battle-ground for freedom and democracy, which would mean its speedy dissolution and the return of the Congress to its right path."

"KEY TO FREEDOM IS IN DELHI"

Morning Standard 12/7/46

LONDON, July 11.

THE Conservative 'Daily Telegraph' sounds a note of caution in a leading article to-day on the elections for the Indian Constituent Assembly.

"Obtaining the assent of various communities in India to meet together to consider the forms under which India is to be governed, is a major achievement of the Cabinet Mission after three months of troubled negotiations."

It says "congratulations on even that measure of success may prove premature. It is one thing to provide a machinery for discussion and another to bring out concord. None of the major disagreements between the Congress Party and the Moslem League has been softened. All the differences that have made impossible the formation of an Interim Government drawn from both the parties remain as wide as before."

ELDER STATESMEN

The 'Daily Telegraph' notes that Congress nominations for membership of the Constituent Assembly include certain number of elder statesmen such as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru while Mr. Gandhi remains outside by his own wish. That is an anomalous position which may have unpredictable consequences. The 'Telegraph' continues: "Mr. Gandhi has shown in recent deliberations of the Congress Party that he can sway it to his will as of old. On Saturday last, he carried the day against the Socialist wing of his party which favoured for 'direct action' to end British rule and secured consent of the Congress to take its place in the Assembly. He did so while asserting that that body is not a 'free assembly' and has many defects which the Congress Party will strive to remove."

"The attitude of the Congress is bluntly stated in a manifesto of the Indian League, the mouthpiece in Great Britain, which says: 'It cannot be too widely appreciated that the only operative part of the Congress decision is the willingness to participate in the Constituent Assembly subject to conditions. Everything else is void. The objectives remain unchanged."

The 'Daily Telegraph' continues: "The Assembly, when it meets next month, will be a wholly Indian body of 385 members in whose election the British have had no part. So, the question is definitely posed whether, unhindered, Indian communities are capable or evolving forms of Government for themselves acceptable to the nation as a whole. British help in that task will be freely given, but only at the request of members of the Assembly. In all other respects, India's destiny is left to be determined in the deliberations of its chosen leaders. Speaking as the new president of the Congress Party, Pandit Nehru said on Saturday that 'India stands on the doorstep of freedom.'

"The key that can open the door is in Delhi, not in London."—

"Mischievous In Timing"

Chronicle 12/7/46

"Tribune" On Jinnah's Second Thoughts

LONDON, July 11. (UPA): The left-wing 'Tribune' today accused Muslim League President M. A. Jinnah of "throwing a spanner into the delicate mechanism of India's transition from a subject to a sovereign nation" by his latest action, which the 'Tribune' called, 'Jinnah's Second Thoughts.'

The 'Tribune' claimed that the A.I.C.C. by recently deciding to support the scheme, removed the last obstacle to the convening of the Constituent Assembly next month. "Now the Muslim League has second thoughts about the long-term scheme and intends to re-examine its attitude when the League Council meets July 29, the day following the anticipated announcement of the final election results."

The publication conceded that Congress claimed certain reservations in accepting the long-term plan, but, said the 'Tribune', so has the Muslim League and these differences must be thrashed out by a properly convened Constituent Assembly after Britain's political power has been withdrawn.

The 'Tribune' concluded: "Jinnah's latest threat to withdraw his support of the Constituent Assembly is as irresponsible as it is mischievous [illegible]ming."

LIAQAT ALI'S DOUBTS

"Has Congress Really Accepted Long-Term Plan?"

NEW DELHI, July 11, (A. P. I.): Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, General Secretary, All-India Muslim League explained to-day why he thought the time had come for the Muslim League to reconsider its decision to accept the Cabinet Mission's long-term plan and examine whether the League should take part in any fresh negotiations for an Interim Government.

"Pandit Nehru's remarks yesterday at Bombay—ignoring for the moment his pompous claim to be able to create new situations—should remove any doubts that may have lingered in any quarter as to the real intentions with which the Congress propose to enter the Constituent Assembly," said the Nawabzada to an A. P. I. correspondent. "I think that in view of the statements made by Pandit Nehru yesterday and by other speakers at the A. I. C. C. earlier, it is essential for the British Government to restate and clarify their intentions as to the Constituent Assembly plan".

This, in the Nawabzada's view, was all the more necessary because the Mission had publicly stated that the Congress had accepted the long-term proposals contained in the statement of May 16 whereas, according to Pandit Nehru the Congress had accepted only the method of election to the Constituent Assembly, and nothing more. Surely, the Nawabzada commented, no one, not even the Congress or the Mission, could argue that the method of election to the Constituent Assembly was by any means the most vital part of the statement of May 16.

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan reiterated the Muslim League view that the Cabinet Mission had gone back on their word as regards the formation of an Interim Government. The Mission's interpretation of Paragraph 8 of their statement of June 16 had not been considered even by independent British opinion in India to be a straightforward interpretation. But even that interpretation and the decision based on it were given on the assumption that the Congress accepted the statement of May 16.

"Now, can anyone, after reading the speeches at the AICC and the declarations made by the Congress President, say that the Congress has accepted the statement of May 16," asked the Nawabzada.

All this he added, pointed to the need for a fresh statement of British Government's intentions. Without that, it would be worse than useless for the Muslim League to go into the Constituent Assembly or enter into any renewed negotiations which the Viceroy might start for the formation of an Interim Government after the elections to the Constituent Assembly were over but, a decision on these matters, of course, rested with the Council of the Muslim League, which would meet in Bombay on July 28 and 29.

WHY A.-I.C.C. DECISION FRIGHTENS LEAUGE

HYDERABAD (Deccan), July 10.

"THE trend of Congress mind is to give an interpretation of its own to the ceding of the three basic powers of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications to the Federal Centre in order that it might become strong enough to present a picture of unitary state rather than that of a union as envisaged by the Cabinet Mission.

This is Dr. Syed Abdul Latif's impression while discussing the possible repercussions of the proceedings of the recent A.-I.C.C. Session at Bombay on Indian States and other political parties in British India.

Dr. Latif says it confirms his apprehension that in the name of economic unity of India the Congress Party in the Constituent Assembly might by sheer weight of its majority add to the federal list of subjects undermining on the one hand full autonomy conceded to the provinces and groups and on the other liquidating the autonomous and sovereign status of states like Hyderabad.

Dr. Latiff says that the left-wing of the Congress led by Mr. Jaiprakash Narain, Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali and Mr. Achyut Patwardhan gathered such strength that the right wingers who hold office in the Congress to-day had to by way of placating the left-wing hold out a promise that if they cannot carry out their full programme to their satisfaction in the Constituent Assembly they will "wreck" or "kill" the assembly itself.

He says: "This is not a good beginning in the process of hammering out a constitution for India. It is bound to alarm the Muslim League and major Indian States in particular."

LEAGUE SET A THINKING

The Doctor says that the Congress High Command knows that it was no easy task for a leader like Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who has been for several years fighting for an absolutely independent Pakistan to have himself to urge the League Council at its last meeting to accept the Union Plan in the earnest hope that the Pakistan areas would enjoy at least real autonomy and a two-fold function at the Centre on terms of equality with the rest of India. "Will not the proceedings of the A.-I.C.C. make the League freshly sthinking and arouse in its mind doubts and fears about Congress intentions and lead to unfortunate results," he asks.

"At any rate it behoves Hyderabad to grow cautious if Hyderabad follows a cautious but helpful policy she can materially influence the mind of every political party in India and show due consideration to each other's interests and build up a constitution and a political structure agreeable to one and all," he concludes.—A.P.I.

Morning Standard 12/7/46

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Constituent Assembly

"Viceroy Not Entitled To Lay Down Terms Of Election"

CALCUTTA, July 9.

ALL steps that are being taken to bring into existence the Constituent Assembly are "illegal and ultra vires" in the absence of a Parliamentary legislation authorising the establishment of such a body, according to Dr. P. N. Bannerjee, President of the Indian Association, Calcutta, and former Member of the Central Assembly.

"Unlike the British Parliament, which is a sovereign and omnipotent body," Dr. Bannerjee says, "the Provincial Legislature of India have to function within the four corners of the Government of India Act. They cannot exercise any powers which have not been conferred on them by that Act."

He adds that the formation of a Constituent Assembly is not among the powers vested in the Provincial Legislatures, and the powers entrusted to the Governor-General in the Act of 1935 do not include the issuing of instructions for elcting a constitution-making body. Nor, is the Governor-General entitled to lay down terms and conditions for such elections.

He also points out that there is no provision in the Act for forming combinations of certain sections of the Provisional Legislatures on a communal or racial basis and, as such, he supports the contention that the division of the legislative chamber into communal compartments is illegal.

Morning Standard 11/7/46

League Cheated Into Abandoning Pakistan

HIDAYATULLAH'S WAIL

KARACHI.

"THE acceptance by the Muslim League of a single Union Centre, however few or many be the subjects or portfolios controlled by it, amounts to a virtual abandoning of the ideal of Pakistan. In spite of this, the British Mission has let it down," observed Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Sind Premier, on his return from Delhi after attending the meeting of the League High Command Council.

Asked what action the Muslim League contemplated taking in view of the statement of the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission of June 26 Sir Ghulam said that they had gone back on their earlier statement of June 16 according to which the Interim Government at the Centre had to be formed on June 26, even if some members and parties chose to step out and stay out.

The Muslim League had reason and justification to feel cheated and betrayed, particularly after its clearly and promptly expressed acceptance of the Interim Government proposals. It had even gone further and stated that whatever the attitude of the other members and parties, it (the League) was ready, willing and able to work the Interim Government.

Sir Ghulam further observed that there was no doubt that both the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission after giving assurances in writing to the League to the effect that they would permit that body to run the Government without much let or hindrance, had apparently abandoned the plan. But until they definitely revoked the Interim Government, it was rather premature to think of taking any action.

FEAR OF OBSTRUCTION

Sir Ghulam was extremely pessimistic about the smooth sailing of the proposed Constituent Assembly. What he had lately observed had convinced him that all manner of obstructive tactics would be resorted to and the work of the Constituent Assembly would be unnecessarily and unconscionably prolonged.

Points of order, protests and even walk-outs, feared Sir Ghulam, would be a regular feature of the Constituent Assembly. Every little innocent would be interpreted as a tyranny by one community against another and everything conceivable would be done to hold up its work and create as many interruptions as possible.

Sir Ghulam thought it necessary to amend his previous statements which was that the Constituent Assembly would take 12 months to finish its work. Now he was not sure if some agreed Constitution would be hammered out even in four years, he added. Observed.

MISSION FAILED

Although Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the League, declined to predict what action the League Council might take at its meeting on July 28 and 29 in Bombay, he said, in an exclusive interview:

"The Mission's anxiety to succeed has made them fail."

He asserted that the British had "gone back on their word" to the Muslim League and that the Congress Party's acceptance of the Constituent Assembly plan for drafting a constitutions was a "complete" and that in reality "they have accepted nothing."

Congress leaders took the view at the recent All-India Congress Committee meeting in Bombay, when acceptance of the Constituent Assembly plan was ratified, that Provinces might realign themselves according to their desires in the beginning and instead of after a stated period as outlined by the Cabinet Mission.

Liaquat Ali Khan took the view that the Congress position would make the Constituent Assembly a sovereign body, adding that "it is established as a sovereign body, we would have no [illegible] whatsoever we would be one against many."

Unless the position is clarified," he continued, "it would be sufficial for the Muslim League to enter the Constituent Assembly."

ON WARPATH

Asked what might happen in the event it was decided to continue with the Constituent Assembly without the Muslim League, Liaquat Ali Khan replied:

"Certainly it will not be a peaceful transfer of power that I can say. The Mussalman will not sit idly lying down.

Should all acceptance be withdrawn and nothing further done, he said that "then the only thing to do is to divide," reverting to the demand for a separate Muslim state—Pakistan.

LOST FAITH IN BRITISH

Liaquat Ali Khan also asserted that "our only fault has been that we have been honest about the whole thing. . . Our faith has been shaken certainly, in the word of the British. Now we cannot tell if they mean what they say."

He also commented that if the Cabinet Mission had declared the Constituent Assembly would be a sovereign body, "we would not have accepted. We would have demanded separate Constituent Assemblies, one for our Provinces and one for the Hindu Provinces."

The League Secretary said, in the formal statement, calling the Council meeting at Bombay that the Cabinet delegation and the Viceroy "have gone back on their word in postponing the formation of the Interim Government, according to their [illegible] proposals . . and have broken their solemn pledges given in writing to the Muslim League.

"Further, the Congress has accepted the long-term plan of the Cabinet Mission only conditionally . . and on their own interpretation, which is totally opposed to the authoritative statement made by the Cabinet delegation and the Viceroy on May 14 . . particularly with regard to the Grouping of Provinces, which is the corner-stone of the long-term scheme.

"In view of these serious developments, it has been considered necessary that the Council should examine the whole position and decide what course of action should be adopted by the Muslim League under the changed circumstances."

A.P.I.

League Paper On Issues

NEW DELHI, July 10: The Council of the All-India Muslim League, which has been called to meet in Bombay on July 28 and 29 will, according to *Dawn*, the League newspaper of Delhi, "review the situation created by the refusal of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy to go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government with the help of the Muslim League, and the wavering attitude of the Congress to the long-term plan."

"Since June 6, when the Council passed a resolution approving of the long-term plan and the proposal for the Interim Government," the paper proceeds, "circumstances have changed and the Muslim League has taken the only proper and possible decision to elicit the opinion of the larger body in order to determine its course of action in the light of new factors which have arisen.

"A Government of officials is an inauspicious prelude to the setting up of a constituent assembly," the paper says. Reviewing the proceedings of the A.I.C.C. session, *Dawn*, refers to the speeches made by Congress leaders, particularly Pandit Nehru and Maulana Azad, and says: "It is unthinkable how the Congress could remain hostile to the idea of grouping, once it has decided to enter the constituent assembly, a decision which involves an implicit acceptance of all the important provisions of the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16. It is difficult to question the validity of the view that, if provinces are to have the discretion to join or remain out of a group, the groups are equally entitled to exercise their right to join or not to join the Centre."

The paper sees in Pandit Nehru's remarks "a political threat to walk out of the constituent assembly if the fantastic demands of the Congress are not conceded." "Pandit Nehru," says the paper, "is even anticipating a Union Centre enjoying powers beyond those assigned to it by the Cabinet Mission's long-term plan."—A.P.I.

Times 11/7/46

ICLE Chronicle 10/7/46

Breach Of Solemn Pledges

Liaquat Ali Accuses Viceroy & Mission

Calls Meeting Of League Council At Bombay On July 28 "In View Of Serious Developments"

NEW DELHI, July 9. (A.P.I.): It has been decided, says Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, to convene a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay on July 28 and 29.

Since the Council passed its resolution on June 6 accepting the scheme embodied in the statement of the Cabinet delegation and the Viceroy of the 16th May and the 25th of May, certain developments have taken place. The Cabinet delegation and the Viceroy have gone back on their word in postponing the formation of the 'Interim' Government according to their final proposals embodied in their statement of the 16th of June and have broken their solemn pledges given in writing to the Muslim League in this connection.

Further, the Congress has accepted the long-term plan of the Cabinet Mission only conditionally with reservations and their own interpretation which is totally opposed to the authoritative statement made by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on the 28th of May clarifying their statement of the 16th May particularly with regard to the grouping of provinces which is the corner-stone of the Long-Term Scheme.

In view of these serious developments, it has been considered necessary that the Council should examine the whole position and decide as to what course of action should be adopted by the Muslim League under changed circumstances.

The Working Committee meeting will also be held on July 27 at Bombay.

"THE TIMES" CALL TO GANDHIJI

Hindu 10/7/46

LONDON, July 9.

The Times to-day says that there will be general regret that Mr. Gandhi has not permitted himself to be nominated for the Constituent Assembly. "His unique influence, if it is exerted from outside rather than from inside, tends to be unpredictable," it says. "That he can still dominate the counsels of the party became clear when he induced the Working Committee to break with the short-term plan on the issue of the inclusion of a Congress Muslim; it was again illustrated in Bombay last week-end. The fighting speeches of the Congress Socialists, a formidable and growing section of opinion among the younger men, were received with enthusiastic applause when they demanded scornful rejection of the Cabinet Mission's plan; but when the time for voting came, it was the calm exposition by Mr. Gandhi of his personal opinion that secured approval of the plan by a four-to-one majority. It is impossible to imagine Mr. Gandhi disinteresting himself in the Constituent Assembly which will determine the future administration of his country; and it is assuredly better that his influence should be exerted consistently as a participant in its work rather than spasmodically as an outsider."

The Times thinks that the Congress Party list, headed by the new President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and his immediate predecessor, is particularly strong and remarks that it is "extended beyond the ranks of the Party by the inclusion of such distinguished elder statesman as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as well as of representatives of minority interests and women's organisations." It notes that the Muslim League list contains most of those who have emerged into prominence in connection with the Pakistan campaign and continues: "Sikhs are still an uncertain factor. They would be well-advised to take their place in the Constituent Assembly and trust to their solidarity and the respect they command for the protection of their essential interests. Their position is far stronger than that of the Scheduled Castes, who, in spite of their numbers, are politically ill-organised from poverty and ignorance and desire to be recognised rather as a separate element than as recipient of the charity of the Congress Party. They fear they may fare badly in the elections and they have been demonstrating lately in Delhi and Bombay. They are determined that their cases shall not go by default when the new constitution is being framed."

The Times summarises the scheme by which the choice of representatives is being made and adds: "This plan in addition to being the fairest that could be devised as a substitute for universal suffrage, which most people wanted but nobody was prepared to wait for, has the advantage of great flexibility." It concludes: "The task before the Assembly is immense and the prospects of success depend largely upon the wisdom of the great parties and interests, in nominating representatives who are due to stand for election next week."

Abdul Majid's Bombshell On Constituent Assembly

"Ultra Vires" Of Government Of India Act For Governors And Legislatures To Transact Business Of This Nature

KARACHI, July 8. (A.P.I.): The legal and constitutional sanction behind the establishment and conduct of the proposed Constituent Assembly is questioned by Sheikh Abdul Majid, a prominent Nationalist Muslim Leader of Sind, in a statement to the press.

He maintains that the whole procedure is 'Ultra Vire' of the Constitutional Act. He warns against the danger in pursuing the contemplated course of the risk of having the legality of the elections tested by a competent court.

Sheikh Abdul Majid asks if under the Government of India Act of 1939 provincial legislatures are authorised or competent to transact business of this nature. He doubts whether there is any provision in the Government of India Act or even in the Instrument of Instructions to Governors or the Governor-General to issue instructions enjoining on the provincial legislatures to elect members to the Constituent Assembly much less on the terms and conditions imposed by them. Thirdly, he asks if the provincial legislature without competent authority derived from Statute can convert itself into two or more communal constituencies.

Lastly, he asks if a provincial legislature is legally competent to override th provisions contained in Section 66 of the Government of India Act and determine the procedure of the election not by a majority of votes of the members present but by a method which arbitrarily divides the legislative chamber into communal compartments and also gives a vote to the presiding authority to exercise even in the absence of a tie.

ELECTION DATES

NEW DELHI, July 7.—According to information available here elections in all the Provincial Assemblies to the Constituent Assembly will be completed by July 22.

The province of Sind in Group B will be the first to elect its four representatives, the election taking place on July 11.

Madras, in Group A, will be the last province to elect its 49 members on July 22.

Bihar will also elect its 36 representatives on the same date.

The election date for the provinces will be as follows:

Group A: Madras (49 seats) July 22, Bombay (21 seats) July 20; the United Provinces (55 seats) July 20; the Central Provinces (17 seats) July 18; Bihar (36 seats) July 22; and Orissa (9 seats) July 17.

Group B: Punjab (28 seats) July 19; the North-West Frontier Province (3 seats) July 20; and Sind (4 seats) July 11.

Group C: Bengal (60 seats) July 17; and Assam (10 seats) July 16.

The figures indicate that the number of seats to be elected from the three groups are: General 210, Muslim 78 and Sikhs 4, thus making a total of 292 seats.—GLOBE.

Hindustan Standard

July 7, 1946.

'SECRET DIPLOMACY ABOUT INDIA'

Frustration Of Mission's Original Plan

LONDON, JULY 5.—"An odour of secret diplomacy hangs over the present deadlock in India and will continue to do so until the full text of the Viceroy's private letters to leaders of both parties are published," writes the "Tribune," London's influential Socialist weekly.

In the paper's opinion, frustration of the Mission's original plan was partly the "product of Viceregal indiscretion —to put it mildly.". Mr. Jinnah, the paper says, is making most of private assurances given to him by the Viceroy that the Mission "were wedded to the principle of communal representation," at the same time complaining that full text of the correspondence between the Viceroy and the President of the Congress had not been made available to him.

The "Tribune" says that the temporary solution of "Caretaker" Government will not allow matters to rest for long. "Two large and powerful political parties, unhampered by administrative responsibility but with their appetite for power whetted by the past few months' negotiations cannot be expected to go quietly ahead with election of the Constituent Assembly with no thought of manoeuvring for the next round."

This view of the Socialist paper is strangely contrasted with the Parliamentary Labour Party's resolution passed yesterday, congratulating the Cabinet Mission for their sustained effort in negotiations which have "contributed materially towards achievement of Indian independence." —U. P. I.

British Press On Cabinet Mission's Failure

LONDON, JULY 5.—"Breakdown of the attempt to get agreement on the Interim Govt. supported by all parties is the only failure so far, says the "Spectator," the London weekly with Conservative tendency, in an editorial today.

The paper adds: "To the extent that it absolves Indian political leaders from any immediate responsibility it is a serious failure for acceptance of that responsibility is the key to the whole problem.

"Moreover, since this position was brought about by the Congress opposition, and since the appointment of a Govt. of officials has given Mr. Jinnah an excuse to express once more suspicion of British good faith, omens are not good."

Saying that it is rather too much to hope that the Interim Govt. will have a quiet time, the "Spectator" concludes: "Election of a Constituent Assembly and successful completion of its work in an atmosphere of suppressed excitement and incipient famine can hardly go by without mishap. Already, communal differences, which were all too prominent during the Mission's stay, have produced violence at Ahmedabad, and there may be more to come. But the inexorable burden of Govt. is shifting towards the Indians themselves."

MISSION'S WORK

Commenting on the work of the British Cabinet Mission in India, the editorial says: "The Cabinet Mission is back after three months' intensive work in India, and the balance sheet of its achievements is about to be cast up. There are many items to its credit. It has been finally established that it is the British wish and intention that India shall go her own way. The Indians have no reason to doubt it.

"Even the Americans are impressed to the extent that their attitude to India is determined by facts. The Mission also managed to bring the Congress and the Muslim League parties together, a feat which Mr. Jinnah's blinkered advocacy of a separate Pakistan had at one time made most unlikely. Most important of all, assent has been secured to the scheme for an Indian Union and election of a Constituent Assembly to determine its details." —Reuter.

BRITISH AT ROOT OF HITCH IN INDIA

LONDON, JULY 5.—No hitch exists in India, declares Mr. Lionel Fielden, former Director of All-India Radio in an article in tomorrow's left-wing London weekly "New Statesman and Nation."

"As for India, no hitch exists or has ever existed, except that one hitch so often described by Mr. Gandhi that the British will not get down from their high horse," Mr. Fielden writes, adding—"When they do, Gandhi and Jinnah will come to terms."—Reuter.

"VICEREGAL INDISCRETION"

Indian Nation 6/7

LONDON, July 5.—Commenting on the British Cabinet Mission's return to Britain, Left-wing weekly "Tribune" says that frustration of the Mission's original plan for India was partly due to "Viceregal indiscretion".

The writer says that Mr. Jinnah's refusal to join the proposed interim Government was based on the assurances given him privately by the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, that the Mission was wedded to the principle of communal representation and asks for publication of the full text of the Viceroy's private letters to leaders of both the parties.

Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru is mentioned in "Tribune's" leading article on Palestine as sharing with Jewish leaders the honour of arrest by the British.—Reuter.

Bengal Europeans Not To Vote

ASSEMBLY ELECTION

CALCUTTA, July 5.

The European Party in the Bengal Legislative Assembly has decided to abstain from voting in the elections to the Constituent Assembly.

"As the two major Indian political parties have come to no agreement on the exercise by the European Party in the Bengal Assembly of their votes in the forthcoming elections for the Constituent Assembly, and as, on the contrary, the exercise of their franchise seems likely to be a continuing source of discord, the European Party in the Bengal Assembly, in accordance with their previously expressed policy and sincerely hoping that their decision will contribute to the successful working of the constitution-making machinery by all Indian political parties, have decided to abstain from voting in the forthcoming elections to the Constituent Assembly," says a statement. —A.P.I.

Indian Leaders Are Stupid, Says 'Time & Tide'

LONDON, July 5.

FEW of the recognised popular leaders of India have come out of the recent test with honours, says the Right Wing Weekly 'Time and Tide' to-day. "But those with the least are Pandit Nehru and his colleagues."

"Narrow doctrinaire and in many respects plain stupid politically, they resolutely decline to accept responsibility for anything but the new India of their own ambitions—the India, the whole conception of which will be bitterly opposed by sections of people far too powerful.

"By refusing to enter the Interim Government," the article adds, "they escape responsibility to retain their privilege of immoderate criticism and reserve perpetual rights for rejection of everything that does not correspond 100 per cent. to their own blue print for a Congress-dominated India."

In a note on the British Cabinet Mission's return to Britain, the Left wing weekly 'Tribune' says that frustration of the Mission's original plan for India was partly due to "Viceregal indiscretion." The writer says that Mr. Jinnah's refusal to join the proposed Interim Government was based on the assurances given him privately by the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, that the Mission was wedded to the principle of communal representation and asks for publication of the full text of the Viceroy's private letters to leaders of both the parties." It is painfully obvious that matters in India will not rest for long," says the note.

"Two large and powerful political parties, unhampered by administration responsibility but with their appetite for power whetted by past few months of negotiations, cannot be expected to go quietly ahead with the election of the Constituent Assembly with no thought of manoeuvring for the next round."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is mentioned in 'Tribune's' leading article on Palestine as sharing with Jewish leaders the honour of arrest by the British.

The article attacks the Labour Government's past policy and "still undeclared present policy" in Palestine and adds that the British Premier, Mr. Clement Attlee, "showed singular lack of imagination in accusing Palestine Jews, of Nazi methods, a phrase which can only further exacerbate feeling and which irresistibly recalls past Tory arguments against Irish and Indian rebels."

CLARIFICATION URGED

The article says that Mr. Attlee and Mr. Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, should clarify their ambiguous position without delay "for the situation is one which if left to drift unchecked will only benefit the opponents of Labour movement.

The influential British political weekly 'Spectator' says that the burden of Government is inexorably shifting towards Indians themselves.

Commenting on the work of the British Cabinet Mission, the 'Spectator' adds: "There are many items to the credit of the Cabinet Mission and even Americans are impressed to the extent that their attitude to India is determined by facts. The most important of all assent has been secured to a scheme for an Indian union and election of a Constituent Assembly to determine its details."

The 'Spectator' columnist, Janus, says: "A high authority on India remarked this week that there was little hope of communal settlement while the two leaders on either side remained alive. Since Mr. Gandhi has announced that he proposed to live to be 125 years of age, this judgment is a little depressing."

Morning Standard

6/7/46

Morning Standard 5/4/46.

THE MORNING STANDARD

PAKISTAN WITHOUT SOVEREIGNTY

Kunzru On Cabinet Plan

MADRAS, July 4.

THE view that the Union Centre envisaged in the Cabinet's Delegation's plan had only restricted powers and there was every need for augmenting its powers, was expressed by Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru, President, Servants of India Society, addressing a public meeting yesterday evening.

According to the Delegation's plan, defence, foreign affairs and communications were the three subjects which came under the purview of the proposed Union centre. Defence he said, was the common concern of the various groups and unless there was agreement and co-operation on all sides, the defence of the country would be weakened.

He added: "If our defence system is to be strong, the only way is to bring into existence a sound economic system which will be capable of yielding the required finance. But it is not clear from the Delegation's plan as to how the necessary finance is to be obtained by the Central machinery. The main issue whether the Union Centre should depend for its finances on grants from the provinces or have its own budget based on certain sources of revenue has yet to be settled.

Regarding foreign affairs, he said that the foreign minister held a responsible position and would have to enter into treaties and economic agreements with foreign countries and he would not be able to act independently in any matter without the consent of the groups. It was doubtful whether all the groups would co-operate in shaping the foreign policy of the country without setting up any barriers.

PROVINCIAL GROUPING

Concluding, Pandit Kunzru said that another drawback of the Delegation's plan was the defective grouping of provinces. The character of the grouping showed the extent to which the Cabinet Delegation had gone in order to satisfy the demands of the Muslim League. A careful study of the plan revealed that, short of allowing a sovereign Pakistan, the Viceroy and the Cabinet Delegation had gone as far as they could to meet the wishes of the Muslim League.

Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, former Advocate-General, who presided said there could be no difference of opinion on the need for a strong Centre both from the national and international points of view. Otherwise, he said, Indian Independence would be a mere delusion. At the same time it was to be remembered that if the functions of the centre were to be widened there would be no necessity for grouping at all. The duty of making the Union Centre as strong and as successful as much on the Indian States as on Muslim India and either of them should give their unstinted co-operation in common matters like defence and foreign affairs.—A.P.I.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN WARNS BRITAIN

"If it is only the shedding of blood which convinces the British Government, the Muslims will not hesitate to resort to that course if forced into it," observes Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary of the Muslim League, in a Press statement issued on Sunday evening.

The Nawabzada declared: "In view of the betrayal of Muslims by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy I wish to give a timely warning to his Majesty's Government not to be under the delusion that the reasonableness shown by the Muslim League during the negotiations is to be taken as a sign of its weakness. We have tried our best to avoid a struggle but if it is thrust upon us we shall face it with courage and determination. I ask Musalmans to be prepared and ready. We want peace with honour but if there is to be war we shall accept the challenge."

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan continues: "The interpretation which has been put by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on Paragraph 8 of their statement of June 16 regarding the formation of the Interim Government is worthy of a petty-fogging lawyer and not that of the three responsible members of H.M.G. and the representative of the Crown in India."

"The Congress," he declared, "has not budged an inch from the position it took up from the very beginning and has not shown any spirit of compromise. Even the acceptance of the long-term scheme by the Congress with its own interpretation of some of the vital provisions of the statement of May 16 is in fact a rejection of the scheme embodied in the Delegation's statement of May 16."—A.P.A.

"FREEDOM FOR INDIA MEANS CIVIL WAR"

TORY PRESS DISPLAYS CONCERN FOR POOR MASSES

LONDON, July 3.—The Cabinet Mission to India which has been generally praised by the British Press is severely criticized by the Conservative *Daily Express* today.

"Has it succeeded? Alas! yes," says the *Daily Express*. "If you set out to give everything away and if the offer is taken, then it is success of a kind. But its fruits will be bitter.

"The Indians are shown a path to get out of the Empire and are given a push along the way.

"The duty of the Cripps delegation was above all to keep India within the Empire. Instead, the Indians are free to secede as soon as they set up a Government of their own."

"Why is not Dominion Status fixed as the present goal?" the paper asks. "The new rulers of India would not lightly have abandoned it had they ever known its attractions.

"The British Commonwealth is still the only working model of free partnership. An India, enjoying the same status as Canada or Australia would quickly have sensed that membership of the Empire is a coveted honour in peace and a buckler in war.

"But that is not to be. The Indians are invited to walk alone while still mere toddlers in self-government."

Basic Plan Accepted

The Liberal *News Chronicle* writes: "Though the Mission did not succeed in getting 100 per cent agreement from the Indian parties, it achieved far more than the most optimistic would have dared to prophesy a few weeks ago. Its basic plans for the solution of India's constitutional problem have been accepted, and strong foundations have been laid upon which the Indians themselves now have an opportunity to build.

"For complicated reasons, born of 150 years of resentment, said the Labour Government's *Daily Herald* failure attended the efforts in years between the wars to find a formula of freedom to which both Hindus and Muslims could subscribe.

"In contrast" it continues, "what does the world see today?

"Both have consented to the Mission's main plan for an Indian Union, and together they speak for nearly seven-eighths of India's 400,000,000 population. In fact, by patient negotiation and sacrifice of petty prides the notorious deadlock has been broken.

"That is not to say that a complete solution of the Indian problem has yet been discovered. Only the main recommendations of the Mission have been accepted (and there are indignant protests even over these from India's minorities). There are serious disputes over the composition of the Interim Government that must precede the main plan.

Opportunity In Indian Hands

"Nevertheless a path to progress has at last been clearly blazed. The opportunity now rests, as it should, in Indian hands.

"Above all, a dawn-like change

servative *Daily Sketch*, (which is in the process of changing its name to the *Daily Graphic* asks: "When we do finally depart from India, if we ever do, who will be the gainers? Nobody, and least of all the masses, who will be caught up and tossed murderously here and there by a typhoon of civil war. But our Socialist Government, wilfully blind to the inescapable results of their policy, are determined that India shall be free.

"It will be free, when the reins at last fall from our grasp. We shall have 'liberated' India at the cost of the happiness of millions of hopeless people and at the cost of our self-respect because we shall betray the trust and loyalty of those who, like the Sikhs, stood by us in the hour of our extremity."

Referring to the British withdrawal from Palestine *Canadian* similarly asks whether the Egyptians enjoy a greater measure of freedom and material well-being. Turning then to Sarawak, *Canadian* says the people of Sarawak have been happy and prosperous under the Brooke dynasty and want their system of Government to continue, but the British Government contemptuously flouted their wishes.

"A few politicians in India and Egypt demand independence which will spell wretchedness for millions, and the British Government accede with indecent alacrity. We will not keep anybody within the Empire against their will."—Reuter.

Interpretation Of The Grouping Issue

MADRAS, JUNE 30.—Mr. T. R. Venkatrama Sastri, a Liberal leader, in a Press statement gives his interpretation of the clause relating to grouping of provinces in the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16.

Mr. Sastri says: "The Cabinet Mission did less than justice to themselves when they said what they intended, almost disowning the words in a paragraph which was to be binding on both parties and not to be altered except with the consent of both. Mahatma Gandhi's interpretation (Harijan May 6) is nearer the mark, though I suggest a slightly altered view."

The Congress interpretation was that as soon as the Constituent Assembly met, the question of grouping might be raised and voted on by the provinces.

MISSION'S "WORK OF GREAT VALUE"

Lord Pethick-Lawrence On Talks In India

MR. ALEXANDER URGES CO-OPERATION

LONDON, July 2.

THE first comment on the work of the Cabinet Mission in India by the Mission themselves was made today by Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, on arrival at Foole today along with Sir Stafford Cripps.

"I think we have done a piece of work in India that will be of great value, and will prove of greater value as time goes on," remarked Lord Pethick-Lawrence on alighting from the aircraft.

"Precisely how it will all work out it is too early to judge," he added, "but I know we have made many good friends in India and that they will not forget us now that we are back in England".

Statements on the Mission's work are expected to be made by Lord Pethick-Lawrence in the House of Lords and by Sir Stafford Cripps in the House of Commons next week.

Subsequently the Conservative Opposition will ask for a date to be fixed for a full debate.

Both the Cabinet Ministers, who left Karachi on Saturday and did the journey in easy stages, looked very fit.

The third member of the Mission, Mr. A. V. Alexander, arrived at Croydon airport today in another aircraft.

"We have made progress", Mr. Alexander said.

"It depends very largely now on the co-operation of the Indian parties between themselves" he added, saying that he would leave comment on the results of the Mission to the Secretary of State for India, who would "no doubt make a statement."

Mr. Alexander had broken his journey from India at Baghdad, Cyprus, Athens and Malta. The party in his plane included Sir Lawrence Mason, who has been assisting the Cabinet Mission in India.

MESSAGE TO INDIA

Lord Pethick-Lawrence, giving *Reuter's* political correspondent an exclusive message for Indians in the special train conveying the party from Foole harbour to London, said, "On our return from our mission to India we recall with pleasure the many friendly contacts we were able to make during our stay in the country. It is satisfaction to us that so far as one part—the most important part of our task—was concerned, we were able to succeed in our efforts.

"The Constitution-making machinery is now in process of being set up, and we have every reason to hope that with the active co-operation of the two major parties, it will soon be settling down to its work.

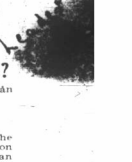
"Naturally we should have been happy, if we had also seen in being before we left India an Interim Government resting on the support of the principal parties. But though this did not prove possible, we still hope that the Viceroy will be able to achieve this in the early future, and that the major parties will give him every help they can in accomplishing this difficult task.

"We propose to report at once on the events to the British Government whose purpose remains in accordance with its declared intention that the Indians should at the earliest moment realise their independence, whether within or without the British Commonwealth, according to their choice."

Addressing the welcoming crowd at Victoria Station, Lord Pethick-Lawrence said, "We had a very strenuous time, and we know our colleagues had a strenuous time in our absence. We believe we made substantial progress and that there remains in India the fruit of our work which we believe will stand in good stead in days to come." When they left India they were told that the constitution-making machinery was going forward, and that both the main parties were taking active steps to see that very good men were elected.

Sir Stafford Cripps made no statement.—Reuter

CRESS STAND GETS BACKING IN BRITAIN



TO SPEEDY INDEPENDENCE NOW OPEN?

London, July 1. — **Britain's weekly reviews devote considerable space to summing up the India situation. While divided in apportioning responsibility for the interim Government deadlock, all hope that the communal rivalries may be produced it will not be allowed to upset the brighter future outlook which acceptance of the long-term plans has brought about.**

The **Tribune** sympathises with Congress over the issue of admittance of a Congress-Muslim to the interim Government, saying, 'In refusing to accept the appointment of a Congress-Muslim Jinnah is staking out a claim to complete domination over the entire Muslim community throughout India and the Cabinet Mission, by refusing so far to throw weight on the side of Congress, is effectively helping him in the struggle to keep India divided.'

The **Tribune** believes that nothing should be done to enable Congress to Hindu representation or to curb its aspirations to be a national organisation. It concludes: 'Whatever the Viceroy may have in mind the Cabinet Mission can safely be relied upon to avoid making such a monumental blunder as to form an interim Government over the heads of India's greatest political movement.'

The **New Statesman** supports the **Tribune** on the Congress-Muslim issue, declaring that Congress has always included Muslims and it is for Congress to pick its Muslim representatives. It adds that the Cabinet Mission record conflict that both the Congress and the Muslim League will eventually share in drafting the constitution.

The **Economist**, while critical of the Congress attitude during negotiations, stresses the more forward note by saying that the Mission's achievement 'means that if the constituent assembly now being elected does not flounder on some yet unforeseen communal difficulty there is now no major reason why India should not quickly become an independent state.'

TO CALL 'CONGRESS BLUFF'

The **Economist** believes that the caretaker Government would decide to call 'Congress bluff,' which it says it assumed that refusal to join the suggested interim Government would result in the Left being called in their favour. 'If Congress is really convinced that constitutional proposals should be made to work they must surely recognise that this task will be made more difficult if India is not at the centre both governed by a Government with the support of the major parties,' the **Economist** adds.

The **Spectator** regards it as of 'capital importance' that the Congress and Muslim League has proved capable of agreeing on something at all and that agreement on the principle of grouping at the centre is obviously more significant than agreement on a merely interim administration. The **Spectator** puts hope for the future in early establishment of the constituent assembly in whose hands will be 'the destiny of India'.

While there is disappointment that the efforts of the Mission have not resulted in full success there is no tendency in well-informed unofficial circles here to cloud concrete achievements gained on the one hand by failure which was met on the other.

The feeling is that the achievements have been a triumph for the Mission and the Viceroy rather than for the parties themselves.

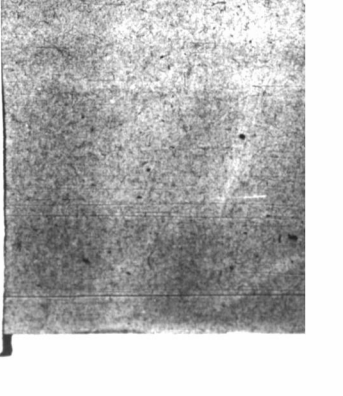
APPRECIATION OF CONGRESS

Prof. George Catlin told the **Globe** that he regards the situation as considerably more gratifying than was anticipated a week ago. He added: 'Despite statements in some sections of the press that the situation was damaged by communal obstinacies on the part of Congress, I am glad to notice in the **Daily Herald** that full appreciation is given of the part Congress has played.'

REPLY TO CYNICS

The **Manchester Guardian** sums up the British Mission's visit as having been enormously worth while and says the members and the Viceroy deserve Britain's thanks and those of India for their arduous efforts. Reflecting the disappointment it was the interim Government leaders the **Guardian** declares: 'India is rich in the means of freedom and these endeavours are so great that the other is brushed aside.' The cynical will say, 'We told you so; the last thing either Congress or the Muslim League wants is to assume responsibility for governing India.' It would be premature conclusion and yet there is much surface truth in it to explain the exasperation felt in Britain at the interminable negotiations, haggling and last-minute evasions.

The **Guardian** calls acceptance of the long-term plan 'a great achievement, and emphasises that the Mission has left the train for a while to attend the second representative interim Government.' **Globe.**



M. Slomans

British Reaction

Cabinet Mission Played League's Game!

"PAKISTAN IN DISGUISE"

(From Our Own Correspondent)

LONDON, June 30.

st toe the line, the Left-wing that "hopes of a settlement led by the Congress accept- uls and its decision to pre- y elections. All that remains a Government representation

all these reasons, enemies of In- dian freedom would rejoice at the establishment of an Interim Gov- ernment selected from the Muslim League and other non-Congress groups. They hope that, in the unlikely event of such a Govern- men gaining the support of the majority of the people, the Con- gress would suffer a severe set- back. On the other hand, as is practically inevitable, if the Con- gress rallied its mass support be- hind a new campaign of non-co- operation, it could be branded as undemocratic and irresponsible.

"Whatever the Viceroy may have in mind, the Cabinet Mission can safely be relied upon to avoid such a monumental mistake as forming the Interim Government over the head of the India's great- est political movement."

"GALLANT, BUT NOT REASONABLE"

The influential weekly, "Specta- tor," says the attempt by the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission to form a Coalition Interim Gov- ernment after a period of Government by officials represents rather gallant optimism than rea- soned confidence. But the attempt is worth making.

"The members of the Central Legislative Assembly must work as Indians for India's sake above all else," adds "Spectator." That is the goal to which the British Mission has strived ceaselessly to direct the aspirations of the Hindu and Muslim alike. If it is not at- tained, the responsibility will rest on India alone. British good faith in the matter has been demons- trated to the world beyond the possibility of a challenge.

The new plan Congress had rejected the invitation to join the Interim Government but had ac- cepted the long-term plan was both good and bad. In the first place, the fact that the Congress and the Muslim League have prov- ed capable of agreeing on anything at all is a fact of capital import- ance. In the second, agreement on the principle of the permanent set- tlement on India is obviously more significant than agreement on a merely interim administration, but, at the same time, no excessive hopes must be encouraged by what is now announced."

MR. GANDHI BLAMED

British Papers On Congress Policy

LONDON, June 28: Most provincial newspapers give prominent display to- day to the news that the Congress has accepted the British long-term plan for India, though some prefer to stress the unfavourable reception of the interim plan.

The "Scotsman" deplores that, when the Viceroy issued an invitation to prospective ministers, he indicated that if the parties failed to agree, he would, nevertheless, proceed to form a Gov- ernment of those willing to accept office, pointing out that this enabled the Congress party to avoid assuming responsibility. "How far the Congress party will go is not clear", says the paper. "If their acceptance of the long-term plan is hedged about with conditions and reservations intended to leave a loophole for the exercise of the Hindu majority's power without re- gard to the minority rights of Mus- lims, the whole scheme will break down because it will not be accepted by Muslims".

The Independent "Glasgow Herald" blames Mr. Gandhi for the Congress refusal of the interim plan, maintaining that he is always an adept at devis- ing an insuperable objection in the twelfth hour. "There would seem to be no escape from the conclusion that Mr. Gandhi, who has now no official standing in the Congress, cannot bring himself to support any decision which involves the shouldering by party lea- ders of governing responsibility. Be- ing himself without any conception of administration or any interest in Gov- ernment, he is virtually resolved that the Congress shall continue to be an irresponsible opposition."

U. S. BID TO SMASH AIR RECORD

NEW YORK, June 30. Twenty-

Wheeler-Mr. Jack Woolmans-is ou- side-year-old pilot and Walter of to smash air rules by flying per speed record set up by Britain with Clou- Mr. Woolmans will fly in a mam- Meteor jet plane.

Mr. Woolmans will fly in a mam- moth Boeing Super Fortress, be- cause it can operate more safely at 1,000 miles per hour which is 200 miles per hour faster than existing Britain that is the fas- test. Mr. Woolmans has a pressure suit and an automatic parachute re- serve. Globe

Rs. 2,75,000 Worth Gold Bar Found

ROTTERDAM, June 30.—A gold bar, valued at Rs. 2,25,000 was recovered from Dutch soldiers on board a dredger yesterday. The bar is believed to be one of 30 lost in May, 1940 when the Lutherville sank in Britain. Measures have been taken to recover the remaining 29 gold bars, valued at Rs. 22,50,000 (4,50,000 pre-war Dutch guild- ers).—Reuter.

M. N. M. Jalal, who is a mem- ber of the Pay Commission in the Central Secretariat, Bombay, is the A.I.T.U.C. He was for many years Vice-President of the Post- and-Telegraph Employees' Union. He will do his best to get substan- tial increases in pay, but he says that no increases will be of any use unless they are matched by increased production. Many of the measures he has taken to increase it are mentioned in his speech.

Chronicle

ICLE WEEKLY June 30, 1946

Personnel Of Wavell's Care-Taker Govt.

Only Two Indians In Council Of Nine: Planning Dept. Wound Up

NEW DELHI, JUNE 29. (A.P.I.): It has already been announced by the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission that a temporary Care-taker Government will be set up, pending further negotiations with the parties, says a *communique*. For this purpose His Majesty the King has approved the appointment of the following members of the Executive Council:—

Sir George Spence,
Sir Eric Coates,
Sir Robert Hutchings,
Sir Eric Conran-Smith,
Sir Gurunath Bewoor.

Together with Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari and the Hon. Mr. A. A. Waugh, who are already temporary members of the Executive Council, His Excellency Field-Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck, Commander-in-Chief, India also continue to serve.

A Press Note says:

The portfolios have been distributed by His Excellency the Governor-General as follows:

Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck—War.

Sir Gurunath Bewoor—Commerce and Commonwealth Relations.

Sir Eric Coates—Finance.

Sir Eric Conran-Smith—War Transport Railways, Post and Air.

Sir Robert Hutchings—Food and Agriculture.

Sir Akbar Hydari—Labour, Works, Mines and Powers Information and Arts, and Health.

Sir George Spence—Law and Education.

Mrs A. A. Waugh—Home and Industries and Supplies.

Since planning has now reached a stage at which it can be completed and implemented by the individual departments concerned, the Governor-General has decided to abolish Planning and Development as a separate Department. Co-ordination of development will be done by the Co-ordination Committee of the Council.

It is learnt that the resignation of the existing members of the Executive Council will take effect from the forenoon of July 3. A special meeting of the Executive Council will be held in Simla that afternoon at which the new members will take the oath.

CONGRESS AND THE CABINET PLAN

STATUS OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT

PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO VICEROY

ALLAHABAD, June 29

The General Secretary of the A.I.C.C. has released the following correspondence that passed between the Congress President and the Viceroy in regard to the recent negotiations for cooperation with the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly.

The correspondence is released with the mutual consent of the two parties:

Letter from Maulana Azad, the Congress President, to the Viceroy dated May 25, 1946:

Your Excellency will remember that the demand of the Congress from the very beginning of the present discussions regarding the Interim Government has been that there must be a legal and constitutional change in order to give it the status of a truly National Government. The Working Committee has made it clear that in the interest of a peaceful settlement of the Indian problem the Interim Government would not be in a position to infuse in the Indian people the consciousness of freedom which is to-day essential. Both Lord Pethick-Lawrence and you have also realised that the very difficulties in the way of offering such a constitutional change while at the same time assuring us that the Interim Government would be run according to its law, the absence of a truly National Government The Work, and Committee feel that the Interim Government's declaration that the Constituent Assembly will be free to proceed with framing the constitution and any constitution framed by it will be free from the recognition of Indian independence is important. It is not the Interim Government which is to function during the period of the Constituent Assembly but a reflect this recognition. In my last conversation with you I explained to you the Congress intention to function as a constitutional head of the Government and that the powers of the Interim Government would have the same powers as the Governor-General in normal conditions. This, however, is a matter which is so important that it would be unfair either to you or to the Congress Working Committee to let it go merely as a result of informal conversations. Even without any change in the law it should be some formal understanding by which the Congress Working Committee may be assured that the Interim Government would in practice function in the manner I have set.

The question of the responsibility of the Interim Government to the Central Assembly must also be treated in the same manner. The existing law permits an Executive independent of the Central Assembly but the convention could be created by which its tenure of office would depend on the maintenance of such confidence.

The other details regarding the composition and magnitude of the Interim Cabinet, which came up in my discussions with you, would all depend upon the satisfactory solution of the basic question mentioned in paragraph above. If the questions of status and responsibility of the Interim Government can be satisfactorily solved I hope we would be able to decide other questions without any delay. As I have already written to you, the Working Committee has full confidence in me and will be summoned again when occasion demands. I would request you to let me have at an early indication of your decision and programme so that I may place the whole matter before the summoned accordingly and am leaving for Mussoorie this evening and would request you to reply to my letter there.

VICEROY'S ASSURANCE TO MR. AZAD

Reply from the Viceroy to the Congress President dated May 30, 1946:

I have received your letter of 25th May on the Interim Government. We have discussed this matter on many occasions and I recognise the importance that you and your party attach to a satisfactory solution of the relations between the Interim Government and appreciate your reasons for asking me for a definition. My difficulty is that the most liberal intentions may be almost unassailable as long as they remain to be expressed in a formal document.

I am quite clear that the present state to you that the Interim Government would have the same position under the present Act. The whole constitutional position is entirely different. I said that I was sure that His Majesty's Government would treat the new Interim Government with the same close consultation and consideration as a Dominion Government.

His Majesty's Government have already said that they will give to the Indian Government the greatest possible freedom in the exercise of the day-to-day administration of the country, and I need hardly assure you that it is my intention faithfully to carry out this undertaking.

I am quite clear that whilst in which the Government has worked in the past a much greater importance than any formal document and pronouncement. I have no doubt if you are prepared to trust me, we shall be able to co-operate in a manner which will give India a sense of freedom from external control and will prepare for complete freedom as soon as the new constitution is made.

I sincerely hope that the Congress will accept these assurances and will have no further hesitation in joining to co-operate in the immense problems which confront us.

In the matter of time-table, you will be aware that the Working Committee League Council is meeting on June 5 at which we understand proposals for agreement will be reached. I suggest, therefore, that if you summon the Congress Committee to re-assemble in Delhi on Friday, June 7, it may be possible for us to meet on June 8 and settle by all parties on all outstanding questions early in the following week.

CHOICE OF PERSONNEL

NEHRU—WAVELL LETTERS

Letter from the Viceroy to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru dated June 12, 1946:

I am anxious to have an opportunity of consulting you together with Mr. Jinnah as to how best I can fill the various posts in the Interim Government. Could you come to see me for that purpose at 5 p.m., today?

It is not my intention to discuss any question of principle such as "parity" or otherwise, but to ascertain exactly what I know to be our common objective, that is, to get the best possible Interim Government to-day from the two majority parties and some of the minorities to form a coalition. This decision by a consideration of what the portfolios should be and who can best be filled.

I am sending a similar letter to Mr. Jinnah.

PANDIT NEHRU'S REPLY

Reply from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the Viceroy dated June 12, 1946:

I am sorry for the slight delay in answering your letter. I thought it right in the circumstances to see you to-day at 5 p.m. in order to discuss with you. Mr. Jinnah about the Interim Government placed me in a somewhat difficult position. I am willing to meet you at any time, but our official spokesman in regard to Interim Government is naturally our President, Maulana Azad. He can speak and commit the Congress. Only he can finally do. It is, therefore, proper that he should be in charge on behalf of the Congress of conversation that might take place. But since you have invited me, I shall be present. I hope, however, that you will appreciate my position and that I shall not be given any authority which vests in our President and the Working Committee.

OBJECTION TO "PARITY" PRINCIPLE

MR AZAD ON COMPOSITION OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Letter from Maulana Azad, the Congress President, to the Viceroy dated June 13, 1946:

Thank you for your letter of the 12th June which I have just received, inquiring letter, to see you to-day at 5 p.m. or less reverence.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has reported to the Committee and me the gist of the conversation you had with him yesterday and Committee regret that they are unable to accept your suggestion that the Interim Government. There is no justification for this departure from principles enunciated by us. We have been, and are, prepared to agree to parity between the Caste Hindus as a whole and the Muslim League, that is, the number of Caste Hindus is actually less than the nominees of the Muslim League. The position thus is worse than it was in June 1945 at Simla where, according to your declaration then, there was to be "parity" between the Muslim League and the Congress, including additional seats for the Scheduled Caste Hindus. The Muslims' demands were not resolved for the Muslim League only but considerably enlarged to include all Muslims. At present, therefore, this puts the Hindus in a very unfair position. On the same basis as obtained in June 1945 the Muslims in the Committee are not prepared to accept any such proposal. Indeed, as we have stated repeatedly, we are opposed to "parity" in principle for all.

In addition to this "parity" we are told that there should be a convention requiring that major communal issues should be decided by separate group voting. While we have accepted this principle for long-term arrangements, we did so as an effective substitute for other safeguards. In your present proposals, however, both "parity" and this convention are suggested. This would make the working of the Provisional Government almost impossible and deadlock a certainty.

As I have often pointed out to you, we are strongly opposed to the Provisional Government should consist of fifteen members. This is necessary to avoid overthe administration of the country efficiently, as well as to give adequate representation to the smaller minorities. We are anxious that the various minorities should have scope in such a Government. The work before the Provisional Government is likely to be much heavier and more exacting. Many proposals, considerations include Railways, Transport, Posts and Telegraphs, and Air. It is difficult for us to conceive how all these can be joined together in one portfolio. This would be highly undesirable at any time. In view of the present disturbed conditions, the possibility of railway strikes, this arrangement would be wholly wrong. We think also that Planning is an essential department for the Centre. We think, therefore, that the Provisional Government must consist of fifteen members. The suggested division of portfolios appears to us to be unsatisfactory and unfair. My Committee would also like to point out that a Coalition Government, in order to be successful, must have some common outlook and programme for the time being. The manner of approach in forming such a Government has been such as to leave this out of consideration and has completely failed to realise the essential that such a Coalition can function successfully.

It was our intention to write to you about Muslim names also, but for reasons already known to you our letter has been delayed. I shall write to you about the other matters later. My purpose in writing to you is to let you know on behalf of my colleagues my reactions to the tentative proposals that you made to-day.

GROUPING PLAN

Letter from Maulana Azad, Congress President to the Viceroy dated June 14, 1946:

In my letter of yesterday I promised to send you another letter. I am sending it now.

On May 24th, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution which I conveyed to you. In this resolution we gave our interpretation of the statement of May 16, 1946, which the British Cabinet Delegation and you had issued on behalf of the British Government. We pointed out what were in our opinion some of the omissions and defects in that statement and we also gave our interpretation of some of its provisions. In a subsequent statement issued by you and the Delegation our view on this matter was not accepted.

We have now and we have repeatedly emphasised this that our immediate objective is the establishment of the independence of India. We have to judge everything by this standard. We suggested that amendments to legal changes might be made at this stage, independence in practice might be reached with. This has not been agreed to.

In your letter dated May 30, 1946 addressed to me, you explained what in your view would be the powers of the Interim Government would be. This too fell short of what we asked for. We have given the most careful thought to your proposals and to your assurance in these matters and have come to the conclusion that unsatisfactory as were many of the provisions in the statement of May 16, we would try to work them accordingly. We have, however, interpreted them in a view to achieve our objective.

You are no doubt aware of the strong feeling of resentment which exists among large sections of the people against some of the proposals in the statement notably the Grouping proposals. In Frontier Province and Assam have expressed themselves with extraordinary vehemence against compulsory grouping. The Sikhs have felt hurt and humiliated by proposals which have considerably agitated. Being a minority in the Punjab, they become still more helpless as far as numbers go, in Section 'B'. We appreciated all these objections especially as we ourselves shared them. Nevertheless we hoped that according to our interpretation of the clauses relating to grouping which we still hold is the correct one, possibly after any other interpretation would endanger the basic principle of provincial autonomy—we might be able to get over some of the obvious difficulties.

As you have often pointed out to you, we are strongly opposed to the Provisional Government should consist of fifteen members. This is necessary to avoid overthe administration of the country efficiently, as well as to give adequate representation to the smaller minorities. We are anxious that the various minorities should have scope in such a Government. The work before the Provisional Government is likely to be much heavier and more exacting. Many proposals, considerations include Railways, Transport, Posts and Telegraphs, and Air. It is difficult for us to conceive how all these can be joined together in one portfolio. This would be highly undesirable at any time. In view of the present disturbed conditions, the possibility of railway strikes, this arrangement would be wholly wrong. We think also that Planning is an essential department for the Centre. We think, therefore, that the Provisional Government must consist of fifteen members. The suggested division of portfolios appears to us to be unsatisfactory and unfair. My Committee would also like to point out that a Coalition Government, in order to be successful, must have some common outlook and programme for the time being. The manner of approach in forming such a Government has been such as to leave this out of consideration and has completely failed to realise the essential that such a Coalition can function successfully.

It was our intention to write to you about Muslim names also, but for reasons already known to you our letter has been delayed.

I shall write to you about the other matters later. My purpose in writing to you is to let you know on behalf of my colleagues my reactions to the tentative proposals that you made to-day.

EUROPEANS AND ELECTIONS TO CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

But two insuperable obstacles remained and we had hoped that you would be able to remove them. One of these related to the part that European members of the Provincial Assemblies might play in the election to the Constituent Assembly. We have no objection to Englishmen or Europeans as such, but we do have a strong objection to persons, who are foreigners and non-nationals and who claim to belong to the ruling race, participating in, and influencing the elections to, the Constituent Assembly. The Cabinet Delegation's statement lays down clearly that the future constitution of India has to be decided by Indians. The basic principle of the statement of May 16th was the election of a member of the Constituent Assembly to represent one million inhabitants. On this basis, the representatives of 146,000 Muslims in Orissa and 180,000 Hindus and 58,000 Sikhs in the North-West Frontier Province have not been given the right to elect any member to the Constituent Assembly. The European population of Bengal and Assam numbers only 21,000 but their representatives can return to the Constituent Assembly by their own vote seven out of thirty-four members, thus appropriating to themselves the right to represent seven millions. They are returned to the Provincial Assemblies by a separate electorate of their own and have been given fantastic weightage. This representation of Europeans in the Constituent Assembly will be at the cost of non-Muslims, that is, mainly Hindus who are already in a minority in Bengal. To make a minority suffer in this way is surely utterly wrong. Apart from the question of principle, it is a matter of the utmost importance in practice and may well affect the future both of Bengal and Assam. The Congress Working Committee attach the greatest importance to this.

We would like to add that even if the Europeans themselves do not stand for election, but merely vote, the results will be equally bad. The Cabinet Delegation have informed us that beyond promising to us their persuasive powers, they could not hold out any assurance to us that these European members would not exercise the right which, we are advised, they do not possess under the statement of May 16th. But if the Delegation hold otherwise, as evidently they do, we cannot contemplate a legal fight for their exclusion at the threshold of the Constituent Assembly. Therefore, a clear announcement is necessary that they will not take part as voters or candidates in the election to the Constituent Assembly. We cannot depend on grace or goodwill where rights are concerned.

"PARITY WILL BE A SOURCE OF CONFLICT"

Equally important, in our view, is the question of "parity" in the proposed Provisional National Government. I have already written to you on this subject. This "parity", or by whatever other name it may be called, has been opposed by us throughout, and we consider it a dangerous innovation which, instead of working for harmony, will be a source of continuous conflict and trouble. It may well poison our future as other separatist steps in the past have poisoned our public life. We are told that this is a temporary provision and need not be treated as a precedent, but no such assurance can prevent an evil step from having evil consequences. We are convinced that even the immediate results of any such provision will be harmful.

If the provision about the European vote and "parity" remains, my Committee are reluctantly compelled to inform you that they will not be able to assist you in the difficult task ahead.

The talk we had with you to-day has not made any substantial difference to the fundamental position. We have noted that according to your new suggestions the proposed woman member might be replaced by a Hindu, thus increasing the Hindu members including Scheduled Caste representatives to six. We would be sorry not

(Continued on page 7)

CONGRESS AND THE CABINET PLAN

(Continued from page 4)

to have a woman member, but apart from this, the new proposal maintains the old Simla (1945) formula of parity between Caste Hindus and Muslims, with this important qualification that now Muslims are supposed to mean members of the Muslim League. We are unable to agree to this proposal and we are still convinced that the Provisional Government must consist of fifteen members and that there should be no kind of parity in the selections.

FAILURE OF TALKS ON INTERIM GOVT.

Letter from the Viceroy to the Congress President dated 15th June 1946:

I have received your letter of June 14. I will reply to it in detail in the course of to-day. Meanwhile I must assume from the last paragraph of your letter that my attempt to negotiate an agreement between the two major parties on the composition of the Interim Government has failed.

The Cabinet Delegation and I have, therefore, decided to issue to-morrow a statement on the action we propose to take, and we will let you have a copy of this before publication.

Letter from the Viceroy to the Congress President dated 15th June 1946:

I have received your letter of 14th June. You deal with matters on which we have already had much discussion.

We are doing everything possible to further the Independence of India. As we have already pointed out, however, there must first be a new Constitution drawn up by the people of India.

The Delegation and I are aware of your objections to the principle of grouping. I would, however, point out that the statement of 16th May does not make grouping compulsory. It leaves the decision to the elected representatives of the Provinces concerned sitting together in sections.

The only provision which is made is that the representatives of certain Provinces should meet in sections so that they can decide whether or not they wish to form groups. Even when this has been done the individual Provinces are still to have the liberty to opt out of the group if they so decide.

I recognise the difficulty about the Europeans who, through no fault of their own, find themselves in a difficult position. I still hope that a satisfactory solution of this problem will be found.

Our discussions in regard to the Interim Government have been on the basis of political parties and not communities. I understand that this is regarded as preferable now. As it was at the first Simla Conference, in the proposed Interim Government of myself and 13 others, there will be six Congressmen and five Muslim Leaguers. I do not see how this can be called parity. Nor is there parity between Hindus and Muslims, there being six Hindus to five Muslims.

Even at this last moment, I still hope that the Congress will now accept the statement and consent to join the Interim Government.

WHY CONGRESS REJECTED PROPOSAL

Letter from Maulana Azad, the Congress President, to the Viceroy, dated June 16, 1946.

I have received your two letters of June 15. I note what you say about grouping. We abide by our interpretation of it. As regards Europeans, we are clear that even on a legal interpretation of the statement of May 16, apart from other considerations, they have not the right to participate in the elections to the Constituent Assembly. I am glad you expect a satisfactory solution of this problem.

We have endeavoured in our letter and in the course of our talks to state clearly what our position is in regard to any kind of parity. You will remember that parity was mentioned and considered at the first Simla Conference. That parity was exactly the same as is now suggested by you, that is, parity between Caste Hindus and Muslims.

Owing to the stress of war and other conditions then existing, we were prepared to accept this only for that occasion. It was not to be used as a precedent. Moreover, this was subject to the inclusion of at least one Nationalist Muslim. Now conditions have entirely changed, and we have to consider the question in another context—that is approaching Independence and Constituent Assembly. As we have written to you, in this context and in the present circumstances, we consider this kind of parity unfair and likely to lead to difficulties. The whole scheme proposed by you in the statement of May 16 is based on absence of weightage. And yet in the proposed Provisional Government there is this weightage, in addition to other far-reaching communal safeguards.

We have tried our utmost to arrive at a satisfactory settlement and we shall not despair of it. But such a settlement, in order to be enduring, must be based on strong foundations. So far as the statement of May 16 is concerned, our main difficulty, as we wrote to you, was the European vote.

The second difficulty relates to the proposals for the Provisional Government which have to be considered together with the statement. The two cannot be separated. These proposals have thus far been unacceptable to us, but if a satisfactory settlement in regard to them is arrived at, we would be in a position to shoulder the burden.

VICEROY'S NEW PROPOSAL

Letter from the Viceroy to the Congress President dated 16th June, 1946:

I send herewith a copy of the statement which, as indicated in the letter I sent you yesterday, will be released at 4 p.m. this evening.

As the statement shows, the Cabinet Ministers and I are fully aware of the difficulties that have prevented an agreement on the composition of the Interim Government. We are unwilling to abandon our hope of a working partnership between the two major parties and representatives of the minorities.

We have, therefore, done our best to arrive at a practicable arrangement, taking into consideration the various conflicting claims and the need for obtaining a Government of capable and representative administrators. We hope that the parties will now take their share in the administration of the country on the basis set out in our new statement. We are sure we can rely on you and your Working Committee to look to the wider issues and to the urgent needs of the country as a whole, and to consider this proposal in a spirit of accommodation.

Enclosed: Statement by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy dated 16th.

Letter from the Congress President to the Viceroy dated 18th June, 1946.

I promised to write to you this evening in case my Committee had come to any decisions. The Committee met this afternoon and sat for many hours. In the absence of our colleague Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who is due to arrive to-morrow evening, we decided to adjourn till to-morrow. I am, therefore, not in a position this evening to convey to you any decision. I shall communicate to you as soon as my Committee arrives at any conclusions.

Letter from the Viceroy to the Congress President dated June 21, 1946.

You will, I am sure, appreciate that the members of the Cabinet Mission have a great deal of urgent work awaiting them in England and are not in a position to prolong their stay in this country indefinitely. I would, therefore, ask your Working Committee to let us have a final answer as soon as possible to the proposals made in our statement of June 16th.

I understand that you have summoned back the members of the Committee who had left Delhi and in these circumstances we would ask you to let us have your answer not later than Sunday, June 23rd.

Letter from the Congress President to the Viceroy dated June 20:

I have Your Excellency's letter of 20th June, 1946. I appreciate your anxiety to come to an early decision regarding the formation of an Interim Government and I can assure you that my Working Committee fully share your anxiety. A new difficulty in addition to the old ones has however been created by the publication in the Press of the alleged contents of Mr. Jinnah's letter to you in which he raises objection to the Congress nominations in the Interim Cabinet. It will be of great assistance to the Working Committee in coming to a decision if they could have copies of these alleged letters and your reply thereto as they deal with vital matters which we have to consider.

VICEROY'S REPLY TO MR. JINNAH'S QUESTIONS

Letter from the Viceroy to the Congress President dated 21st June, 1946:

Thank you for your letter of to-day. Mr. Jinnah in his letter to me of 19th June put to me the following questions:

1. Whether the proposals contained in the statement for setting up of an Interim Government are now final, or whether they are still open to any further change or modification at the instance of any of the parties or persons concerned.

2. Whether the total number of 14 members of the Government as proposed in the statement would remain unchanged during the interim period;

3. If any person or persons invited as representatives of the four minorities viz., the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsis, is, or are unable to accept the invitation to join the Interim Government for personal or other reasons, how will the vacancy or vacancies thus created be filled by the Viceroy; and whether in filling up the vacancy or vacancies, the leader of the Muslim League will be consulted and his consent obtained;

4. (a) Whether during the interim period for which the Coalition Government is being set up, the proportion of members of the Government community-wise as provided in the proposals, will be maintained.

(b) Whether the present representation given to four minorities, viz., the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsis will be adhered to without any change or modification;

and (5) in view of the substitution of 14 now proposed for the original 12 and the change made in the original formula, whether there will be a provision, in order to safeguard Muslim interests, that the Executive Council shall not take any decision on any major communal issue if the majority of the Muslim members are opposed to it.

The operative part of my reply dated the 20th June was as follows:

The intention in the statement of June 16 was that the discussion of portfolios with leaders of the two main parties should follow the acceptance by both parties of the scheme. This intention still holds since until the names are known it is difficult to decide on the distribution of portfolios.

On the points which you desire to be made clear in connection with the Government to be formed under our statement of June 16, I give you the following reply after consultation with the Delegation:

1. Until I have received acceptances from those invited to take office in the Interim Government, the names in the statement cannot be regarded as final. But no change in the principle willl be made in the statement without the consent of the two major parties.

2. No change in the number of 14 members of the Interim Government will be made without the agreement of the two major parties.

3. If any vacancy occurs among the seats at present alloted to representatives of minorities, I shall naturally consult both the main parties before filling it.

4. (a) and (b) The proportion of members by communities will not be changed without the agreement of the two major parties.

5. No decision on a major communal issue could be taken by the Interim Government if the majority of either of the main parties were opposed to it. I pointed this out to the Congress President and he agreed that the Congress appreciated this point.

INCLUSION OF NATIONALIST MUSLIM

Letter from the Viceroy to the Congress President dated 22nd June, 1946:

I understand from Press reports that there is a strong feeling in Congress circles that the party should insist on their right to include a Muslim of their own choice among the representatives of the Congress in the Interim Government.

For reasons of which you are already aware, it is not possible for the Cabinet Mission or myself to accept this request but I would draw your attention to Paragraph 5 of the statement of the 16th June which reads as follows:

"The above composition of the Interim Government is in no way to be taken as a precedent for the solution of any other communal question. It is an expedient put forward to solve the present difficulty only, and to obtain the best available Coalition Government".

In the light of this assurance that no precedent is established, we appeal to the Congress not to press their demand, but to take part in a strong Interim Government which the country so urgently needs.

REJECTION OF INTERIM GOVT. PLAN

Letter from the Congress President to the Viceroy dated 24th June 1946:

"I have just received the telephone message sent on your behalf asking me to communicate immediately the decision of the Working Committee in regard to the proposals for the Provisional Government. The decision was, in fact, taken yesterday but we felt that it would be better if we wrote to you fully on all aspects of the proposals made by you and the Cabinet Delegation. The Working Committee have been sitting almost continuously and will be meeting at 2 p.m. again to-day. After full consideration and deliberation they have been reluctantly obliged to decide against the acceptance of the Interim Government proposals as framed by you. A detailed and reasoned reply will follow later."

The Congress President in his letter to the Viceroy, dated June 25, which has already been published in these columns, gave a detailed reply expressing the inability of the Congress Working Committee to assist the Viceroy in forming a Provisional Government as proposed in the statement of June 16, 1946. The letter, however, accepted the proposals of the statement of May 16, 1946 for the formation and successful working of the Constituent Assembly after recording the interpretation of the Congress Working Committee to certain provisions of this statement.—A.P.I.

NEGOTIATIONS ON INTERIM PROPOSALS

Jinnah Releases Further Correspondence With Viceroy

NEW DELHI, June 29.

Negotiations for the formation of an Interim Government will be reopened by the Viceroy after elections to the Constituent Assembly are over. This and other points are brought out in further Jinnah-Viceroy correspondence published to-day by Mr. Jinnah.

The correspondence is released as part of a statement issued by Mr. Jinnah in which he complains that some and not all of the letters that passed between him and the Viceroy on the Interim proposals have been published.

In releasing the other letters Mr. Jinnah states the following among other points:

The Viceroy assured him that the Interim Government would be based on the 5:5:2 formula.

Mr. Jinnah made it clear on June 8 that any departure from this formula would lead to very serious consequences and would not secure the League's cooperation.

Mr. Jinnah also declared that any attempt made by the Congress to include a Muslim in the Congress quota would be strongly resented by the Muslim League and would be another great hurdle.

The Mission by their statement of June 16 went back upon their pledged word by postponing the formation of an Interim Government.

The Viceroy's letter of June 25 conveying the Mission's final decision on the Interim proposals reached Mr. Jinnah after the Muslim League Working Committee had passed its resolution accepting the interim proposals.

The Viceroy did not officially communicate the Mission's decision in this matter before the meeting of the Working Committee.

The Viceroy's replies make these among other points:

There were no assurances about the 5:5:2 formula. But His Excellency had this ratio in mind.

The Viceroy regretted that his letter of June 25 did not reach Mr. Jinnah till after the meeting of his Working Committee had ended.

"As explained to you during our interview on Tuesday, the Cabinet Mission and I consider that in the light of paragraph 8 of the statement of June 16 I am clearly bound to make an attempt to form a Government representative of both the major parties, since both have accepted the statement of May 16."

LETTER OF JINNAH'S STATEMENT

Following is the text of Mr. Jinnah's statement:

The Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy have thought fit to release only a few letters from the vast correspondence that passed between me and the delegation and the Viceroy, which have a very important bearing on the present situation.

(1) That the viceroy did make a clear representation to me that he would proceed to form his Interim Government on the basis of the formula 5 : 5 : 2 i.e., 5 representatives of the Muslim League, 5 of the Congress, 1 Sikh and 1 Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian, as far as regards the portfolios the most important portfolios will be equally divided between the League and the Congress in the distribution thereof, further details being left open for discussion.

The Viceroy further authorised me to make that representation to my Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League, which I did and it was on that basis that, both the Working Committee and the Council were induced to accept the long-term plan and the proposal for the interim Government.

This formula had a vital bearing and did greatly weigh with the Council of the All-India Muslim League in coming to their final decision, which was communicated to the Viceroy on the 7th June immediately thereafter minister agitation was set on foot by the Congress Press against this formula and I informed the Viceroy by my letter of 8th June, by way of caution, that, there should be no departure from this formula. Below is the full text of this letter which speaks for itself.

TEXT OF JINNAH'S LETTER

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated 8th June, 1946:—

Dear Lord Wavell,

During the course of our discussions regarding the Interim Government at Simla and thereafter at Delhi on the 3rd of June when I arrived here for the meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee took place, you were good enough to give me the assurance that there will be only 12 portfolios, 5 on behalf of the League, 5 Congress, 1 Sikh and 1 Christian or Anglo-Indian, and that as regards the distribution of the most important portfolios will be equally divided between the League and the Congress in the distribution thereof further details being left open for discussion.

While the matter pended I informed the Working Committee of this assurance and it was only on these most important considerations which weighed with them together with the statement of the 16th May that these two together formed one whole and as such, the Council of the All-India Muslim League has given its final decision on the 6th of June which I duly communicated to you that similarly I had to repeat the assurance to the Council before they finally gave their approval. As you know, the meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council was held in Bombay and there again, the House showed great opposition to the Interim Government. During the course of discussions a very early stage I have both of us was satisfied when I made the statement in answer to the very pressing question as to what our position will be with regard to the Interim Government.

But this statement would not have got the approval of the Council to the whole scheme. As I pointed out I took as much care as possible to see that it did not become public.

I am sure you will agree with me that it did not become public.

I am writing this to inform you as I find that a very sinister agitation has been set on foot by the Congress Press against your formula stated above, which was the main reason for our having secured the decision of the Council.

Any departure from the formula, directly or indirectly, will lead to very serious consequences and will not secure the cooperation of the League.

You know further that the Congress may select an Indian Sikh quota by including a Muslim in their quota, which will be strongly resented by the Muslim League and which will be another very great hurdle before us.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

The Viceroy replied by his letter of the 9th June and in this letter he did not take exception to the facts stated by me in my letter quoted above. Only, according to him "there was no assurance about the 5:5:2 formula." Following is the full text of the Viceroy's letter:

VICEROY GAVE NO ASSURANCE

Letter from His Excellency the Viceroy to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, dated 9th June 1946:—

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of yesterday. You speak of an assurance about the 5: 5: 2 ratio. There was no assurance on this point. But I told you, as I told the Congress, that this was what I had in mind. It would be wrong for me to leave you under the impression that there was any assurance, although I hope that we may reach agreement on that basis.

Yours sincerely,
Wavell.

The fact however remains that he did make this representation to me and authorised me to do likewise to the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League, both of which were induced to come to their decision upon the faith of this representation.

NEW FORMULA ON INTERIM GOVT.

The next important date is the 13th of June, when I was called by the Viceroy, and suddenly he presented a new formula for the composition of the Interim Government i.e. 5: 5: 3. I have already explained as to what transpired between him and me with regard to this revised formula. The Viceroy failed to negotiate an agreement with the Congress on this basis also and I was informed by his letter of the 15th June that the Cabinet Delegation and he would issue a statement on the 16th of June on the action they proposed to take. I reproduce below in full the Viceroy's letter of the 15th June:

MY LETTER OF JUNE 15

Letter from His Excellency the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah, dated 15th June, 1946:—

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am writing to inform you that after discussions with the Congress representatives I have failed to negotiate an agreement on the composition of the Interim Government on the basis which I suggested to you on the 13th June. Jawaharlal and myself have therefore decided to issue tomorrow a statement of the action we propose to take, and we will let you have a copy of this before publication.

Yours sincerely,
Wavell

Their final proposals were embodied in their statement of 16th June and now they have gone back on their pledged word also by postponing the formation of the Interim Government indefinitely.

As I was interested in the evening of the 25th of June at 5-30 p.m., when I was summoned by His Excellency Mr. Penderal and the Viceroy, fantastic interpretation was suggested on the statement of the 16th June in the course of which talk and I was asked to give my opinion as to whether I differed from them. It was agreed that they will communicate to Mr. Nehru and myself their views and the action they proposed to take. Accordingly then arrived the letter dated the 25th of June, which reached me, as I have already stated, at midnight on the 26th of June. The Working Committee was passed and released by the Council on the 6th. It is thought to make out that they had already come to their decision on the 16th of June before they were going to adopt, why was that decision not communicated to me by the Viceroy earlier in the day as they had received the Congress reply before midday on the 25th of June instead of calling me for discussion as to the correct interpretation of the provisions of paragraph 8 in the statement of June 16, and then informing me that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy will communicate with me as to what they proposed to do?

MOVE FOR POSTPONEMENT OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

I give below the full text of the Viceroy's letter of 25th June referred to above, my reply dated 26th June, the 27th and the Viceroy's reply to it dated the 27th June, regarding the Cabinet Mission to form a temporary Care-Taker Government for the purpose of elections after the elections to the Constituent Assembly have been completed.

Letter from the Viceroy dated 25th June, 1946:—

Dear Mr. Jinnah, You asked for a letter in confirmation of what the delegation said to you this evening.

We informed you that the Congress had accepted the statement of May 16 while reserving to take part in the Interim Government proposed in the statement of June 16.

This has produced a situation in which Paragraph 8 of the statement of June 16 takes effect. This paragraph says that if either of the two major parties was unwilling to join in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the lines laid down in the statement, the Viceroy would proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of May 16.

Since the Congress and the Muslim League have now both accepted the statement of May 16, it is the intention to form a Coalition Government including both those parties as soon as possible. In view, however, of the long negotiations which have already taken place, and since we all have others to do, we feel that it will be better to have short interval before proceeding with the actual negotiations for the formation of an Interim Government.

This, therefore, is the course of action we propose to adopt, unless the two main parties can within this short space of days agree upon a basis on which they can co-operate in a Coalition Government.

Meanwhile the election and summoning of a Constituent Assembly as laid down in the statement of May 16 will be going forward.—Yours sincerely, Wavell.

JINNAH'S REPLY

Letter of Mr. M. A. Jinnah to the Viceroy dated 26th June, 1946.

Dear Lord Wavell:—I received your letter dated 25th June, 1946, at midnight last night after I had sent you the resolution of my Working Committee passed at its meeting yesterday. As I said in my letter of the same date, agreeing to join the Interim Government on the basis of the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself dated 16th June and the clarifications and assurances given by you after consultation with the Cabinet Delegation, you your letter of 16th of June addressed to me.

I regret the Congress, while accepting the statement of the 16th of May, should have rejected the proposals regarding the setting up of the Interim Government on the basis of the statement of 16th June which was the final decision of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself in regard to which I invite your attention to Paragraph 8 of the statement of 16th June, which makes it quite clear that the acceptance of the statement of 16th May, and rejection of the final proposals embodied in the statement of the 16th of June, cannot change the basis and principles laid down in it.

In Paragraph 3 of your letter, when you say that the Viceroy will proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of May 16th, the quotation qualifies them to be included in the Interim Government but, only on the basis and the principles laid down in your proposals of the 16th of June. In these circumstances, as indicated in the statement of 16th June, in Paragraph 7, that you aimed at inaugurating the Interim Government on the basis of your statement of 16th June, 1946. Yours sincerely, M. A. Jinnah.

VICEROY STICKS TO HIS GUN

Letter from the Viceroy dated 27th June, 1946.

Dear Mr. Jinnah, Thank you for your letter of yesterday. I am sorry that my letter did not reach you till after the meeting of your Working Committee had ended.

As we explained to you during our interview on Tuesday, the Cabinet Mission and I consider that the statement 16th June I am clearly bound to make an attempt to form a Government which will have both the major parties, since both have accepted the statement of May 16th.

I think you will agree that it is essential to have a short interval before resuming negotiations, and as we informed you, it is proposed to set up a temporary Care-Taker Government while I attend reopening negotiations after the elections to the Constituent Assembly have been completed. Meanwhile, the Cabinet Mission will return home to report.—Yours sincerely, Wavell.

As regards my request for the postponement of the meeting of the Constituent Assembly, my reply to the two letters of the Viceroy of the 28th June has not been included in the published letters. I, therefore, think that it must, in fairness, release my letter of the 28th of June in reply to the Viceroy's letter of the 27th June reproduced above, and also my reply dated 28th June to the two letters of the Viceroy of the same date released to the Press yesterday. The following is the text of the two letters

"GOING BACK ON PROMISES"

Letter from Mr. Jinnah dated 28 June, to the Viceroy in reply to his latter's dated 27th June, 1946.

Dear Lord Wavell:—I am in receipt of your letter of June 27th, 1946.

I had already pointed out by my letter of the 26th of June in reply to yours of the 25th and also, at the interview on Tuesday, 25th June, with you and the Cabinet Delegation that you were in honour bound to consult Congress before the formation of your Interim Government in accordance with the statement of the 16th of June, which was final, and the assurance given to us.

The Cabinet Delegation and yourself issued an official statement late in the evening of 26th June, and as I have already pointed out in my statement issued to the Press yesterday, by that pronouncement you have chosen to go back upon your pledged word by postponing the formation of the Interim Government.

Now I have received your letter of 27th June and hereby inform you that I cannot agree with you when you say in your letter that "it is essential to have a short interval before resuming negotiations". I repeat that you should have proceeded in terms of the paragraph 8 of the statement of the 16th without delay. But since you have adopted this course of action in the official statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself, which is neither just nor fair, I strongly urge upon you without prejudice, that the elections to the Constituent Assembly should be postponed and we have finally that according to all the relevant documents and statements namely the Agreements of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself dated 16th June, 1946, and the long-term plan and the formation of the Interim Government formed one whole each constituting an integral part of the whole scheme. It is, therefore, undesirable to proceed with any of the elections to the Constituent Assembly and to proceed with the other.—Yours sincerely, M. A. Jinnah.

A CHANGE IN POSITION

Letter from Mr. M. A. Jinnah to the Viceroy in reply to his two letters of the 28th June, released to the Press yesterday.

Dear Lord Wavell:—I am in receipt of your letter of 28th June. The facts are correctly stated in my statement that was released to the press yesterday, on 27th June.

The explanation that you now give in your letter under reply of what took place between me and the Cabinet Delegation and yourself, does not change in any way the position. The fact is that you did not communicate to me your views officially for the meeting of the Working Committee. I requested you to send your views officially to me and you did so by your letter of the 25th of June, which reached me at midnight after the Working Committee had passed its own resolution which was released to the press according to the arrangement I had made that we were to give our reply immediately after the decision of the Congress. If you wish to take the credit for a sooth Indian was given to me of the changes on your part in the course of the interview where we discussed so many things, you may do so.

SERMON FOR STATESMEN

As regards paragraph 3 of your letter I am surprised when you say that the assurances quoted by me from your letter in my statement were given after both the major parties had accepted the statement of the 16th June asking for any indication of any condition is given in your letter dated the 26th of June, which I understand from your Private Secretary has already been released to the press together with some other correspondence on May 1 request you to release this letter also?

I have received a second letter from you dated the 27th of June. I make the request you to publish the full text of my letter of the 28th of June asking you to postpone the Constituent Assembly elections and not only a substance of it which might have appeared in the All-India Radio broadcast—as you propose to release your reply to the press.—Yours sincerely, M. A. Jinnah.

I maintain that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy have gone back on their word within ten days of the publication of their final proposals in not implementing the statement of the 16th of June and I fully endorse what has been put so well—"statesmen should not eat their words.—(A. P.)

Congress Attitude Will Make Others More Determined Against Majority Domination

Dawn - 29-6-46

—"DAILY TELEGRAPH"

BITTER disappointment will be felt at the character of the statement issued on Wednesday night by the Cabinet Mission, preparatory to its departure from India", said the Conservative "Daily Telegraph" in a leading article on Thursday.

Regarding the decision to set up a stop-gap Executive Council of Officials, the 'Daily Telegraph' says: "No other course appears open since the formation of any other kind of Government in which the Congress Party refused to serve would intensify communal bitterness and deny to such an Executive the support of the Legislature. Negotiations are to be resumed later after the election of members of the Constituent Assembly, and the hope is expressed that in the interval Leaders of the Indian parties will endeavour to compose their differences.

"That hope may prove to be as illusory as the fair prospect of the setting up of a representative Interim Government, but it is the only hope. The wish of the British people that India should have full self-government even though the country might decide for severance of the British tie has been made clear. It is still for India to show that independence can be accepted without the prospect of communal differences that would bring all government to end or at best result in splitting the country into separate and conflicting areas.—

"For that the resolution of the Congress Party offers little hope. So, long as what is admittedy the strongest of the Indian parties insists on the practically exclusive right to determine the composition of the Central Executive, other sections of the Indian people will be driven into a more determined stand against what they regard as the domination of the majority community.

"This is not and cannot be the end. The Mission expresses the hope that promise of the various parties to work together in the Constituent Assembly "so as to make it a speedy and effective means of devising new constitutional arrangements under which India can achieve her independence" will lead to a greater measure of agreement.—Reuter.

Cabinet Mission Statement Shocks London

By 'Dawn' London Correspondent

THE Mission's statement postponing the composition of the Interim Government has been received in London with shock.

That the clear statement of May 16th should be gone back on, responsible circles in London think, is a blow to British prestige and will ruin all chances of peaceful settlement in India.

In their opinion the statement is tantamount to complete submission to Congress intransigence and has facilitated the way to Hindu domination. If such be the beginning, one can well imagine how the scheme will be put through according to Congress "interpretation."

There is little enthusiasm shown for the Congress acceptance of the long term plan and only the Labour paper has tried to bolster up the Mission's achievement. But even there it betrays dissatisfaction.

Muslim circles are resentful over Mission's statement.

RESPONSIBILITY NOW INDIAN LEADERS'

U. S. Paper's View

NEW YORK, June 27: "The *New York Times*, in a leader discussing India's acceptance of the British plan for a United States of India, said: "Acceptance by both major Indian parties is a triumph for British statesmanship. The new development shifts the burden of responsibility to Indian leaders. Heretofore, the latter have enjoyed the luxury of irresponsible opposition, always certain that the British would somehow maintain law and order. Now they will discover that capacity for passive resistance is not necessarily synonymous with capacity for the statesmanship necessary to run a democracy."

What should have been "a week of triumph and hope for India was a week of confusion, riots, bickerings and incredible irrelevancies," says the magazine *Time*.

After commenting on the Working Committee's refusal to participate in the Interim Government and Pandit Nehru's arrest in Kashmir, *Time* said: "The crowning irrelevancy came from the Government of India itself, which presented charges to the United Nations against South Africa's racial discrimination laws covering Indian nationals. Indian evidence against South Africa is strong enough, but the plight of 250,000 Indians in South Africa was scarcely as important last week as the plight of 389,000,000 Indians in India who instead of standing happily on the threshold of independence were faced with famine and a growing change of political chaos."

LONDON: "The Congress is perfectly right in refusing to join the Interim Government," Mr. W. G. Cove, Labour M.P. for Aberavon, South Wales, said. He added: "By accepting the long-term plan, I think the Congress has made a great sacrifice and is taking a great risk."—Reuter.

"Quick Progress"

LONDON, June 28: Quick progress is being made in the grant of self-government to India, said General Sir Mosley Mayne, Military Secretary to the Secretary of State for India, addressing the Indian contingent to the recent Victory Parade, on Friday afternoon.

"When India becomes fully independent, I hope that she will remain closely linked to the United Kingdom as a fellow member of and an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of nations. I am sure that you who have had close association with British soldiers, sailors, and airmen during the world war and have made firm friends with them, and with the British public too, will share my hope that your country and mine will always remain members of the same united family."

General Mayne congratulated the men on the great impression they had made upon the people of Great Britain during their short stay. "Your general deportment, your manners, and your smartness have created a lasting impression on the minds of the British public," he added.—Reuter.

CONGRESS CASE IS SOUND

It Should Ignore League's Challenge, Says "Times"

LONDON, July 2. (Reuter): The independent "Times" to-day appeals to the Indian National Congress to end the deadlock which led to the "unsatisfactory" creation of the Caretaker Government. By exercising the right to name representatives to the Interim Government but refraining from exercising the right to nominate a Congress Muslim on this occasion. The "Times" urges they can preserve their country from the risk of civil strife and hasten advance towards independence.

Pointing out that the differences between the Congress and the Muslim League over precise distribution of the power offered to them were finally narrowed to the question of inclusion or exclusion of a Congress-Muslim among party representatives in the Interim Government, the "Times" says: "Here the Congress has a good case in theory, not only because it has Muslim adherents in the Frontier Province and elsewhere who do not approve of the League, but also because it claims to be non-communal in its outlook. But knowing as it did that Mr. Jinnah was prepared to break on this point, the party would have done well to display magnanimity by ignoring the challenge. It could have sustained the principle without insisting upon its enforcement secure in the knowledge that the composition of the Interim Government is specifically debarred from constituting a precedent of any kind.

"At the same time, the power it thus enjoy ought not be exercised in such a manner as to drive the League to the extremity by overriding claims, which, even if exaggerated, are grounded in genuine apprehensions. The temporizing device of a predominantly British 'caretaker' Government pleases nobody. Mr. Jinnah, though he can hardly have expected that the plan of June 16 would be put into operation forthwith when the League was the only major interest supporting it, is fully justified in condemning administration of officials as a retrograde step. How long this unsatisfactory creation will endure depends, it is clear, upon the Congress Party and upon no one else—not even upon the Viceroy and the British Cabinet.

"Neither their power nor their prestige will suffer, both are surely grounded as the last election showed. To the Congress Party has fallen the responsibility of completing the work which the Cabinet Mission has so well begun."

Dawn

Saturday, June 29, 1946

DISHONOUR ABOUNDING

TODAY the three British Ministers of the Cabinet Delegation will shake off the dust of Delhi where they have brought their country's name to dust. They go dishonoured because they have acted in disregard of honour. Whatever casuistry they may employ to explain away their conduct, they know that they have broken their word and made India's Soldier-Viceroy to break his. Whether Field Marshal Lord Wavell was a willing or an unwilling partner in this unforgivable violation of the code of a gentleman, the public have no means of guessing. But that such violation there has been is the opinion widely held in India today.

The British in India, official and non-official, must be hanging their heads down in shame, and particularly distressed must be British soldiers of all ranks who watch aghast a Field Marshal fail to keep his written word. Comments in the British-edited Press, one of which we reproduce today on this page, statements issued by non-official Britons, one of which we published in our news columns yesterday, views which have been forthrightly expressed to us in private during the last two days by British Press correspondents, talk in the clubs and British Officers' messes, some 8f which have reliably come to our knowledge—all these show that the three Socialist Ministers and the Viceroy are in a minority of four in many thousands, in their interpretation of paragraph 8 of their Statement of June 16, and that they stand condemned by the unanimous verdict of their own countrymen.

All who so condemn them are by no means friends of the Muslimans or supporters of the Muslim League, and the Hindu Press, since in a stupid lie wilfully pretends to see in this spontaneous revulsion of feeling among the British in India against the conduct of four British statesmen, a so-called "Anglo-Muslim alliance." The Hindu Congress and the Hindu Press may not understand the meaning of the word honour, nor value the sanctity of promises and pledges, but it is a ray of light in an otherwise dark cloud that the average Britton in this country has still a sense of honour left.

We do not know yet what this reaction of the British in Britain will be at this attempt of their Cabinet Ministers, those to whom they [illegible] solemn [illegible] little doubt [illegible] home the [illegible] of [illegible] and his two [illegible] will try to misrepresent and misinterpret the statements made in India, in order to win the support of the Labour Party and the public in general for their latest action. It is most likely that they will also make it a party issue involving the prestige and the security of the Socialistic regime. But it is difficult to believe that even the average British Socialist would place party considerations over considerations of honour.

Fortunately, the position is not yet irretrievable and the Cabinet Delegation can still be prevented from consummating their intention to betray the Muslim League and the Muslims who put their trust in their promise and themselves promised to accept and co-operate in the working of the long-term [illegible] short-term Plans.

We appeal to the British people of all political parties and of all shades of opinion to view not in the light of Party but in the light of honour the situation created by the Cabinet Mission's Statement of June 16, which, despite the Delegation's "repudiation" is in complete violation of the letter and the spirit of their Statement of June 16. We appeal to them to assert themselves in the interest of Britain's fair name, in the interest of justice and righteousness, and in the interest of peace and tranquillity in India.

In his yesterday's letter to the Viceroy Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah has suggested a practical way. He has asked that in view of categorical statements made by the Cabinet Delegation on May 25, and June 16 that the long-term arrangements and the interim Government proposals were inseparable and integral parts of the same Plan, elections to the Constituent Assembly should also be postponed, as the formation of an interim Government has been put off. We may add that in his statement at a Press conference on May 16 Sir Stafford Cripps said: "This matter of the interim Government is of supreme importance" and in his broadcast the same night Lord Pethick-Lawrence said: "We attach the greatest importance to the setting up at once of an interim Government." The Delegation have refused to comply with the request for postponement, but they must be made to.

The Hindu" Congress [illegible] are claiming that a secret understanding has been reached between the Congress on the one side and the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on the other that when negotiations for an interim Government are resumed, and the same difficulties which have so far prevented agreement between the two major parties again inevitably crop up, the British Government will ignore the Muslim League and hand over power unilaterally to the Hindu Congress. Considering their recent conduct these four Britons may well have concluded such a dishonourable deal with the Caste Hindu Banias of India. In their statement of May 16 these very men had declared as follows:

"We were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu majority. This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion and economic or other interests."

Barely within 40 days of making such an unambiguous statement what strange inducement could have persuaded them so radically to change their convictions and their intentions? We shall not attempt to unravel this mystery, but let it once again be more unambiguously stated that if the British betray the Musalmans of India and throw them to the ravening wolves of Hindudom that wicked wrong shall most assuredly be avenged.

'Statesmen Should not Eat Their Words'

The Statesman', published the following editorial on June 28, under the heading "A Descent":—

We record, with regret, that we consider the British Cabinet Mission's and the Viceroy's latest move an error. It is well intentioned, if detached from its chronological sequence and context it might, to meet the existing position, be a suitable enough expedient. Indeed, so viewed, it even shows advantageous possibilities of a transient sort; for plainly, Congress-League disagreements being what they still unfortunately are, a League-dominated Central Government, in relation to Congress-dominated Provincial Governments might not prove much of a remedy for India's many present administrative ills. But it cannot be so detached. The context exists, plain and recent, for all to read. On June 16, in paragraph (8) of their statement, the Mission and the Viceroy declared that, "in the event of the two major parties, or either of them, proving unwilling to join in the setting up of a coalition Government on the above lines, it is the intention of the Viceroy to proceed with the formation of the Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of May 16."

This declaration's direct bearing on the existing position is unmistakable, unavoidable. The Muslim League having on June 6 accepted the proposals made for an Interim Government in the May 16 plan, and having reiterated its acceptance lately the Congress by contrast having rejected them, we fail to see any other conclusion than that the Viceroy stood morally bound at this stage to form forthwith an Interim Government consisting largely of members of the Muslim League. There had been several earlier authoritative assertions of India's imperative need, because of the threat of famine and other grave administrative problems, for speedy establishment of a representative Interim Government at the Centre. The language of the passing reference now made, in Wednesday night's announcement by Mission and Viceroy, to paragraph (8) of their June 16 declaration and its clear commitment, seems to us, we are sorry to say, evasive and disingenuous.

Politicians may do so, but it is not the business of statesmen to eat thier words: they should not risk bold, sweeping, unequivocal public undertakings unless they mean them, and can be relied upon to fulfil them. Particularly, we suggest, it is not British statesmen's business to do so in India, an alien land still of semi-dependent status. What was so emphatically considered needful and proper on June 16 cannot well, within ten days, have radically transformed its nature. Good and bad, necessary and unnecessary, are not thus readily interchangeable.

Our writings, we think, have shown lively and wholeheartedly awareness of the unparalleled difficulties confronting the Mission and the Viceroy, throughout, of their exemplary patience, of the exceptional mental and physical stresses that they must lately have borne. Could we believe that what they have now done has sound moral basis, or even that, in the narrower sense, it was required because it would be justified by results, we might commend it. But we view the long-term consequences of Wednesday night's decision with uncertainty and misgiving. Opportunity of solid and immediate co-operation, from at any rate one of India's two main parties, lay within the Mission's grasp. This has been let slip in favour of larger objectives later aimed at. We wish we could see more cause for confidence that these will not, when the time comes, dissolve between the fingers into windy nothingness. During the long-drawn out Delhi-Simla negotiations there have already been too many tactical shifts of ground and changes of front by others. It grieves us that a venerable and idealistic Secretary of State, a fine Viceroy, and their two eminent colleagues of Britain's new and good Cabinet should at this last stage have descended—as we see matters—to similar swithery courses.

Congress Decision 'Disappoints' Liberals

Setalvad Fears Communal Situation May Worsen

LEAGUE DEMAND REDUCES NATIONAL INSTITUTION TO HINDU BODY, SAYS MUNSHI

"In my view, the formation of an interim coalition government was essential for the smooth and successful working of the Constituent Assembly and the ultimate inauguration of a Constitution for Independent India and its smooth-working."

In these words Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Liberal Leader, summarised the disappointment felt in neutral circles at what may be described as a partial failure of the Cabinet Mission.

While Congress circles look upon the rejection of the Interim proposals of the Mission by the Congress as inevitable, Moderate opinion deeply regrets the failure and hope is still expressed that some way will be found to end the era of communal discord.

COALITION GOVT. ESSENTIAL

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad setting out his views on the question in a comprehensive manner said: "While the Muslim League has accepted the Cabinet Mission's proposals for the Interim Government, as well as the long-term proposals, the Congress while rejecting the Interim Government proposals have accepted the long-term proposals. Without going into the merits of the Congress decision, the fact remains that a very unfortunate situation has been created.

"In my view, the formation of an Interim coalition government was essential for the smooth and successful working of the Constituent Assembly and the ultimate inauguration of a Constitution for independent India and its smooth working. A Cabinet consisting of Congress and League representatives and other independent representatives of minorities and running the government for the Interim period would have largely helped in creating confidence and mutual understanding between the two major parties and essential for the smooth working of any constitution, however perfect.

COMMUNAL SITUATION WORSENS

According to the Cabinet Mission's categorical declaration the Interim Government will be formed by taking into it the representatives of the Muslim League for their quota and filling the other seats by others as representative as possible. If this is carried out, in the Interim Cabinet, the Muslim League representatives will have a potent voice as they would have the support of the League while the remaining members of the Executive Council will be only nominees of the Viceroy. The Congress will be in Opposition in the Legislative Assembly and if the Congress members of the Assembly adopt the policy that the business of the opposition is to oppose irrespective of the merits of any particular question before the legislature, the communal situation will very much worsen, for with the Congress strength in the Assembly the Interim Government will be able to carry their measures only with the support of official and nominated members. Such developments will have very adverse repercussions on the working of the Constituent Assembly and on the smooth working of the Constitution that may emerge.

KHAN SAHEB'S STATEMENT COMMENDED

Amidst these foreboddings it was heartening to hear the statement of Dr. Khan Saheb, the North-West Frontier Premier, which, while approving the Congress decision to keep out of the Interim Government, said that the Congress should and would fully co-operate with the Interim ministry composed of League representatives and others in carrying on the Government. This is fully consistent with the spirit of what Mr Gandhi has often said that he did not mind the Government of India being handed over to Muslim representatives so long as the independence of India as a whole was secured. If both the Congress and the Muslim League bury the hatchet and forgetting the past work in real co-operation with only the welfare of the country at heart and without trying to secure party advantage, all may be well.

A more or less similar opinion was expressed by Sir Jagdish P. Mody who said: "The new is tragic and there can be nothing but deep disappointment throughout the country that political power should be so well within our grasp and yet elude us. Let us hope, however, that the long term plan, which both the Congress and the League have accepted, will get under way and be carried to a successful conclusion."

PLEA FOR GIVE AND TAKE

Sir Cowasji Jehangir stated: The whole of India will regret that the Congress did not see their way to join the Interim Government. In matters vitally affecting the future of our country there must be a policy of give and take. Even in principle, in which under ordinary conditions one cannot yield, the position may be different when the interests of a country are so vitally affected. One can only hope and pray that the contending parties will still see their way to have a Coalition Government."

The Congress point of view on the matter was clearly expressed by Mr. S. K. Patil, President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee who said: "Acceptance of the interim proposals would have meant destruction of the principles for which the Con-

Contd.

gress has stood all these 30 years. Nine provinces out of 11 have shown leaning towards the Congress in a most emphtic manner, and any other Government at the Centre can, by no stretch of imagination, be considered to be representative of the people."

The central argument of Congress rejection of the proposals was clearly stated by Mr. K. M. Munshi who said: "The Congress as representing the Nation cannot jettison the Nationalist Muslims and leave them to the tender mercies of the Muslim League. Apart from that, if the claim of the League to represent all the Muslims is conceded, the Congress is reduced to a Hindu body and Pakistan must follow as a matter of course. It is to be regretted that the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy spent all these days without taking into consideration this crucial fact on which the Congress and the League have never been able to agree for the last several years."

Raj Can Stay On For Two Years, Says Shukla

NAGPUR, (U.P.I.): "We have lived for over 200 years under British rule and we can afford to remain for another two years whether it be under bureaucratic rule or Muslim rule or any other rule on the face of this earth", said Pandit Ravi Shanker Shukla, Premier of C.P. and Berar, interviewed by the "United Press of India" on the Congress Working Committee's decision to reject the Interim Plan.

Pandit Shukla added: "We could not accept an Interim Government based on principle to which the Congress is opposed. In a couple of years the new constitution will be drafted by the Constituent Assembly and we shall be ruled by the constitution of our own making. As the old maxim goes all is well that ends well."

The Irony Of It

PESHAWAR, (A.P.I.): Commenting on the Congress decision not to join the Interim Government, Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna, Finance Minister, Frontier Province, said:

"The only honourable course left open to the Congress was to reject the offer. If it had not done so it would have simply stultified itself. The Frontier Province went to the polls hardly a few months ago when the Muslim League candidates were defeated hollow. It is an irony of fate that the Congressite Muslims cannot represent the Muslims, but a man like Abdur Rab Nishtar, who was not even allowed a look in, can."

ATTLEE DISOWNED

Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadvi, President, Peshawar Congress, said, "It is the most right step the Congress has taken. The Congress has proved its loyalty to Nationalist Muslims, who proved themselves to be the best servants of Islam and their country. I think the Viceroy and the British Delegation have not worked in the spirit of the speech made by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Clement Attlee, in the House of Commons on the eve of the departure of the Cabinet Mission for India. Otherwise they would not have pleased the minority party at the cost of the majority party."

SET UP OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Congress Criticised

POONA, June 26: Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar, Working President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, said that if the Congress wanted to co-operate with the Muslim League in regard to the long term arrangement, it should have, in the fitness of things, accepted seats in the interim government. Both the plans were inter-linked, he added, and if the Congress wished to reject the short-term plan it should also have boycotted the long term one.

"The boycott of the interim government by the Congress will result in making the Muslim League still stronger and harden its attitude in respect of the grouping of provinces and the formation of the constitution for these groups and their component parts," he added, "I shall not be surprised if the Muslim League, after the constituent assembly is formed and begins to function, succeeds all along the line and ultimately makes patent what at present is latent in the Cabinet Mission's proposals.

"The present attitude of the Congress is typical of the Hindu mentality of doing exactly what ought not to be done and not doing what ought to be done," he observed.—A.P.I.

Congress Lust For Hindu Raj is cause of Nation's Trouble

THE Working Committee of the London branch of the All-India Muslim League, in a statement issued on Thursday said that the members of the Congress Working Committee were like spoiled children crying for the moon.

Signed by its President Mr. Mohamed Abbas Ali, the statement added: "Congress lust for a Hindu raj over the whole of India is the cause of all our nation's troubles."

Conservative circles say that the Prime Minister, Mr. Clement Attlee, has not at present made any plans for making a statement to Parliament about the work of the Mission. At the same time, in Conservative Opposition circles, it is stated that Mr. Winston Churchill, leader of the Opposition, may ask him to do so and in any case the Opposition will want to have a debate on India at an early date.

The Liberal *Manchester Guardian*, said: "India is offered the means of freedom and the jealousies are so great that the offer is brushed aside."

It would be unfair to conclude that the last thing either the Congress or the Muslim League wanted was to assume responsibility for governing India, the *Manchester Guardian* added: "Yet there is enough surface truth in it to explain the exasperation felt in Britain at interminable negotiations, haggling and last minute evasions.

The British Mission wanted urgently to have things settled and to leave government of Indian party leaders in possession.

"MISSION COMMITTED TO FUTURE ACTION"

'C. R.'s Optimistic

MADRAS, June 28: "At first sight it might be thought that the installation of an official Secretariat as the supreme administrative authority in the Central Government, as a result of all the efforts of the last threemonths, is a step back, but things are really not what they seem," says Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, who returned to Madras this afternoon by air from Bombay, in an interview to the *Associated Press of India*.

He adds, "The installation of a purely officially interrugnum is a definite commitment for further action. It will prevent any misinterpretation of the present postponement as a ruse to cover total abandonment of the idea of forming a popular Interim Government. The pressure on the British Government for a move-on is best maintained by the present unsatisfactory arrangement. A purely official Council cannot in the present circumstances of the country be anything but a temporary expedient for filling up the vacuum.

"There need be no misconception on this point. That we could not get a proper Interim Provisional Government on a basis of agreement, or at least of acquiescence, is unfortunate. But no one need fear that things will be allowed to stand where they are."—A.P.I.

Europeans And Politics

MADRAS, June 27: Mr. S. G. H. Davis, chairman of the Madras branch of the European Association, speaking at the annual meeting of the branch, referred to the political situation in the country and said: "So long as we, non-official Europeans, remain in India, we cannot dissociate ourselves from political activities, as they are of far too great a concern to us. The The part that we play in the future development of this country will depend far more on the goodwill of the Indian public than upon any safeguards for our community arranged by the British Government."—A.P.I.

KAMLA DEVI WELCOMES REJECTION OF PLAN

BELLARY, June 25 (A.P.I.): That the socialists in the Congress acted as a healthy restraint in preventing Congress leaders developing liberal tendencies was the view expressed by Mrs. Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya, Congress Socialist Leader, addressing a public meeting here. It was the Socialists who carried on the fighting traditions of the Congress, she declared and added: "they were within an ace of success had not the Communists betrayed them."

She appealed for support to the policy of the Congress Socialists.

SIKHS WELCOME DECISION

AMRITSAR, June 25 (A.P.I.): Satisfaction over the Congress decision to reject the Cabinet Mission's interim plan was expressed by Col. Niranjan Singh Gill, Leader of the Sikh Council of Action, and President of the Panthic Board in an interview to the Associated Press of India.

Col. Niranjan Singh said: "We want the Congress now to go further and study the defects in the Mission's scheme. So long as real defects in the Mission's plan are not removed neither the Congress nor any other patriotic body of Indians should rest on oars."

Liaquat Ali Echoes His Chief

BRITISH GOVT. WARNED

Mission Accused Of Breach Of Pledge

NEW DELHI, June 30.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League, in a statement to the Press tonight says that the charge which Mr. Jinnah has levelled against the British Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy of going back on their word is fully justified and warns His Majesty's Government not to be under the delusion that the reasonableness shown by the Muslim League during these negotiations is to be taken as sign of its weakness.

Following is the full text of the statement:

"The interpretation which has been put by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on Clause 8 of their statement of 16th June regarding the formation of the Interim Government is worthy of a petty-fogging lawyer and not that of three responsible members of His Majesty's Government and the Representative of the Crown in India. A careful study of the statement and the correspondence which took place between the Muslim League President and the Viceroy will convince every fair-minded person that the charge which Mr. Jinnah has levelled against the Delegation and the Viceroy of going back on their word is fully justified. There is not the slightest doubt that these noble and honourable gentlemen have taken their words and are guilty of breaking their solemn pledges, which they had given to the Muslim League, in order to placate and appease the Congress. It cannot be very edifying for Great Britain that its responsible statesmen have written such a treated their solemn declaration and written pledges as a mere scrap of paper. It is bound to shake the faith of the people in the word and pledges of British statesmen.

The perusal of the correspondence which has passed between the Congress and the Delegation and the Viceroy and the negotiations were started clearly shows that the Congress has not budged an inch from the position that it took up from the very beginning and has not agreed to any spirit of compromise on any point. Even the acceptance of the long-term scheme by the Congress was its own interpretation of some of the vital provisions of the statement of 16th May, especially of the grouping of the provinces in which it still persists, even after the authoritative explanation and interpretation by the Cabinet Delegation in their statement of the 25th of May, is in fact a rejection of the scheme embodied in the Delegation's statement of 16th May.

FLING AT CONGRESS

The Congress by accepting the Long-Term Plan has, without doubt, accepted the formation of sections A, B and C of the Constituent Assembly on the basis of Muslim representation as a separate nationality where Muslims can only be elected to the Constituent Assembly by Muslims alone. How is this compatible with the much-advertised national character of the Congress? Yet in the Interim Government there is the bogey that if the Congress does not have a Muslim of its own choice its national character will be destroyed. It clearly shows that it is a sinister move on the part of the Congress to humiliate the Muslim League and disrupt the Musalmans. Further, why does it not claim to nominate the representatives of all the other communities as well in the Interim Government?

As against this attitude of the Congress, the Muslim League has, at every stage of negotiations shown an attitude of reasonableness and every spirit of accommodation.

BETRAYAL OF MUSLIMS

In view of the betrayal of the Muslims by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, I wish to give a timely warning to His Majesty's Government not to be under the delusion that the reasonableness shown by the Muslim League during these negotiations is to be taken as a sign of its weakness. It has been our earnest desire, throughout to find a peaceful solution of the Indian problem. We have tried our best to avoid a struggle but if it is thrust on us, we shall face it with courage and determination. If it is only the shedding of blood which convinces the British Government that the Musalmans will not hesitate to resort to that course, if forced into it, to protect their honour and save themselves from annihilation. We shall not go to the shambles like sheep.

If the Musalmans to be prepared for the worst, but peace and not war is what we want to be war we shall accept

(A. P.)

'MUSLIM LEAGUE BADLY LET DOWN' 30-6-46

FROM OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT.

KARACHI, June 27.—"Although the Muslim League gave up its demand for Pakistan—a wrangle over words only—by accepting limited portfolios under Central control notwithstanding—in agreeing to one Indian Union Centring it has been badly let down by the British Government," said Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayatullah, Sind Premier. He returned to Karachi today after attending the meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee in Delhi.

Sir Ghulam H. Hidayatullah.

Asked what action the League High Command proposes to take against the Cabinet Mission's statement of June 26, Sir Ghulam Hussein said that the Mission had announced on June 16 that they would proceed with the formation of an Interim Government even if any party stood out. This announcement had not been revoked so far and the League would have to await any further statement from the British Government after the Mission had reported to Parliament.

The Sind Premier believed that the Constituent Assembly would not have smooth sailing without a representative Government functioning at the Centre. If the two High Commands could not come to a working arrangement over the Interim Government proposal he found it difficult to believe that an unwieldy assembly of nearly 400 members could conduct its proceedings in a spirit of give and take. He was afraid that the small number of Muslims would not get fair treatment at the hands of a Hindu majority in the Constituent Assembly and he went so far as to say that he could visualize walk-outs almost every day.

Sir Ghulam Hussein added that he had previously computed that the Assembly would take about a year to complete its work but one year would not be sufficient now, he thought.

CABINET MISSION REJECTS JINNAH'S DEMAND

Elections To Constituent Assembly To Proceed

REPLY TO LEAGUE CHIEF'S PLEA FOR POSTPONEMENT

Charge Of Going Back On Promise Regarding Interim Govt. Refuted

NEW DELHI, June 28.

In letters written to-day to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy refute the suggestion that they have gone back on their word with regard to the formation of an *Interim* Government. "Our course of action was determined by what had been laid down in paragraph 8 of the statement of June 16 and we had made it plain to you before your Working Committee meeting on June 26 that we proposed to follow this course", the Mission add.

The Mission state that they do not propose to postpone elections to the Constituent Assembly.

These and other points are brought out in correspondence released to-day between Mr. Jinnah and the Mission from June 19 to June 28.

Following is the text of the correspondence:

Letter from Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, dated New Delhi, June 19th, 1946.

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th June, 1946, together with an advance copy of the statement by the Cabinet Delegation and yourself of the same date.

In my interview with you at Simla prior to the announcement of the Cabinet Delegation's proposals, you had informed me that you were going to form the Interim Government consisting of twelve members on the basis of five Muslim League, five Congress, one Sikh and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian. As regards the portfolios, you had indicated that the important ones would be equally divided between the Muslim League and the Congress but details of actual allotment were to be left open for discussion. After the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself, dated the 16th of May, 1946, you again on the 3rd of June at New Delhi gave me to understand that the formula for the formation of the Interim Government disclosed to me at Simla would be followed. On both the occasions I sought your permission to communicate this information to my Working Committee which you kindly gave me. Accordingly, I gave a full account of the talks I had with you and the decision of the Working Committee, leading to the final acceptance of the long-term proposals which was largely influenced by the faith which they reposed in the scheme for the formation of the Interim Government disclosed by you to me on the two occasions. Further, as I had already pointed out in my letter to you of 8th June, 1946, I made the statement that the Council of the All-India Muslim League that that was the formula which, I was assured by you, would be the basis on which you would proceed to form your Interim Government, and, therefore, this formed an integral part of the plan embodied in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation. This was one of the most important considerations which weighed with the Council of the All-India Muslim League also in arriving at their decision, although even then there was a section that was opposed to the plan being accepted.

When the Congress press started a sinister agitation against Congress-League parity, with a view to inform you of the Muslim League stand, I wrote to you on the 8th June that "any departure from this formula, directly or indirectly, will lead to serious consequences and will not secure the co-operation of the Muslim League.

Subsequently, in my interview with you on the 13th June you reiterated me that you wanted to alter the basis and proceed on the formula of five Congress, five Muslim League and three others, namely, one Sikh, one Scheduled Caste, and one Indian Christian. I told you then that any change was proposed to be made I would have to place the matter before the Working Committee and may have to call another meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League. I also informed you that when the Congress finally agreed to your new formula I would then place it before my Working Committee for them to take such action as they deem necessary.

After discussion with the Congress representatives you wrote to me on the 15th June informing me that you had failed to negotiate an agreement on the composition of the Interim Government on the basis of 5: 5: 3 and that the Cabinet Delegation and yourself would issue a statement on the 16th of June on the action that you proposed to take and that you would let me have a copy of it before publication.

LEAGUE'S OBJECTIONS

Accordingly you sent me a copy of the statement by the Cabinet Delegation and yourself issued on the 16th June, with a covering letter of the same date, which I placed before my Working Committee and who after careful consideration of the matter have authorised me to state as follows:

(A) That the Working Committee are surprised that invitations have been issued to 5 Muslim Leaguers to join the 'Interim' Government without calling for a list from the leader of the Muslim League.

(B) That your latest proposal on the basis of which you now desire to form your 'Interim' Government shows that you have abandoned parity between the Congress and the Muslim League, the two major parties, and have substituted parity between the Muslim League and Caste Hindus, and have added a fourth representative of the minorities, namely, a Parsi, out of the minority representatives nominated by you, i.e., Mr. Jagjivan Ram, is a Congressman and has been selected, it appears, not to give real representation to the Scheduled Castes, but to give an additional seat to the Congress in the 'Interim' Government.

(C) That the modifications which have been made in the original formula for the 'Interim' Government have adversely affected the proportion of the Muslims in the 'Interim' Government as a whole and as against the Congress as a single group.

(D) That in view of the serious changes which have, from time to time, been made to satisfy the Congress, it is not possible for the Working Committee to arrive at any decision in the matter of the formation of the 'Interim Government so long as the Congress does not finally convey its decision on the proposals to you, and

(E) That the question of distribution of portfolios should also be finally decided so that there may be no further hitch created by the Congress in this regard and the Working Committee may have a complete picture before them when they meet to consider the proposals.

CLARIFICATION DEMANDED

Further, I shall be grateful if you will please make the following points clear with reference to your letter and statement of the 16th June:—

1. Whether the proposals contained in the statement for the setting up of an Interim Government are now final or whether they are still open to any further change or modification in the instance of any of the parties or persons concerned.

2. Whether the total number of 14 members of the Government as proposed in the statement would remain unchanged during the interim period.

3. If any person or persons invited as representatives of the four minorities, viz., the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsis, is, or are unable to accept the invitation to join the Interim Government for personal or other reasons, how will the vacancy or vacancies created be filled by the Viceroy, and whether in filling up the vacancy or vacancies the leader of the Muslim League will be consulted and his consent obtained.

4. And whether during the interim period for which the Coalition Government is being set up the proportion of members of the Government, communitywise, as provided in the proposals, will be maintained.

5. Whether the present representation given to four minorities, viz., the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsis will be adhered to without any change or modification, and

6. In view of the substitution of 14 new portfolios in the original of 11 and the change made in the original formula, whether there will be a provision in order to safeguard Muslim interests that the Executive Council shall not take any decision on any major communal issue if the majority of the Muslim members are opposed to it.

I trust that you will kindly favour me with your reply as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah.

VICEROY'S REPLY TO JINNAH

Letter to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President All-India Muslim League, from the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, June 79, 1946.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 19th June which I have shown to the Cabinet Mission.

I do not think it is necessary for me to comment on the first part of your letter. I am sure you will appreciate that negotiations designed to secure acceptance by two parties with conflicting interests may not always end on the same basis as that on which they began. As you know, I never gave you any guarantee that they would succeed. He concluded on any parti-

(A) That your latest proposal on the basis of which you now desire to form your 'Interim' Government shows that you have abandoned parity between the Congress and the Muslim League, the two major parties, and have substituted parity between the Muslim League and Caste Hindus, and have added a fourth representative of the minorities, namely, a Parsi, out of the minority representatives nominated by you, i.e., Mr. Jagjivan Ram, is a Congressman and has been selected, it appears, not to give real representation to the Scheduled Castes, but to give an additional seat to the Congress in the 'Interim' Government.

(C) That the modifications which have been made in the original formula for the 'Interim' Government have adversely affected the proportion of the Muslims in the 'Interim' Government as a whole and as against the Congress as a single group.

(D) That in view of the serious changes which have, from time to time, been made to satisfy the Congress, it is not possible for the Working Committee to arrive at any decision in the matter of the formation of the 'Interim Government so long as the Congress does not finally convey its decision on the proposals to you, and

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2. Whether the total number of 14 members of the Government as proposed in the statement would remain unchanged during the interim period.

3. If any person or persons invited as representatives of the four minorities, viz., the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsis, is, or are unable to accept the invitation to join the Interim Government for personal or other reasons, how will the vacancy or vacancies created be filled by the Viceroy, and whether in filling up the vacancy or vacancies the leader of the Muslim League will be consulted and his consent obtained.

4. And whether during the interim period for which the Coalition Government is being set up the proportion of members of the Government, community-wise, as provided in the proposals, will be maintained.

5. Whether the present representation given to four minorities, viz., the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsis will be adhered to without any change or modification, and

6. In view of the substitution of 14 new portfolios in the original of 11 and the change made in the original formula, whether there will be a provision in order to safeguard Muslim interests that the Executive Council shall not take any decision on any major communal issue if the majority of the Muslim members are opposed to it.

I trust that you will kindly favour me with your reply as early as possible.

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I note the views of the Muslim League set out in paragraphs (A) to (E) of your letter.

The intention in the statement of June 16 was that the discussion of portfolios with leaders of the main parties should follow the acceptance by both parties of the scheme. This intention still holds, since until the names are known, it is difficult to decide on the distribution of portfolios.

On the points which you desire to re made clear in connection with the Government to be formed under our statement of June 16 I give you the following reply after consultation with the Delegation :—

(1) Until I have received acceptance from those invited to take office in the "interim" Government, the names in the statement cannot be regarded as final. But no change in principle will be made in the statement without the consent of the two major parties.

(2) No change in the number of 14 members of the "interim" Government will be made without the agreement of the two major parties.

(3) If any vacancy occurs among the seats at present allotted to representatives of minorities, I shall naturally consult both the main parties before filling it.

(4) (A) and (B). The proportion of members by communities will not be changed without the agreement of the two major parties.

(5) No decision on a major communal issue could be taken by the "Interim" Government if the majority of either of the main parties were opposed to it. I pointed this out to the Congress President and he agreed that the principle appreciated this point.

(6) If you agree, I will send copies of the questions in your letter and of paragraphs 8 and 9 of this letter to the President of the Congress.

Yours sincerely,
Wavell.

WAVELL POSTPONES INTERIM GOVT.

Letter to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President All-India Muslim League, dated the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, June 28th 1946:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Cabinet Mission and I feel that there are certain points in your state-

(Continued on Next Column)

(Continued from previous col.)

ment released yesterday which it would be wrong to leave unanswered.

You will remember that at an interview which the Cabinet Mission and I had with you on the evening of the 16th June, before the meeting of your Working Committee at which you accepted the proposals in the statement of the 16th June, we explained to you that as Congress had accepted the statement of 16th May while refusing to take part in the 'Interim' Government proposed in the statement of 16th June, this had produced a situation by which paragraph 8 of the statement of the 16th June took effect. This paragraph states that if either of the two major parties was unwilling to join "in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the lines laid down in that statement, the Viceroy would proceed with the formation of 'Interim' Government which would be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of the 16th May."

We said that since the Congress and the Muslim League had now both accepted the statement of 16th May, it was the intention to form a Coalition Government including both these parties as soon as possible. In view, however, of the long negotiations which had already taken place, and since we all had other work to do, we felt that it would be better to have a short interval before proceeding with further negotiations for the formation of an Interim Government. Thus whatever interpretation you may put on paragraph 8 the Working Committee can have no in doubt as to the course proposed to adopt.

I confirmed in writing the same evening what I had said to you.

Secondly, the assurances which you quote in your statement related specifically to the particular Interim Government that would have been set up if both the parties had accepted the statement of the 16th June.

The statement succeeding I propose to publish this letter together with your letter of the 19th June to the Congress which has already appeared in the Press and my reply of the 20th June.

Yours sincerely,
Wavell.

JINNAH'S RESENTMENT

The main points of Mr. Jinnah's letter on 28th June in reply to Lord Wavell's letter of 20th June are, according to an O.P. message, as follows :

Mr. Jinnah in course of his letter reiterated that the Mission were in honour bound to go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government on the contingencies including the rejection by the Congress of the principle of the one set aside for in the statement of June 16 and clause 8 of the statement has dovetailed with the context is quite clear."

The letter further expressed that in view of the new stand taken by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy as per their statement of June 25th which is neither fair nor just" elections to the Constituent Assembly should be postponed as also agreed to all documents and the two statements issued by the Cabinet Mission on 16th June and June 16, the long term arrangement and the Interim Government proposals were nothing but inseparable and integral parts of one and the same plan.

Mr. Jinnah holds the view that "it is neither desirable nor in conformity with the previous statements that one part viz., the formation of the Interim Government should be left behind and the other part be proceeded with."

VICEROY REPLIES TO ALLEGATIONS

His Excellency the Viceroy's letter dated the 28th June, 1946 to Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I have received your letter of the 28th June and have shown it to the Cabinet Ministers.

We are quite unable to accept your suggestion that we have gone back on our word. As I have said in a letter to you earlier to-day our course of action was determined by what had been laid down in paragraph 8 of the statement of the 16th June, and we have made it plain to you before your Working Committee meeting on the 25th June, that we proposed to follow this course.

The arrangements for the elections to the Constituent Assembly have already been put into operation and we do not propose to postpone them.

As the substance of your letter was included in the All-India Radio news today I am publishing this reply.

Yours Sincerely,
Wavell.

LEAGUE LEADERSHIP CRISIS OUT

G. M. Syed On Interim Govt. Plan Scrapping

KARACHI, Thursday — "Congress-League wranglings over India's constitutional future have rendered positive service to the cause of India's freedom," says Mr. G. M. Syed, Leader of the Opposition in the Sind Assembly, in a statement issued today. "It is the third party which has every reason to feel satisfied with what has happened. It has emerged victorious out of the Hindu-Muslim negotiations and discussions. Its stand on the issue until there is agreement between the major parties regarding the composition of Interim government. It is their plan which has been accepted pertaining to the further composition of the constituent assembly.

"Next to the British delusion, the Congress might feel that it has succeeded in sabotaging the Viceroy's move about re-formation of his Executive Council. The dramatic and sudden somersault of the Viceroy and the delegation in postponing their proclaimed decision vis-a-vis the formation of the interim government is a tribute to the Congress determination never to give in on any issue militating against its principles.

"Over and above that, our friends of the Quaid-e-Azam's house high command have lost much of their resolve and dominating traditions and courage of conviction as it is very clear from the Delhi transactions. The Congress has hopelessly compromised at every stage. It had agreed to parity and representation at the Centre virtually ending up unconditionally, declaring that even the Viceroy's Executive Council should be reshuffled in the very light of India's demand for permanent dominion status. Having given up weightage to the Muslim minority provinces, Congress has given up its earlier stand that it will be obliged to nominate Muslims to the interim government and for that reason had declared that the latter was unconditionally dissolved and even those five Jokers left the capital. The British for whose benefit the Congress had cried on much durbar the time of the war and whose two humiliating offers it had accepted after the Congress had passed declarations and principles to the winds, have given the cold shoulder to the Congress and have decided to stay out. An organisation constituted by British rule, holding the views of a person who do not believe in any sacrifices and who dream of establishing Pakistan by means of constitutional and speeches and seats in assemblies did not, as the British treatment and attitude has shown deserve the status of nobler fate. I anticipated this all along and events have now fully vindicated my stand.

"If the League is really a democratic body it must now call a meeting and present high command, who have brought all this humiliation upon their own heads and upon the head of the Muslim India to resign and go out and enable a new leadership to take charge of the politics and try to undo the injury which has been caused. It is for consideration whether it would ever be possible to assert itself against its permanent President and his favourites.

"Let Muslims of India bear in mind that whatever had been gained during the last eight years that also has been wholly lost the Muslims face the state of absolute chaos. A fresh approach is to be made and under the guidance of a leadership free from the stigma of the recent transactions. The present League high command policies have failed and they must now quit. That is the least that can be done to vindicate the prestige and political stand of Muslim India."

Leaders Have Fallen In Imperialist Trap

Communist Criticism

BOMBAY, Friday.

M. P. C. Joshi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, criticising the Congress decision to accept the long-term proposals says:

"The acceptance by the Working Committee of the British-made Constitution-making body creates one of the graves turning points that has ever faced our freedom movement. In plain and blunt words it means that the main leaders of our movement has fallen in the British imperialist trap. The decision has been said that the British proposals enable the Congress to primise and realise its goal. It is as the discovery has been made too late by the Congress leadership for the Cabinet Mission's proposals of 1946 are nowhere different from the Cripps proposals of 1942, except that they have been worked out in more details.

"Let us take the main points advanced in the Working Committee resolution and the explanatory statement of the Congress President.

"To call sovereign a body which is making body which is not preceded by a prior declaration of full independence and out of which shall only emerge the draft of a treaty between the British Government, is to give a brand new definition of Indian sovereignty.

NO UNFETTERED RIGHT

"To claim that this British manufactured Constituent-making body has the unfettered right to shape Indian constitution, when in fact it provides for endless conflicts among Indians and keeps the British as arbiters in every dispute, is to play with words.

"To glorify the British offer as having saved the unity of India when all that is guaranteed is the military unity of India which the British themselves need, and what has been sacrificed is the political and economic unity of India which the common people need is to accept a future in which India will be house divided, with perpetual conflicts among its communities and nationalities.

"To claim that the British proposals offer the chance of building an Indian democratic State, sincerity advocates occupying one-third of India's territory and lording over one-fourth of our people, are to be its independent partners is to deny the difference between democracy and autocracy.

"To claim that the British plan is not to settle but repudiate Indian independence, unity and democracy.

"In the A.I.C.C. it will be the bounden duty of every delegate to ask the leadership where have the British quit India who drag the Congress into the Interim Govt. has not the humiliation of two British awards been enough, has not expectancy with the Union Govt. from London?

WILL A.I.C.C. GIVE THE LEAD?

Would the A.I.C.C. lead or be led by the Working Committee? The issue is simple the leadership is prepared that the British Imperialist plan for Partition of India be given a trial or that the old liberals did after Wavell's Simla Conference [illegible] World War I [illegible] the Congress [illegible]

HE LEADER, JUNE 28, 1946.

CONGRESS BLUNT 'NO' TO PARITY

WAVELL'S ANOMALOUS STAND

FULL STORY OF DELHI TALKS THROUGH AZAD'S LETTER

New Delhi, June 26.—The following is the full text of the letter, which the Congress President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad wrote to Lord Wavell yesterday, intimating the Congress Working Committee's rejection of the short term interim proposal and accepting the long-term plan:—

20, Akbar Road,
New Delhi
25th June, 1946.

Dear Lord Wavell,

Ever since the receipt of your statement of June 16, my committee have been considering it from day to day and have given long and axious thought to your proposals and to the invitations you have issued to individuals to form the provisional National Government. Because of our desire to find some way out, we have tried our utmost to appreciate your approach and view-point. In the course of our conversations, we have already pointed out to you our difficulties. Unfortunately, these difficulties have been increased by the recent correspondence.

The Congress, as you are aware, is a national organisation of India. For more than half a century, it has laboured for the freedom of India and for equal rights for all Indians. The link that has brought all these various groups and communities together within the fold of the Congress is the passionate desire for national independence, economic advance and social equality. It is from this point of view that we have to judge every proposal.

NEW OUTLOOK NEEDED

We hoped that a provisional National Government would be formed, which would give effect in practice to this independence. Appreciating some of your difficulties, we did not press for any statutory change introducing independence immediately, but we did expect a *de facto* change in the character of the Government, making for independence in action. The status and powers of the provisional Govegnment were thus important. In our view, this was going to be something entirely different from the Viceroy's Executive Council. It was to adopt a new outlook, new methods of work and a new psychological approach by India to both domestic and external problems. Your letter, dated 30th May, 1946, gave us certain assurances about the status and powers of the provisional Government. These did not go far enough, according to our thinking, but we appreciated the friendly tone of that letter, and decided to accept the assurances and not to press this particular matter any further.

NO PARITY

The important question of the composition of the provisional Government remained. In this connection, we emphasised that we could not accept anything in the nature of 'parity', even as a temporary expedient, and pointed out that the provisional Government should consist of 15 members to enable the administration of the country to be carried on efficiently, and the smaller minorities to be represented in it. Some mention of names was made and, on our part, suggestions were put before you informally, including the name of a non-League Muslim.

In your statement of June 16th, some of the names suggested came as a surprise to us. Several changes had been made from the provisional list prepared by the Congress. The manner of preparing your list and presenting it as an accomplished fact, seemed to us to indicate a wrong approach to the problem. One of the names included had not been previously mentioned at all, and was that of a person holding an official position and not known to be associated with any public activity. We have no personal objection to him, but we think that the inclusion of such a name particularly, without any previous reference or consultation, was undesirable and indicated a wrong approach to the problem.

Then again a name from our list was excluded and in his place, another of our colleague's was put in but as you have said that this can be rectified, I need not say more about it.

CONGRESS RIGHT TO HAVE A MUSLIM ON ITS PANEL

One outstanding feature of this list was the non inclusion of any Nationalist Muslim. We felt that this was a grave omission. We wanted to suggest the name of a Muslim to take the place of one of the Congress names on the list. We felt that no one could possibly object to our changing the name of one of our own men. Indeed, when I had drawn your attention to the fact that among the Muslim League nominees was incuded the name of a person, who had actually lost in the recent elections in the Frontier Province, and whose name, we felt, had been placed there for political reasons, you wrote to me as follows: "I am afraid that I cannot accept the right of the Congress to object to names put forward by the Muslim League, any more than I would accept similar objections from the other side. The test must be that of ability." But before we could make our suggestion, I received your letter of the 22nd June, which surprised us greatly. You had written this letter on the basis of some press reports. You told us that the Cabinet mission and you were not prepared to accept a request for the inclusion of a Muslim chosen by the Congress among the representatives of the Congress in the Interim Government. This seemed to us an extraordinary decision.

It was in direct opposition to

your own statement quoted above. It meant that the Congress could not freely choose even its own nominees. The fact, that this was not to be taken as a precedent, made hardly any difference. Even a temporary departure from such a vital principle could not be accepted by us at any time or place and in any circumstances.

SCHEDULED CASTES NOT A MINORITY

In your letter of the 21st June, you gave certain questions framed by Mr. Jinnah in his letter dated 19th June and your replies to them. We have not seen Mr. Jinnah's letter. In question 3, reference is made to "representation of the four minorities viz., the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsees", and it is asked as to "who will fill in vacancies caused in these groups, and whether in filling up the vacancies, the leader of the Muslim League will be consulted and his consent obtained."

In your answer you say, "if any vacancy occurs among the seats at present allotted to the representatives of the minorities, I shall naturally concult both the main parties before filling it." Mr. Jinnah has thus included the Scheduled Castes among the minorities, and presumably you have agreed with this view. So far as we are concerned, we repudiate this view and consider the Scheduled Castes as integral parts of Hindu society. You also, in your letter of June, 15th, treated the Scheduled Castes as Hindus.

You pointed out that in your proposal there was no "parity", either between the Hindus and Muslims, or between the Congress and the Muslim League, inasmuch as there were to be six Hindus belonging to the Congress, as against five Muslims belonging to the League. One of the six Hindus belonged to the Scheduled Castes. We longed to the Scheduled Castes. We are in any case, not agreeable to the leader of a party, which claims to represent a community which is a minority, interfering with the selection of names either of the Scheduled Castes, whose representation you counted as falling within the Congress quota, or with the selection of representatives of the minorities mentioned.

RETURN OF 'PARITY'

In question 4, the Scheduled Castes are again referred to as a minority, and it is asked whether the proportion of members of the Government, as provided in the proposals, will be maintained communitywise. Your answer is that the proportion will not be changed without agreement of the two major parties. Here again one communal group, functioning admittedly as such, is given a power to veto changes in other groups, with which it has no concern. We may desire, if opportunity offers itself, to increase the representation of the Scheduled Castes, or to give representation, when it is possible, to another minority, for example Anglo-Indians. All this would depend on the consent of the Muslim League. We cannot agree to this. We may add that your answers restrict the Congress representation to Caste Hindus, and make it equal to that of the League.

Finally you state in answer to question 5 that 'no decision of a major communal issue could be taken by the interim Government if the majority of either of the main parties were opposed to it.'

You further say that you had pointed this out to the Congress President and he had agreed that the Congress appreciated this point. In this connection, I desire to point out that we had accepted this principle for the long-term arrangement in the union legislature and it could possibly be applied to the provisional Government if it was responsible to the legislature and was 'composed of the representatives on the population basis of major communities.' It could not be applied to the provisional Government formed on a different basis altogether.

It was pointed out by us in my letter of the 13th June, 1946, that it would make administration impossible and deadlocks a certainty. Even in the question as framed by Mr. Jinnah, it is stated that 'in view of the substitution of 14 now proposed for the original 12' no major communal issues should be decided if the majority of the Muslim members are opposed to it.

Thus this question arose after the substitution of 14 for 12, i.e., after your statement of June 16. In this statement no mention was made of this rule. This very important change has been introduced, almost casually and certainly without our consent. This again gives the power of veto or obstruction to the Muslim League in the provisional Government.

We have stated above our objections to your proposals of June 16 as well as to your answers to the questions framed by Mr. Jinnah. These defects are grave and would render the working of the provisional Government difficult and deadlocks a certainty. In the circumstances your proposals cannot fulfil the immediate requirements of the situation or further the cause we hold dear.

My committee have, therefore, reluctantly come to the conclusion that they are unable to assist you in forming a provisional Government as proposed in your statement of June 16, 1946.

With regard to the proposals made in the statement of May 16, 1946, relating to the formation and functioning of the constitution-making body, the Working Committee of the Congress passed a resolution on the 24th May, 1946, and conversations and correspondence have taken place between your Excellency and the Cabinet Mission on the one side and myself and some of my colleagues on the other. In these we have pointed out what in our opinion were the defects in the proposals. We also gave our interpretation of some of the provisions of the statement. While adhering, to our views we accept your proposals and are prepared to work them with a view to achieve our objective. We would add, however, that the successful working of the Constituent Assembly will largely depend on the formation of a satisfactory provisional Government.

Yours Sincerely,

A. K. AZAD.

M. AZAD REVIEWS THREE-MONTH NEGOTIATIONS

New Delhi, June 27.—The Congress President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in a 1000 word review of the last three months' negotiations says:—

'In our prolonged negotiations with the Cabinet delegation and the Viceroy my colleagues and I have throughout been guided by one governing principle. It was the achievement of Indian independence and the solution of all outstanding problems by methods of peaceful negotiations. Such methods have both their advantages and their limitations. Independence achieved through violence and conflict may be more spectacular but entails endless suffering and bloodshed and leaves behind a heritage of bitterness and hatred. Peaceful methods leave no bitter trail but neither are the results so spectacular as in a violent revolution. The present negotiations have therefore to be judged from this standard. Keeping in mind the method chosen and the peculiar nature of problems dispassionate observers will be forced to admit that though all our hopes have not been fulfilled, the results mark a decisive step forward towards the attainment of our goal. After seeking discussion and analysis it was the conclusion reached by the Congress Working Committee, and they have accordingly accepted the long-term proposals.

FUNDAMENTAL BASES OF CONGRESS

As I have explained in my statement of April 14, 1946 the Congress scheme for the solution of India's political and constitutional problem rested upon two fundamental bases. The Congress held that in the peculiar circumstances of India a federal but organic and powerful centre confined to certain basic subjects was inevitable. A unitary Government could no more meet the requirements of the case than a division of India into several independent states. A second fundamental principle was the recognition of the complete autonomy of the provinces with all residuary powers vested in them. Congress held that the provinces would administer all subjects, the basic central subjects. From the nature of the case, it would be open to the provinces to delegate to the centre such other subjects as they chose. It is an open secret that the Cabinet Mission's long-term proposals are framed according to the principles laid down in the Congress scheme.

A question about the implication of provincial autonomy was raised during the recent Simla conference. It was asked that if the provinces were fully autonomous, did not two or more of them have the right if they chose of setting up inter-provincial machinery for administering such subjects as they allocated to it? The declared views of the Congress on the question of provincial autonomy did not permit a denial of the force in the contention. My correspondence during the Simla conference has already been released and given to the public a clear exposition of the Congress views on the question.

NOVEL FEATURE IN MISSION SCHEME

The only novel feature in the Cabinet Mission's scheme is the idea of grouping the provinces into three different sections. As soon as the Constituent Assembly meets, it will according to the proposals of the Cabinet Mission, divide itself into three committees. Each committee will be composed of members from provinces in the appropriate section and will together decide whether to form a group or not. Section 15 of the Cabinet proposals have clearly recognised the rights of provinces to form groups or not. The Cabinet Mission intend that the provinces should exercise this right at a particular stage. The Congress Working Committee hold that whatever the intention of the Cabinet Mission, the statement of May 16 does not bear such interpretation. They hold that the provinces are fully autonomous and have the right to decide the question at any stage they like. Section 15 and the general spirit of the proposals support the Congress interpretation. The provinces have the right to decide either at the very beginning before the group constitution has been framed at all or at the end after they have examined the

MAULANA AZAD

group constitution as it has emerged from the committee of the Constituent Assembly. I am convinced that the Congress interpretation cannot be challenged. If a province decides to remain outside the group from the very beginning, it cannot be compelled to come in.

PROBLEM OF EUROPEANS

There is the problem of Europeans in Assam and Bengal. The Cabinet Mission's proposals have done away with weightage in representation and have clearly laid down that there is to be one representative for every million of the population. This automatically rules the Europeans out of the picture. Once the weightage is discarded, they have no right to any representation at all on the basis of population. It is in the interests of Europeans themselves to refrain from seeking election or participating in the voting. I am confident that the Europeans in Bengal and Assam will act with wisdom and statesmanship.

(Continued on P. 8)

M. AZAD'S REVIEW

(Continued from P. 1)

Since the Europeans in Bengal already decided to refrain from participating in the election to the Constituent Assembly, I trust that the Europeans in Assam will follow their example.

ONE GRAVE FLAW

It must, however, be admitted that one grave flaw in this picture is the delay in the formation of a provisional National Government. Such provisional Government alone can provide the atmosphere in which the Constituent Assembly can function with a sense of full freedom and authority. Their mutual interactions are so intimate that each would suffer in the absence of the other. I earnestly hope that this lacuna in the settlement will be filled and a representative and powerful provisional Government soon set up.

TWO MAIN OBJECTIVES OF CONGRESS

In assessing the results of the negotiations we must not forget that the two main objectives of the Congress have been the freedom and the unity of India. The Congress stand has been vindicated on both these points. The constitution-making body will be a pure Indian Assembly elected by Indian votes alone. It will have the unfettered right to shape India's future constitution and decide our relations with the British Commonwealth and the rest of the world. And this sovereign Constituent Assembly will legislate not for a divided but for a united India. All schemes of partition of India have been rejected once and for all. The Union centre may be limited, but it will be powerful and organic and will integrate into one harmonious whole the many provincial, linguistic and cultural diversities which characterise contemporary India.

JUNE 27, 1946

'Morning Standard'

'BETTER HOPE FOR ENDING STAGNATION'

British Press Hails Congress Decision

LONDON

THERE is better hope to-day than at any [illegible] of ending stagnation in India, says the influ[illegible] pendent "Times" in its editorial comments to-day.

"After more than 13 weeks of patient endeavour, the Viceroy and his Cabinet colleagues have achieved their main purpose of uniting the Congress Party, the Muslim League and the Indian States in common acceptance of a plan for determining the machinery through which India will acquire and preserve her independence," the "Times" adds.

"The decision of the Congress Working Committee to join in the scheme outlined in the State Paper of May 16, subject though it may be to later ratification, aligns three of the most important interests of the country in agreement upon the project for an Indian Union and upon the steps which must be taken to bring this project to fulfilment. After so many months and years of heart-breaking delay, there is better hope than at any time yet of ending the stagnation imposed upon Indian political progress by communal rivalries.

"While the general acceptance of the Cabinet delegation's long-term plan represents a notable advance towards the establishment of India as an independent power, the Congress Party's rejection of the short-term proposals for an Interim Government serves as a sharp reminder of the difficulties which still beset the path.

"Underlying the detailed objections of the Congress Party to the administration suggested by the Viceroy was its claim to choose its own representatives in principle, the claim is justified [illegible]

PARTY PR[illegible]

"But it became [illegible] ceptance would [illegible] diate deadlock. [illegible] lication of part of [illegible] depended upon [illegible] Jinnah, showed that [illegible] would refuse to join an [illegible] Government containing a Congress Muslim and when once the issue had been raised in this form, the Working Committee took the challenge. Mahatma Gandhi, whose influence upon the course of negotiations has been erratic and unpredictable, seems to have persuaded the Working Committee that honour was involved in demonstrating that the Party represented the whole of India. Muslims as well as Hindus. The claim to include a Congress Muslim was therefore pressed and the final decision has been determined by a point of Party prestige. The failure of the Party to display a magnanimity appropriate to the stronger side—a magnanimity which would undoubtedly have helped to elicit a more confident response from the Muslim side—turned the proposals of June 16 for a provisional government into a fresh obstacle in the path of Congress co-operation.

"Undismayed by this development the Viceroy and his colleagues again directed their energies to securing the Party's acceptance of the long-term plan."

CONGRESS OBJECTIONS

"Congress objections," "The Times" recalls, centred upon the proposed grouping of the provinces by sections in the Constituent Assembly.

"The Congress disliked it because it was regarded as keeping the door open to Pakistan, the North-West Frontier Province Government feared it would be overwhelmed by a combination of non-Pathan representatives and a similar viewpoint had been urged by Assam and Congress Party members among the Sikhs.

"On the long view," continues "The Times," "all these fears are illusory. Every Province will be free to vote itself out of [illegible] the [illegible] new constitution [illegible] Assam and Frontier [illegible] the [illegible] by the [illegible] interest [illegible] the Sikh community.

[illegible] was [illegible] the [illegible] very [illegible] acceptance were [illegible] local instruction [illegible] slature that the [illegible] turned to the Constituent [illegible] ably would be expected to sign [illegible] by their specific approval of the [illegible] proposed grouping of provinces. For [illegible] mately, this was rectified in time; [illegible] ally general willingness to work the [illegible] state paper of May 16 is made [illegible] required from [illegible] repr[illegible]

[illegible] ding col.) [illegible] found [illegible] to the [illegible] constituent building.

This result would never have been achieved without the devoted and untiring efforts of the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission to kindle, in party leaders, their own firm faith in the great future which lies before a united India.

INTERIM GOVT.

"But great as is the measure of their success it is not complete; for there is yet no agreement upon the form of the Interim Government. Th creation of such a Government from men enjoying the confidence of the Indian people is the supreme need of the moment. Without it, neither immediate difficulties nor long-term planning can be successfully essayed. It is to this task that the Viceroy and his colleagues must now once more address themselves."

The Liberal "News Chronicle" writes: "The position in India, though still confusing, is not entirely disheartening. A salient factor is that the Congress has accepted the Cabinet Mission's long-term constitution proposals unconditionally. The fact that both the main parties are now in agreement [illegible] constitutes a [illegible] ce.

[illegible] this recog[illegible] stitute comple[illegible] leaders of the [illegible] are again [illegible] pared to w[illegible] ministration [illegible] st trust in [illegible] prospects of [illegible] constitutional [illegible] ahead [illegible] not bright."

NEW DELHI, June 27.

HIT heavily by the Cabinet Mission's sudden decision not to proceed with their plan of constituting a Provisional Representative Government, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, has come out with a long statement, condemning the Congress—whose claim to national representation he dismisses as 'bogus'—and warning the Cabinet Delegation that "if any attempt is made to whittle down in any way the assurances given to the Muslim League or to change or modify the basis of the statement of June 16 which has been accepted by the League, it will be regarded by Muslim India as going back on the part of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on their pledged word in writing and as a breach of faith."

Mr. Jinnah also expresses "regret" at the postponement of the formation of the Interim Government on the basis of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy's Statement of June 16.

"The Muslim League," he says, "emphatically disapproves of this action on the part of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, because all contingencies including rejection by the Congress were contemplated by and provided for in the statement of June 16 and clause eight of the statement taken along with the context is quite clear and the Delegation and the Viceroy were in honour bound to go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government immediately with those who were willing to come into the Interim Government on the basis and principles set out in their statement of June sixteen."

Referring to the resolution of the Congress, Mr. Jinnah says: "I most emphatically repudiate their bogus claim that they represent India and their claim to "national" character. The Congress are a Hindu organisation and they do not represent any other community except the caste Hindus."

Mr. Jinnah considers it a wrong interpretation for the Congress to assert that any province or provinces is or entitled to opt out initially and that they have a right at any stage to do so. "This is clear indication," the statement says, "that the Congress is not accepting the long-term proposals in a sincere and honest spirit of co-operation and peaceful settlement. If they persist in this and adopt measures to set at nought what is described by the statement of the Delegation of May 25 to constitute the essential features of the scheme, the whole plan will be wrecked at the very inception."

The following is the text of Mr. Jinnah's statement issued tonight:—

I have considered the letter of the Congress President addressed to Lord Wavell dated June 26, the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress released to the Press yesterday, and the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy issued in New Delhi on Wednesday, June 26, but a copy of which has not yet been furnished to me.

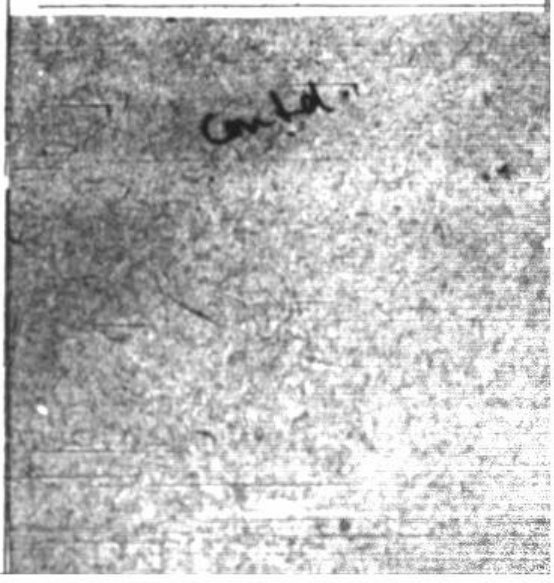
PROGRESS OF TALKS

I think it is necessary for me to state shortly as to what occurred during the progress of the negotiations as various stages from time to time.

Prior to the Cabinet Delegation's statement on May 16 and further statement of May 25, the Viceroy at Simla represented to me that he would proceed with the formation of an Interim Government on the basis of the formula, five-five-two, i.e., five on behalf of the Muslim League, five on behalf of the Congress, one Sikh and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian and that, as regards the portfolios, the most important of them would be equally divided between the Congress and the Muslim League, further details being left open for discussion.

With the permission of the Vice-

(Continued on Page 4)



JINNAH WARNS MISSION

(Continued from Page 1.)

roy, I was authorised to state this formula to the Working Committee at Simla, on the assumption that the long-term proposals would be such as would be acceptable to us. Thereafter, again on the eve of the meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League, in my interview on June 3, the Viceroy repeated the same formula and authorised me to communicate it to my Working Committee.

IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION

This was one of the most important considerations which weighed with them, together with the two statements of the Cabinet Delegation dated May 16 and May 25. The long-term plan and the Interim Government formula together formed one whole, and this formula regarding the Interim Government was an integral part of the whole scheme, and as such the Council of the All-India Muslim League gave its final decision on that basis on June 6.

WARNING TO VICEROY

Thereafter, the Viceroy sent for me on June 13 and he suggested a formula of five-five-three. Owing to the agitation set on foot by the Congress Press and the opposition of the Congress to the original formula, I had already given a warning to the Viceroy in a letter on June 8 that any departure from this formula, directly or indirectly, would lead to serious consequences and would not secure the co-operation of the Muslim League, and that I might have to call a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League again. At my interview with the Viceroy on the 13th, I was told by him that he wanted to change the basis of the original formula and proceed on the basis of five Congress, five Muslim League, and three others, i.e., one Sikh, one Scheduled Caste and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian. In spite of the difficulties that I had pointed out would arise, I informed the Viceroy that if the Congress were finally to agree to this new formula I would place it before my Working Committee for their consideration.

SECOND PROPOSAL TURNED DOWN

But even this second proposal of the Viceroy was turned down by the Congress and His Excellency the Viceroy informed me by his letter dated June 15th that he had failed to negotiate an agreement on the basis which he had suggested and that the Cabinet Delegation and he had decided to issue their statement on June 16th on the action they proposed to take. Accordingly the statement of June 16 was issued to the Press, and an advance copy was sent to me. These were, we were categorically informed, final and not open to any modification, except that the names in the statement could not be regarded as final, until the Viceroy had received acceptances from those invited to take office in the Interim Government.

VICEROY'S LETTER

On June 19, I wrote to the Viceroy seeking certain clarifications regarding the statement of June 16 to which a reply was received from him on June 20 after he had consulted the Cabinet Delegation.

The following extracts are from that letter of the Viceroy in reply to questions put to him:

(1) **"Until I have received the acceptance of those invited to take office in the Interim Government, the names in the statement cannot be regarded as final. No change is proposed to be made in the statement without the consent of the two major parties."**

(2) **"No change in the number of fourteen members of the Interim Government will be made without agreement of the two major parties."**

(3) **"If any vacancy occurs among the seats at present allotted to the representatives of the minorities, I shall naturally consult both the main parties for filling it."**

(4) **(A and B) "The proportion of the members by communities (word communities underlined) will not be changed without agreement of the two major parties."**

(5) **"No decision on a major communal issue could be taken by the Interim Government if the majority of the main parties were opposed to it. I pointed this out to the Congress President and he agreed that the Congress appreciated this point."**

I had by my letter of June 19th informed the Viceroy that in view of the serious changes which had from time to time been made to satisfy the Congress, it was not possible for the Working Committee to arrive at any decision in the matter of formation of the Interim Government, so long as the Congress did not convey their final decision on the proposals of June 16 to the Viceroy and until it was communicated to me.

It was finally arranged that the Congress should give their decision by Sunday June 23, and the League should give its decision on the same day or immediately thereafter. The reply of the Congress was however not forthcoming till late in the evening of the 25th of June and I was asked to meet the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy the same evening. There I was furnished with a copy of the letter of the President of the Congress dated June 25.

According to the arrangement referred to above, I placed this reply before my Working Committee immediately and the same day the Muslim League Working Committee adopted the following resolution which was communicated to H. E. the Viceroy the same night.

WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION

"The President of the All India Muslim League placed before the Working Committee, a copy furnished to him by the Viceroy and the Cabinet Delegation in the course of their interview with him this evening, of the letter of the Congress President addressed to the Viceroy, conveying the decision of the Congress with regard to the proposals of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy contained in their statements of May 16 and June 16, 1946.

(1) According to the understanding that the Muslim League Working Committee will give their decision after the Congress has decided, and, as desired by the Viceroy by the letter of his Private Secretary dated June 21 addressed to the Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, that the decision of the Muslim League be communicated immediately after the reply of the Congress, the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League hereby resolve to agree to join the Interim Government on the basis of the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy dated June 16, 1946 and the clarifications and assurances given by the Viceroy after consultation with the Cabinet Delegation in his letter dated 26th of June 1946 addressed to the President of the Muslim League.

(2) The Working Committee cannot accept the contention of the Congress contained in the aforesaid letter that the Congress is entitled to adhere to its interpretation of some of the provisions in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy dated May 16, 1946 which is opposed to the interpretation and

(Continued on Page 5.)

JINNAH WARNS MISSION

(Continued from Page 4.)

explanation embodied in the statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on the 25th of May, 1946.

(3) With regard to the rest of the letter of the Congress President, the Working Committee reserve their observation for the present."

HIS REGRET

I regret that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy should have thought fit to postpone indefinitely the formation of the Interim Government on the basis of their statement of June 16 as that statement clearly says that the Viceroy aimed at inaugurating the Interim Government about June 26. It is very difficult to see what are the mysterious reasons and causes for this sudden departure.

The Muslim League emphatically disapproves of this action on the part of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy because all contingencies including rejection by the Congress were contemplated by and provided for in the statement of June 16 and Clause 8 (a) of the statement taken along with the context is quite clear and the Delegation and the Viceroy were in honour bound to go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government immediately with those who were willing to come into the Interim Government on the basis and principles set out in their statement of June 16.

CONGRESS CLAIM REPUDIATED

As regards the resolution of the Congress, I must emphatically repudiate their bogus claim that they represent India and their claim to "national" character. The Congress are a Hindu organisation and they do not represent any other community except the Caste Hindus. They certainly do not represent the Muslims and the mere fact that they have a handful of Muslim henchmen for the purpose of window dressing cannot give the national character to it nor the claim nor the right to represent India upon which they keep on harping. This has been established beyond doubt in the recent elections the results of which show that the Muslim League carried away ninety per cent of the total of Muslim seats in the various legislatures and out of the remaining ten per cent the Congress share does not amount to more than four per cent.

A PARTY ACCEPTING AT SIMLA

The Congress, therefore have no right to represent or speak on behalf of the Muslims and their refusal to accept the proposals for the formation of the Interim Government is based on sinister motives. Firstly they wanted to break the parity between the Muslims and the Caste Hindus, by accepted by them at Simla last year at the Conference called by the Viceroy in connection with the Wavell proposals, and secondly their insistence on nominating a Congress Muslim is aimed at striking at the fundamentals of the League and its Muslim national representative character and attempting to establish a false claim [illegible] the Congress

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

FRESH EFFORTS FOR SETTLEMENT

Leader 27/6

Mission Leaves on Saturday: Statement Announced

New Delhi, June 26.—The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy in a statement regret that it has not so far proved possible to form an interim Coalition Government but they are determined that the efforts should be renewed in the terms of para 8 of their statement of June 16.

As the Government of India must be carried on, continues the statement, until a new interim Government can be formed, it is the intention of the Viceroy to set up a temporary caretaker Government of officials.

It is also announced that it is not possible for the Cabinet Mission to remain longer in India as they must return to England to report to the British Cabinet and Parliament. They, therefore, propose to leave India on Saturday next.

The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy express satisfaction at the fact that Constitution-making can now proceed with the consent of the two major parties and of the states.

The following is the full text of the statement issued by the Cabinet Mission and H. E. the Viceroy tonight:—

The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy are glad that constitution-making can now proceed with the consent of the two major parties and of the States. They welcome the statements made to them by the leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League that it is their intention to try and work in the Constituent Assembly so as to make it a speedy and effective means of devising the new constitutional arrangements under which India can achieve her independence. They are sure that the members of the Constituent Assembly who are about to be elected will work in this spirit.

The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy regret that it has not so far proved possible to form an interim Coalition Government, but they are determined that the effort should be renewed in accordance with the terms of Paragraph 8 of their statement of June 16. Owing, however, to the very heavy burden which has been cast upon the Viceroy and the representatives of the parties during the last three months, it is proposed that the further negotiations should be adjourned for a short interval during the time while the elections for the Constituent Assembly will be taking place. It is hoped that when the discussions are resumed, the leaders of the two major parties, who have all expressed their agreement with the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission on the need for the speedy formation of a representative interim Government, will do their utmost to arrive at an accommodation upon the composition of that Government.

As the Government of India must be carried on until a new interim Government can be formed, it is the intention of the Viceroy to set up a temporary caretaker Government of officials.

It is not possible for the Cabinet Mission to remain longer in India as they must return to report to the British Cabinet and Parliament and also to resume their work from which they have been absent for over three months. They, therefore, propose to leave India on Saturday next, June 29. In leaving India the members of the Cabinet Mission express their cordial thanks for all the courtesy and consideration which they have received as guests in the country and they most sincerely trust that the steps which have been initiated will lead to a speedy realisation of the hopes and wishes of the Indian people.

JINNAH WARNS MISSION

(Continued from Page 4.)

explanation embodied in the statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on the 25th of May 1946.

(3) With regard to the rest of the letter of the Congress President, the Working Committee reserve their observation for the present."

HIS REGRET!

I regret that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy should have thought fit to postpone indefinitely the formation of the Interim Government on the basis of their statement of June 16 as that statement clearly says that the Viceroy aimed at inaugurating the Interim Government about June 26. It is very difficult to see what are the mysterious reasons and causes for this sudden departure.

The Muslim League emphatically disapproves of this action on the part of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy because all contingencies including rejection by the Congress were contemplated by and provided for in the statement of June 16 and Clause Eight of the statement taken along with the context is quite clear and the Delegation and the Viceroy were in honour bound to go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government immediately with those who were willing to come into the Interim Government on the basis and principles set out in their statement of June 16.

CONGRESS CLAIM REPUDIATED

As regards the resolution of the Congress, I must emphatically repudiate their bogus claim that they represent India and their claim to "national" character. The Congress are a Hindu organisation and they do not represent any other community except the Hindus. They certainly do not represent the Muslims and the mere fact that they have a handful of Muslim henchmen for the purpose of window-dressing cannot give the national character which they claim nor the right to represent India upon which they keep on harping. This has been established beyond doubt in the general elections the results of which show that the Muslim League carried away ninety per cent of the total Muslim seats in the various legislatures and out of the remaining ten per cent the Congress share does not amount to more than four per cent.

A PARTY ACCEPTED AT SIMLA

The Congress, therefore have no right to represent or speak on behalf of the Muslims and their refusal to accept the proposals for the formation of the Interim Government is based on sinister motives. Firstly, they want to break the parity between the Muslims and the Caste Hindus, which was accepted by them at Simla last year at the Conference called by the Viceroy in connection with the Wavell proposals, and secondly their insistence on nominating a Congress Muslim is aimed at sticking at the fundamentals of the League and its Muslim national representative character and at attempting to establish a false claim that the Congress represents the Muslims and the Muslim League is not the representative organisation of Muslim India.

As it is pointed out above, the Congress claim is not true nor based upon facts and therefore the Muslim League cannot be a party directly or indirectly to any course of action which is calculated to drop up this bogus claim.

SAFEGUARD ESSENTIAL

As regards the safeguard that no decision on any major communal issue could be taken if the majority of the main parties were opposed to it, on which assurance was given by Viceroy, this is absolutely necessary to protect the Muslim interests as the number is now increased from thirteen to fourteen. Although there is parity between the Caste Hindus and the Muslims, the Muslims will be in a minority of fifteen to one-third in the whole.

I gathered from the letter of the President of the Congress that the Viceroy communicated to him that in his opinion there was no parity between Hindus and Muslims or between the Congress and the Muslim League in as much as there were to be six Hindus belonging to the Congress as against five Muslims belonging to the Muslim League. One of the six Hindus belonged to the Scheduled Castes. Whether this version is true or not, it is contrary to what the Viceroy said in his letter of June 20 to me which clarified the points raised by me and in that he says:—

"The proportion of members by communities will not be changed without the agreement of the two major parties."

A THREAT

However, I want to make it clear hat if there is any departure made in the principle of parity or if the Congress is allowed to nominate a Muslim, in either case it will be impossible for the Muslim League to agree to it as that would strike at the very fundamentals of the League.

Notwithstanding the clear statement of May 16, and the further statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy of May 25 clarifying and finally giving their authoritative interpretation, the Congress, both in the letter of the President and their resolution adhere to their wrong interpretation that any province or provinces, is or are entitled to opt out initially and that they have a right at any stage to do so. This is a clear indication that the Congress is not accepting the long-term proposals in a sincere and honest spirit of co-operation and peaceful settlement if they persist in this and adopt measures to set it nought what is described by the statement of the Delegation of May 25 to constitute the essential feature of the scheme the whole plan will be wrecked at its very inception.

As regards the many other statements and allegations that are made in the letter of the Congress President, they are merely intended for propaganda and some of them are not relevant to the immediate issues, but I have no means of dealing with them as I do not know what actually took place between the Congress President and the Viceroy or the Delegation as I have not got the correspondence that passed between them on various points to which references have been made in this letter.

A WARNING

In conclusion I would like to emphasise that if any attempt is made to whittle down in any way assurances given to the Muslim League or to change or modify the basis of the statement of June 16, which has been accepted by the Muslim League, it will be regarded by Muslim India as going back on the part of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on their pledged word in writing and as a breach of faith. The British Government will be that case forfeit the confidence of Muslim India and of those whom they expect to work on their part according to their pledged word.—AP

FRESH EFFORTS FOR SETTLEMENT

Mission Leaves on Saturday: Statement Announced

New Delhi, June 26.—The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy in a statement regret that it has not so far proved possible to form an interim Coalition Government but they are determined that the efforts should be renewed in the terms of para 8 of their statement of June 16.

As the Government of India must be carried on, continues the statement, until a new interim Government can be formed, it is the intention of the Viceroy to set up a temporary caretaker Government of officials.

It is also announced that it is not possible for the Cabinet Mission to remain longer in India as they must return to England to report to the British Cabinet and Parliament. They, therefore, propose to leave India on Saturday next.

The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy express satisfaction at the fact that Constitution-making can now proceed with the consent of the two major parties and of the states.

The following is the full text of the statement issued by the Cabinet Mission and H. E. the Viceroy tonight:—

The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy are glad that constitution-making can now proceed with the consent of the two major parties and of the States. They welcome the statements made to them by the leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League that it is their intention to try and work in the Constituent Assembly so as to make it a speedy and effective means of devising the new constitutional arrangements under which India can achieve her independence. They invite and trust that the members of the Constituent Assembly who are about to be elected will work in this spirit.

The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy regret that it has not so far proved possible to form an interim Coalition Government, but they are determined that the effort should be renewed in accordance with the terms of Paragraph 8 of their statement of June 16. Owing, however, to the very heavy burden which has been cast upon the Viceroy and the representatives of the parties during the last three months, it is proposed that the further negotiations should be adjourned for a short interval during the time while the elections for the Constituent Assembly will be taking place. It is hoped that when the discussions are resumed, the leaders of the two major parties, who have all expressed their agreement with the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission on the need for the speedy formation of a representative interim Government, will do their utmost to arrive at an accommodation upon the composition of that Government.

As the Government of India must be carried on until a new interim Government can be formed, it is the intention of the Viceroy to set up a temporary caretaker Government of officials.

It is not possible for the Cabinet Mission to remain longer in India as they must return to report to the British Cabinet and Parliament and also to resume their work from which they have been absent for over three months. They, therefore, propose to leave India on Saturday next, June 29. In leaving India the members of the Cabinet Mission express their cordial thanks for all the courtesy and consideration which they have received as guests in the country and they most sincerely trust that the steps which have been initiated will lead to a speedy realisation of the hopes and wishes of the Indian people.

Begum Tassaduq Hussain Opens First Aid Centre

Tribune 19.9.46

LAHORE, Sept. 17.—"The cry of the hour is nurses—and more nurses—when the Muslim nation has decided to embark on a struggle for its independence through Pakistan", said Begum Salma Tassaduq Hussain, M.L.A., inaugurating a women's first aid training centre in Mozang this evening.

It is the ninth centre of its kind opened by the Begum Sahiba.

The Begum said: "Muslims should not look for help to any party or power; rather, we should rely on the power inherent in our faith and belief in God. The lessons of Calcutta and Bombay are before us.

Our leader has given the rallying signal to the nation to fight a 'Jehad' against the injustice done to Muslims till they secure an effective share in the authority and administration of the country."—A.P.I.

INTERIM GOVERNMENTS IN STATES PROPOSED

Statesman — 19 JUL

KEEPING IN LINE WITH BRITISH INDIA REFORMS

The Standing Committee of the All-India States People's Conference, which met in Delhi on Wednesday under the presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, reiterated its demands for representation of States' people on the States Negotiating Committee and for constitutional reforms in the States in line with the rest of India.

The Committee drew attention to recent developments in British India and urged that popular interim governments should be formed in the States and that these interim governments should undertake the task of devising suitable machinery by the formation of popularly elected constitution-making bodies for establishing full responsible government within the States, and for negotiating with neighbouring States and provinces for the purpose of grouping together or amalgamation as the case may be.

The Committee expressed the opinion that for the component units of a Federal Union to be able to maintain modern and progressive standards of administration, those States that have a population of about five million people and also a revenue of about Rs 3 crores should be considered as fit units, provided that wherever necessary suitable exceptions may be made for adequate reasons.

Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya was nominated acting President of the All-India States People's Conference in view of Pandit Nehru becoming a Member of the Interim Government and Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, Vice-President being incapacitated by being in prison, from functioning as the President.

The Standing Committee's resolution on responsible government in the States read:

"The All-India States People's Conference has stood forth and has for long demanded the establishment of responsible government in the States. The demand, the fulfilment of which has long been overdue, must now be viewed in a new context. The establishment of an Interim National Government of India as well as the forthcoming session of the Constituent Assembly have created new conditions in the country which affect the States vitally and the problem of constitutional change in the States has become an urgent one brooking no delay.

"In the event of the States continuing more or less as before, there will be a hiatus between the Interim Government of India and the States, and the relations between the two will become progressively strained. The people of the States have already been considerably influenced by the changes that have taken place in the Government of India and by the prospect of an early establishment of Independence in the country, which necessarily affects them and their future. They are restive and anxious for a rapid change in order to bring them in line with the rest of India. Delay in bringing about these changes and in the establishment of responsible government in the States will inevitably lead to grave dissatisfaction and possibly to undesirable consequences and conflict

Popular Administrations

"The Standing Committee, impressed with the urgency of the situation, therefore, feels that immediate steps should be initiated for the establishment of responsible government in the States. These steps should be in line with the rest of India and should consist of the formation of popular interim governments enjoying the confidence of the people concerned. These interim governments should undertake the task of devising suitable machinery by the formation of popularly elected constitution-making bodies for establishing full responsible government within the States and for negotiating with neighbouring States and provinces for the purpose of grouping together or amalgamation as the case may be. Such a procedure will fit in with the scheme of the All-India Constituent Assembly, and will enable proper representation of the States in that Assembly.

"The urgency of the situation in the States and in India as a whole as well as the rapid pace of events necessitates an immediate approach to the problem in the manner indicated.

"It is further necessary for the representatives from the States to be present in the All-India Constituent Assembly whenever any questions relating to the Union and to fundamental rights and like subjects are considered."

The Committee will meet again at 2 p.m. on Thursday, when it is expected to pass resolutions on Kashmir and Cochin and review the general situation in the States.—API.

GILL CONDEMNS LEAGUE LEADERSHIP

Leader 18.9.46

They All Want Unity in Punjab

(From Our Correspondent)

Lucknow, Aug. 17.—Master Mota Singh, veteran Sikh leader, who has spent 35 years in jail and exile, and Col. Niranjan Singh Gill addressed a Press Conference yesterday afternoon.

They said that party differences should be closed up when the common enemy had to be fought out.

Col. Gill gave a brief history of the Sikhs' struggle in which Master Mota Singh had played a leading role. He said that Muslims of the Punjab were anxious to settle with Hindus and Sikhs, knowing the inescapable fact that all the three communities had got to live together, but the Muslim League leadership would not let a settlement come off. The Sikhs could never settle with that leadership, knowing as they did its present attitude on the fundamentals.

All the Sikhs were united as one man against the division of India on religious or communal basis. When reminded of Mr. Jinnah conceding a separate state to Sikhs in response to Master Tara Singh's demand, Col. Gill said that only a handful of Sikhs agreed with Master Tara Singh. More than 90 per cent were vehemently opposed to all theories of division and were ready to fight for India's unity.

Col. Gill suggested that a real solution of the communal problem could be found in a redistribution of provincial boundaries so as to give the Muslims a clear majority, say 70 per cent against a little over 50 per cent they have at present, in the Punjab and Bengal.

The Congress constitution, he added, already provided for the formation of provinces on linguistic basis. He would go a step further and suggest that they should be formed not only on linguistic but, also, on a community basis, if only to heal the communal bitterness. That would, he claimed, give the Muslims a greater freedom for self-determination.

Another advantage of his suggestion, he said, would be that joint electorates would be introduced without apprehension to any community.

FIGHT THIS VIOLENCE SAYS PATTABHI

Leader — 18-9-46

Communist-League Alliance, Sinister & Unholy

Masulipatam, Sept. 16.—*The Communist Party's recent instructions that Communists should join in the observance of the 'Direct Action' Day on Aug. 16 last as instructed by Mr. Jinnah, constitute a 'grand alliance', and unholy at that, between the League and the Communist Party. This cannot be tolerated, especially the outbreaks of violence by the Party, which are actually endemic in some areas, but may become epidemic all over the country. Therefore, every home must become a castle, every citizen a soldier, and every minor and major must learn the use of lathi, so that they may defend themselves against the attack', said Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, addressing a mass meeting here on Saturday.*

Dr. Pattabhi said, 'Since I last addressed you, much water has flown under the bridge. The Central Government has been formed. It has undergone serious changes both in content and nomenclature. The members have become Ministers overnight. Individual discharge of duties has become a joint responsibility. There is only one defect in it, according to some, Who think it is lopsided because the Muslim League is not there. What is the crime of the Congress? It was the Viceroy, who invited the Congress President to make his proposals for the Interim Government. The Congress had vacated the berth for the League, when the League itself declared against the journey. We as Indians, have right to scout the majority party into the Government.'

Dr. Pattabhi continued: 'Many are the obstacles in the way of the even progress of the National National Government. The Socialists and the malcontents have voted against the Congress resolution of the A.-I.C.C. in Bombay in August last. One of these days, the Socialists will travel to the Constituent Assembly and recover their balance. Today, the Socialist itinerary is preaching that the old order of Congressmen should yield place to the new.

'From the Socialist to the Communist is not a long leap. At one time, when the Communist Party was banned, they functioned as Socialists, and admitted this fact in their Party report of 1937 and 1938. Later, the leader of the Socialist Party had declared that there was no more treacherous part played in the world than by the Communist Party in India. The Communist Party, at any rate, makes no bones about civil strife in the country. They have inaugurated it, and are carrying it on, not as a civil strife but as a criminal strife. They are a factor to be reckoned with.

COMMUNISTS' UNHOLY STAND

'Apart from their somersaults in the war, their recent instructions that the Communists should join in the observance of the 'Direct Action' Day on August 16 last, as instructed by Mr. Jinnah, constituted a 'grand alliance' and unholy at that, between the League and the Communist Party. This cannot be tolerated, particularly these sporadic outbreaks of violence by the Party, which are actually endemic in some areas, and threaten to become epidemic all over the country.

'The country must face the coming trouble. It has adopted strictly peaceful and legitimate means against the British Government in establishing Swaraj. If it can rise to its level, in relation to the communal and party feuds, that are fast developing in the country, it will be a glorious day for India. We are asking the British troops to leave the country. Mahatmaji is exhorting the people not to seek and take the aid of the police and the military. That means that every home must become a castle. Every citizen must become a soldier and every minor and major must learn the use of the *lathi*, so that they may defend themselves against the attack. No one knows whence and when the attack may come. In the north it may be communal in origin, in the south it may be of Communist origin. But communal or communistic, north or south, the danger is danger and it must be guarded against, and verily to be forearmed.

Referring to the present international situation, Dr. Pattabhi said, 'There is just another point. International politics is in the cauldron. The currents are moving up and down. People even fear an outbreak of war. Russia is knocking at our doors, and is hardly 40 miles from our frontier. Having engulfed the Baltic and the three Baltic States, Russia casts its wistful glances at the Dardanelles, and struggles for a foothold in the Mediterranean on the north African coast.

'Russia has one foot in the Persian Gulf, and is stretching the other to Karachi. If the Russians should invade this country—this is not a hypothetical proposition—on whose side will these Communists of India fight? Will they side with their fatherland, the country of their birth, or the father country of their ideal? This accentric party, whose centre of gravity is in Leningrad, but whose head is in the Himalayans, is a dangerous party to reckon with.

Let us be reminded of the times. The British are not there to depend upon, to be questioned and to answer. We have an Indian, looking after foreign affairs, and an Indian Minister looking after Defence. We cannot afford to neglect the formation and functioning of a regular Indian army of patriotic Indians, of the territorials, the Homeguard and the Civil Defence force.'—A.P.I.

"DELHI TALKS MAY PROVE SUCCESSFUL"

Statesman 18.9.46

BENGAL PREMIER STRESSES NEED FOR CO-OPERATION

CALCUTTA, Sept 16.—"If the Delhi talks are not intended to threaten Mr Jinnah and if the approach is made on the basis of a real desire to co-operate, then something is sure to come out of the talks", said Mr H. S. Suhrawardy, Chief Minister of Bengal, in the course of an interview discussing the prospects of the Wavell-Jinnah negotiations in Delhi.

Mr Suhrawardy added: "Mr Jinnah should not be confronted with the tension in the country and threatened with extermination and civil war. Congress is in a much stronger position today and it must yield on some points, if co-operation is desired. I am sure, if the Muslim League had been placed in this position of vantage by the Viceroy, it would certainly have surrendered some of its demands in order to placate the Congress."

Asked what were the points which needed clarification, Mr Suhrawardy said: "What he should concede for the sake of peace and what Congress should be called upon to concede for the sake of peace, are points for Mr Jinnah to settle."

Referring to Mr Jinnah's offer to go to London for fresh talks, Mr Suhrawardy said that it was a brilliant proposal. Mr Jinnah's further proposal to allow the new Central Government to function without embarrassment would certainly ease the tension in the country, he added.

When Mr Suhrawardy's attention was drawn to the communal tension in East Bengal, Mr Suhrawardy said that even 10 armies would not be sufficient to quell communal riots and that only mutual goodwill could be of any avail.

Mr Suhrawardy's attention was next drawn to the suggestion made in some quarters that Bengal should be permitted to solve its own problem. He said: "People ask me to treat Bengal's problem differently from the rest of India, to cut myself adrift from all-India politics and the all-India struggle but in so doing they are actually admitting in a sense the principle of Pakistan for you recognize that regions have their own problems to settle. I too believe in the future of an independent, greater Bengal where the people of Bengal should solve their own problems. "I firmly believe that Bengal when charged with the problem of looking after its own destiny will co-operate in the endeavour to become great and prosperous."

When he was asked as to what prevented him from taking the initiative he said: "While the Congress in Bengal would like to have separatism in practice, they are not prepared to accept it in principle."

Plea For Separation

Mr Suhrawardy then explained that the position of provinces would not be worse off under the Cabinet Mission proposals. He said: "If there is a Centre with control over a limited number of subjects, then I don't visualize any great change or cataclysm in the shape of politics of India. At present we are supposed to have a strong unitary Centre and provincial autonomy. But what is the result? One province says it will not send linseed or mustard oil, the third says it will not send butter and ghee to Bengal and so on.

"The Central Government cannot do anything without the consent of the province and all planning has to be based on consent. Therefore we are placed in a state of treaty arrangements with one another. I think that if a separation is to take place, good feelings will be re-established and the present strain will disappear. But then it must be remembered that this is not the immediate proposition before us."

When asked how Bengal could think of separation when it depended upon the rest of India for its essential requirements, Mr Suhrawardy said: "There are two answers to this question. One is that Bengal is not an isolated case. Bengal is dependent for many of its necessities on other parts of India, or for that matter on other parts of the world. As an instance we may take a commodity like salt which we could not produce.

"But the other answer is that there is no permanent reason why Bengal should not be self-sufficient either in cloth or in salt. My complaint is that the scheme of central planning is framed so as to perpetuate this position of dependency of Bengal."

Coalition Prospects

Mr Suhrawardy cited as an instance the case of cloth, and said that Bengal was not being permitted to produce enough cloth even for her own necessities let alone for her natural export to countries like Sikkim, Nepal, Tibet, China, Burma, Siam, etc.

I would much prefer," he said, "to have enough spinning mills in Bengal to provide our weavers with a full quota of yarn and thus stimulate general prosperity. But the real thing which should not be ignored is that this dependency of Bengal, to which we refer is an insurance for co-operation and any idea that Hindustan and Pakistan will not co-operate with each other, must be discounted."

Asked about the prospects of the formation of a Coalition Government in Bengal, Mr Suhrawardy said: "I would certainly welcome the formation of a Coalition Government and work for a united Bengal. But then, it is illogical to demand a Coalition in Bengal alone without a corresponding settlement at the Centre and in other provinces."—API.

SIND CRISIS CAUSED BY CONGRESS

Shahidganj — A. KHUHRO

KARACHI Sept. 17.—Mr M. A. Khuhro, Sind Minister for PWD and a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, says that the present crisis in Sind is due mainly to the "machinations of the Congress group in the Sind Assembly" and warns the Congress "not to create quarrels among the Muslims in the province."

In a statement to the Press Mr Khuhro says: "The All-India Congress Committee have always asserted that they are anxious to secure the co-operation of the Muslim League at the Centre and in the provinces, but I am afraid their words and deeds differ materially. At this moment when the Viceroy is trying to bring about a Hindu-Muslim settlement, important members of the so-called Coalition Party have gone to Delhi to secure funds from Congress to fight Muslim League candidates.

Mr M. A. Khuhro.

"Since Congress are not putting up any Muslim candidates there is no justification for Congress to finance the anti-League elements among the Muslims in this province. The Muslims of Sind neither create factions among the Hindus of Sind nor interfere in the elections of Hindu constituencies."

Smoke-screen Created

Mr Khuhro says that Congress must await the verdict of the Muslim electorate. To create a smoke-screen in order to deceive the public, the Muslim Jamait Parliamentary Board was brought into being and was expected to fight the elections in all Muslim constituencies on Congress money. "I warn the Sind Congress particularly not to add their hands with such dirty tactics, if they want law and order to be properly preserved and maintained in this province," he said.

"The Muslim League Party in the Sind Assembly has always been anxious to seek the co-operation of Congress in running the administration of this province, but the latter have always spurned the hand of co-operation, and from the very start formed the so-called Coalition Party with a few Muslims outside the League and made it impossible for the Muslim League to secure their co-operation.

"Efforts were made last February, immediately after the general elections, to secure Congress co-operation but such efforts failed, and even now before the dissolution was ordered by the Governor, the Premier tried to secure the co-operation of the Congress Party to give the province a stable Government and offered them seats in the Cabinet in proportion to their strength.

No Response

"But this offer met with any response from them. The Congress Party have always tried to remove the League from power in Sind and to form an anti-League Ministry. I would like to expose here the hollowness of Congress when they say that they want an all-Party's Government in Sind, and as that condition is non-existent they do not desire to enter the Cabinet.

"This is how they have behaved in Assembly politics throughout the last seven or eight months and outside they have been seeking the co-operation of Muslim Leaguers to maintain peace in the province.

"I therefore appeal to Congress in Sind and Delhi to desist from adopting these tactics and to follow an honest and straightforward course. At this time it is as much the duty of Congress as of the League to see that law and order is properly preserved as has been done by the present Ministry hitherto."—API.

AIM OF FORWARD BLOC

Statesman 18.9.46

"TO EXPOSE FRAUD OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY"

At its meeting in Delhi on Tuesday, the Working Committee of the All-India Forward Bloc deplored Congress acceptance of office at the Centre and its decision to work the Constituent Assembly. The Committee, however, decided to use the Constituent Assembly to "expose the fraud of the Constituent Assembly and turn the minds of the people towards the struggle for freedom of the country and towards the urgent tasks of a post-war revolution." It called upon all members of the Forward Bloc elected to the Constituent Assembly to organize themselves as a disciplined unit towards this end.

The resolution declared:—

"The Working Committee of the All-India Forward Bloc reiterates its stand on the Constituent Assembly, that the machiavellian design of British imperialism in the form of the Cabinet Mission's proposals is primarily meant to destroy the people's revolutionary heritage of the Azad Hind Fauj and the August revolution, lull the new upsurge and tie the nation hand and foot with a view to consolidating of Britain's weakened imperialist position.

A.-I.C.C.'s Decision Deplored

"Under the fanfare of a Constituent Assembly, Indian slavery is sought to be perpetuated in new forms and suited to the new conditions. The Committee deeply deplores the decision of the A-ICC to accept the Cabinet Mission's long-term proposals of the Constituent Assembly and the decision of the Congress Working Committee to form an Interim Government.

"The formation of an Interim Government by front-rank leaders of the Indian National Congress and the decision of the A-ICC to work out the programme of the Constituent Assembly have created conditions which are likely to raise illusions and false expectations among large sections of the politically unconscious masses of the country."

The Working Committee has decided to appoint a committee, consisting of the President and two nominees of his choice to direct and guide the activity of members of the Forward Bloc inside the Constituent Assembly.

I.N.A. Members' Release

The Committee demanded that the new Central Government should secure the release of members of the Azad Hind Government and its organizations like the INA, Azad Hind Dal and India independence League and direct provincial Governments to secure employment for them, refund confiscated funds, properties and back pay and give gratuities and pensions to members or dependants of members who were incapacitated or killed in military service or died while overseas. The Committee also urged that members of these organizations should be provided with employment in the War Department and foreign services according to merit, length of service and ability.

The Committee adjourned sine die after deciding to hold the annual session of the All-India Forward Bloc conference in Calcutta in the middle of December, if normal conditions are restored there by that time.—API.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY "FRAUD"

It is understood that six members of the Constituent Assembly, elected on the Congress ticket, are likely to be affected by the Forward Bloc Working Committee's decision to organize its members in the Assembly as a "disciplined unit" to "expose the fraud of the Constituent Assembly." They are Mrs Leela Roy and Mr Satyaranjan Bakshi (Bengal), Mr H. V Kamath and Mr J. H. Khandekar (C.P.), Pandit Bishwamber Dayal Tripathi (U.P.) and Mr Amiya Kumar Bhar).—API.

Statesman, 18.9.46

League Versus Non-League Muslims

Sir,—The non-League Muslims have too long borne the Muslim League tyranny. Our patience is construed as weakness. Formerly we were only slandered; now we are being stabbed. In their mercy the High Command have granted us a ten day's period of grace for joining the League, or else we expose ourselves to an action under the Islamic Law—not the Islamic Law of Muhummed the Prophet, but the Islamic Law of Muhummed Issa, member of the League High Command. Under Muhummed's Law those who stabbed Shafaat Ahmed merited hell. Under the Muhummed Issa's Penal Code they are heroes. In the *Qaaba*, the cradle of Islam, you can have four *Musallahs* according to the *Imams* you follow, but in India you must have only one. *Musallah*, the *Musalah* of Mr Jinnah. In Egypt and Iran you can have as many parties as there are leaders to be followed, but in India you must follow one single individual, Mr Jinnah. In religious matters, you can dispute the very finality of Muhummed's prophethood and yet be regarded as a Muslim; in politics you cease to be a Muslim the moment you fail to acknowledge Mr Jinnah's monopoly of Muslim wisdom.

The new concept of Muslim society and Muslim politics introduced by the League does not provide for any freedom of opinion. Even if you do have any doubts you must not express them, much less act on them. Or else the fate of Shafaat Ahmed, if not that of Allah Bux, would overtake you. This is not Islamic Democracy. This is Nazism in its most degenerate and crudest form. It is repugnant to the very basis of Islam.

To analyze the respective ideologies of the two main groups among Muslims, the Leaguers and the non-Leaguers. The League once wanted Pakistan or Death; now happily it would be satisfied if five Leaguers are provided with jobs at the Centre and there is grouping in the provinces. When it wanted Pakistan it aimed at the vivisection of the Muslim nation into more than 600 pieces with possibly some imaginary suspension bridges to connect one bit with the other. Without a Common Centre Muslims would be divided into some 100 native States, seven Hindu and five Muslim provinces, not to speak of the Tribal and the Excluded Areas. Now, even if Pakistan means one sovereign State, and not "Sovereign States", within the terms of the Lahore resolution, you can protect only less than 4 crores of Muslim population (with precarious majorities in their major provinces), leaving the remaining 6 crores for all times at the mercy of the non-Muslims.

That stand, however, the League has of its own accord lately given up. Under the resolution of June 6, it has agreed to the postponement, if not the rejection, of its fundamental principle of Pakistan, its erstwhile article of faith. The subsequent Bombay performance is immaterial.

What is material is its resolution of June 6 whereby it has agreed to Grouping in lieu of Pakistan. Even this Grouping is obnoxious; it must produce permanent strife between major and minor provinces, between the Punjab and the rest of the provinces in the Group, between Bengal and the small province of Assam.

Thus the entire balderdash comprising the League ideology implies nothing more than grouping which promises us eternal intestine strife.

As against that, the most outstanding feature of the political stand taken up by the non-League Muslims is the freedom of India and the consequential freedom of Islam from Calcutta to Constantinople. Once India is free the West would cease to corrupt, coerce, and interfere in the affairs of the countries on the route to India, which are all Muslim. The fight for Indian freedom is, from our standpoint, a fight for the freedom of the entire world of Islam from every kind of un-Islamic influence.

These, in nutshell, are the respective ideologies of the League and non-League Muslims.—Yours etc.,

FIR ALI MUHAMMED RASHDI

Karachi.

NEW GOVERNMENT DENOUNCED

[illegible] 16-9-46

PESHAWAR, Sept. 15.—At the first joint meeting of Peshawar Muslims and Afridi tribesmen held under the auspices of the Muslim League at Kanddao, in tribal territory, a resolution was passed declaring that the tribesmen would never submit to the Nehru Government.

The resolution said: "This meeting of Peshawar Muslims and Afridi tribesmen of Kohat Pass warns the British Government that they can never submit to the Hindu Government at the Centre, which was installed under Nehru against the wishes of Indian Muslims, who were subjected to various acts of highhandedness not only in Bombay and Calcutta but also in Waziristan where the tribesmen and their animals were killed because they refused to sell their freedom at any cost.

"We further emphatically ask the British Government as well as the Sikhs and Hindus to stop this bloodshed of innocent Indian Muslims and tribesmen forthwith and submit to our demand of Pakistan, otherwise we will be compelled to achieve our goal through direct action.—API.

"TWO-NATION THEORY ABSURD" 16-9-46

LAHORE, Sept. 14.—Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew, President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, recalled upon nationalist India last night to "keep its powder dry and be prepared for another struggle to free India if the British did not genuinely part with power."

Dr Kitchlew, who was speaking at a public meeting which was also addressed by Mr Bhimsen Sachar, Finance Minister, appealed to Muslim young men not to be carried away by the "two-nation theory" of Mr Jinnah.

Dr Kitchlew said: "Mr Jinnah's sincerity of purpose is beyond question but his two-nation theory is absurd and quite impracticable. This became all the more true when contrary to his past professions, Mr Jinnah readily agreed to a Union Centre, thus exposing the spuriousness of the two-nation theory."

While calling upon Muslim youths to rally to the call of Indian independence before anything else, Dr Kitchlew warned Hindu youths also to desist from anti-national activities and provocations."—A.P.I.

13

ASSAM "CRITICAL" OF NEHRU'S BROADCAST

SHILLONG, Sept 15.—Public opinion in Assam has been critical of the recent broadcast by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Working Committee of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee, which met here this evening adopted the following resolution:—

"Whereas there has been much argument about sections and groupings in the Constituent Assembly and a clarification is necessary, the Assam Provincial Congress Committee resolves that as provincial autonomy is a basic provision, which has been conceded by the statement of the Cabinet Mission on May 16, every province shall have the right to frame her own constitution by its elected representatives to the Constituent Assembly.

"And that in all negotiations that a province may have to enter in reference to matters of common interest to them, representatives of each province shall function as one unit."—UPI. Statesman - 16.9.46

STATES NEGOTIATION COMMITTEE PERSONNEL

Statesman - 15.9.46

The States Negotiation Committee, which will negotiate on behalf of Indian States matters relating to States' representation in the Constituent Assembly, will consist of nine members, namely, the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the Maharaja of Patiala, Pro-Chancellor, the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, the Maharaja of Dungarpur, Sir Mirza Ismail, President of the Nizam's Executive Council, Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Dewan of Mysore Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Constitutional Adviser to the Chancellor, and Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Minister of Bikaner. Mir Maqbool Mahmood will act as Secretary. —API.

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JINNAH A "RECKLESS LEADER" N. Times 15.9.46

NEW YORK, Sept. 14.—The New York Times in an editorial said today that the outlook for India was still dim.

The paper declared that the installation of the first Indian Government was "a milestone on the road to freedom," but that "the dark clouds under which Nehru's Council assembled remain as dark as ever."

"The path ahead," the paper added, "lies hidden in the mists of the future. The mere fact that warring factions have learned no lessons of peace and forbearance in Calcutta is ominous."

The editorial referred to Mr Jinnah as a "reckless leader" and said the Muslim League black flag "waves as an incitement to riot."

"Pakistan is not a workable plan but a dream of political inexperience. If it is established India will fall apart."

Fratricidal strife was undermining Mr Jinnah's prestige. "Much depends on Pandit Nehru's tact and how far the spirit of conciliation animates his advisers. Britain has removed the last stumbling block. India has a chance of freedom now. It is up to her people to prove that they have earned and can maintain it."—A.P.A.

15

RIOT COMMISSION FOR BOMBAY URGED

Statesman 15/9/47

Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary, All-India Muslim League, has issued the following statement:—

I have seen Press reports of the Government of Bombay's official reply to my recent statement on the Bombay disturbances. The Bombay Government claim to have "made careful inquiries into the allegations of partiality" and state that they "are satisfied that there is no substance in the allegations of partiality or in the suggestions that the police have failed to accord protection to all parties to the extent of their ability." Here is a case of the accused assuming the role of judge and exonerating himself. In my statement I had given concrete instances of partiality by the police, including cases when the police had stood watching while Hindu hooligans assaulted Muslims with stones and other missiles.

The Bombay Government, I notice, carefully avoid any reference to such concrete instances and merely indulge in generalizations. I have in my possession information given to me by unimpeachable sources to justify the charges levelled against the Bombay Ministry and its police, and no amount of whitewashing by the Ministry can convince us.

I repeat that an impartial and independent commission commanding public confidence must be set up forthwith to investigate the disturbances and the manner in which the police behaved. The Bengal Ministry have already announced the appointment of such a committee; if the Bombay Ministry is so certain of its own case it should have no objection to following this wholesome precedent.—UPI.

J. P. NARAIN EXPLAINS WHY HE JOINED WORKING COMMITTEE

PATNA, Sept 13.—Mr Jai Prakash Narain, the Congress Socialist leader, in an interview with newspapermen this morning, clarified the attitude of his party towards the new Central Government and the reasons for his acceptance of membership of the Congress Working Committee.

Asked why he agreed to join the Working Committee in Delhi when he had declined to do so in Bombay, he said:—

"In Bombay when Dr Lohia and I had declined the President's invitation it was not on any grounds of principle, but only because of the peculiar situation obtaining then. I had made this clear in the statement I had issued regarding Shrimati Kamaladevi's nomination to the Working Committee. I want to make it perfectly clear that it was never the policy of the Congress Socialist Party to non-cooperate on principle with the Working Committee or any other Congress organization. Whenever we were compelled to keep out of any Congress committee, it was always because of specific causes. The situation in the country between Bombay and Delhi had changed considerably, even radically."

Congress particularly was faced with a critical situation, said Mr Narain, and it had become the duty of Congressmen to remain united. His joining the Working Committee was an expression of this solidarity. Furthermore, all the prominent members of the Working Committee having joined the Central Government he felt that there was need in some manner to emphasise the popular, non-Governmental, revolutionary character of the Congress.

He said that it ever he found that his being in the Working Committee stood in the way of his present work of preparing for a revolutionary struggle, he would leave the Committee as he had left it for different reasons before. In the present circumstances, he believed that being on the Committee would help him in this work.

"Freedom Struggle Not Over"

Explaining the attitude of his party towards the new Central Government, Mr Narain said: "Fundamentally our reading of the present political situation has not changed. The formation of the new Central Government does not mean that the struggle for freedom has ended. That struggle remains, and our main task, that is the main task of the Congress and the Indian people still remains the same as before, that is to say, preparation for the struggle for freedom. We were opposed to the whole constitutional scheme, in which we somehow have finally been taken and a new Central Government has been formed with Congress co-operation. We, as Congressmen cannot oppose or obstruct it. Rather it becomes our duty to strengthen our organization in accordance with and in furtherance of the basic Congress policy of independence."

Asked if he expected the new Central Government to solve the food and cloth problem, Mr Narain said that he would judge the Government not by its constructive or administrative measures but by its success or failure in forcing the British to quit India.

"Jinnah Backed By Tories"

"My views about the Muslim League are well known," said Mr Narain commenting on the communal situation. "Soon after Mr Jinnah had made a somersault and rejected the British proposals I had stated publicly that he had done so at the instance of the British Tories. That statement has been completely supported by subsequent disclosures. The communal threat which faces us is in reality not a communal threat alone. British imperialist interests represented by the British Tories in Britain and British bureaucracy and big business in India are making a last desperate attempt to stem the tide of Indian freedom.

"Mr Jinnah and the Muslim League are only an instrument of this British reaction. Any honest man in Mr Jinnah's position would have long before settled with Congress, for Congress had offered everything possible to the Muslims. Even Pakistan Congress is prepared to concede, provided the people of Pakistan desire a separate State by free plebiscite held in a free India. But Mr Jinnah wants neither mutual settlement nor impartial arbitration. He merely asks Churchill to stop India from marching on to freedom. That is all that Pakistan means to Mr Jinnah.

"The British have ruled over India for nearly a century but it never occurred to Mr Jinnah to launch direct action against them. Now when his country has reached the threshold of freedom he is threatening murder, loot and arson. He is angry with Congress because it has dared to fight the British and has succeeded at least in forming a responsible provisional Government at the Centre. But I am sure Mr Jinnah and Mr Churchill cannot deflect the course of Indian freedom."—API.

"NO BREAK WITH RIGHTISTS"

H. Times 12/9/46

Socialists Are Within Congress Organization

BANGALORE, Sept. 9.—Shrimati Kamala Devi, member of the Congress Working Committee, said that the impression that there had previously been a break between the Socialists and the Right wing of the Congress and that this was healed by the entry of Mr. Jai Prakash Narain in the Congress Working Committee, was not correct.

The suggestion was repudiated by Mr. Narain himself immediately after the formation of the new Congress Working committee when he said that Socialists had been serving in every Congress Executive, provincial, as well as national, and that there was no question of non-cooperation.

Shrimati Kamala Devi said "When we ourselves admit that we are still in the process of liberation, it is not very helpful—may sometimes dangerous—to emphasize and lose sight of ones all the time, and talk in terms of parts and agreements between Socialists and Right-wing Congressmen as though the two were opposing groups instead of members of a single organization equally responsible for the present and future fate of the country and who have still to make freedom a complete reality in the face of strong the national organization, for we in the country as well as with [illegible]. A.P.I.

"SERVE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WITH LOYALTY"

Frank Anthony's Advice To Anglo-Indians

H. Times 14.9.46

LAHORE, Sept. 12.—"It is the duty of the Anglo-Indians to serve the Interim Government, not only with the same steadfastness with which they have served the previous Government but with even greater loyalty," said Mr Frank Anthony, leader of the Anglo-Indian community, addressing yesterday a large gathering of Anglo-Indians at the Moghalpura Institute, Lahore.

Mr Anthony added: "This applies particularly to the Anglo-Indians in the Army and the strategic services, such as the Railways and the Telegraphs. Anglo-Indians should, as far as possible, keep out of strikes at a time when the Interim Government is faced with innumerable critical tasks and the country is confronted with the likelihood of famine.

"While insisting on adequate recognition of our culture, ways of life, and language as one of India's real racial minorities, we must make it abundantly clear that we are a nationalist minority. We refrain from taking sides between the two major political parties, but we shall do everything in our power as nationalists to serve and promote the best interests of India.

No Prejudices

"With a special capacity for leadership and organization, we have a very definite contribution to make to the future greatness of India. In particular, being free from caste and communal prejudices, we can play an important part in pleading for greater inter-communal understanding, trust and friendship."

Appealing to the Anglo-Indians to lay aside all jealousies and feuds in the larger interests of the community, Mr Anthony claimed that the Anglo-Indians were the "most highly organized community in India."—A.P.I.

"ANGLO-INDIANS SHOULD LEARN HINDUSTANI"

(From Our Special Correspondent)

LAHORE, Sept. 13.—"There has a great upsurge of nationalist feeling among the younger generation of the Anglo-Indian community," said Mr Frank Anthony, leader of the community, in an interview before his departure to Delhi on Thursday evening. Anglo-Indian youths at their meetings, he added, usually greeted each other with "Jai Hind."

Mr Anthony pleaded for a reorientation of the educational policy of Anglo-Indians and the so-called European schools. Psychologically speaking, he said, these schools had not fallen into line with realities that face the Anglo-Indians as nationalists today. "This is particularly true regarding instruction in Indian languages. Low standard of education in Hindustani and other Indian languages may disable the Anglo-Indian boys in securing employment in the future and contributing their share to the national well-being."

Need For Fusion of Cutures

"Although Anglo-Indians do not want their boys to take to *dhotis* or their women to saris, they can make a distinct contribution to eventual amalgamation of Indian culture. They want no privileged treatment but they do demand that there should be no discrimination, as the Cabinet Mission recently made in depriving the Anglo-Indian community of representation in the Interim Government, while giving it to numerically less important communities."

"RUSSIA WILL NOT SUPPORT PAKISTAN"

POONA, Sept. 13.—The Muslim League need not take the trouble of sending a delegation to Soviet Russia to canvass support for Pakistan, said Mr S. A. Dange, M.L.A., in an interview.

Mr Dange, who recently attended the meeting of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Moscow, said: "The Muslim League is certainly welcome to send a delegation to Soviet Union in Soviet Russia, they will learn much when they see how under Socialism, the ancient Muslim people —the Kazaks, the Uzbeks and others —have become prosperous after overthrowing the rule of their reactionary landlords. But if a delegation is going out to canvass support for Pakistan they need not take the trouble.

"The Soviet people want to see first India to be independent of British imperialism, and then to settle her internal affairs on the basis of democratic self-determination. The present standpoint of the League is neither of self-determination, nor of democracy, and does not help expulsion of the British. The League is bringing in the name of the Soviet Union unnecessarily."—A.P.I

NATIONALIST MUSLIMS URGED TO WAIVE RIGHTS

H. Times 14.9.46

BOMBAY, Sept. 11.—A suggestion that Nationalist Muslims themselves should in the larger interests of the country as a whole forgo their undoubted claims and rights is made by Mr K. F. Nariman, a former President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, in a statement to the Press.

Mr Nariman refers to statements by the Muslim League Presidents Mr Jinnah, and the Bengal Premier Mr Suhrawardy and says that the main obstacle to the League's joining the new Central Government seems to be insistence on the inclusion of a Nationalist Muslim in it. No one could dispute their moral claim and equitable right, but the question is, in the present crisis would it not be wise and expedient for Nationalist Muslims themselves to come forward and in the larger interests of India and of peace and unity, forgo their claims and rights?

Such a patriotic act of generosity and self-sacrifice would be greatly appreciated at this juncture, and Nationalist Muslims would by such self-abnegation render much greater service to the country and the nation. The least that the three Nationalist Muslim members of new Central Government could do was voluntarily to place their resignations in the hands of Pandit Nehru to be used when he thought it necessary in the larger interests of the country.

The main hurdle thus removed, Pandit Nehru should restart negotiations on the basis of the last declared terms for reconciliation.—UPI

LEAGUE ADVISED TO JOIN GOVERNMENT

Statesman 14/9/46

ADVANTAGE OF WEAPON OF SECESSION

LONDON, Sept 13.—The Times in a leading article today, says: "Mr Jinnah's acceptance of the Viceroy's invitation to a personal discussion and review of the political situation has given new hope to all who realize that the present acute communal tension is the sole remaining obstacle to the satisfaction of Indian aspirations to full nationhood.

"So long as the Muslim League holds itself aloof from the new National Government and pins its faith to extra-constitutional methods of agitation, the feelings of frustration and alarm which now influence the Muslim community will continue to cleave the political life of India into warring factions. These feelings can be allayed only by the conviction that both the Interim Government and final constitutional structure will be so shaped as to provide Muslims with an honourable and effective share of political power.

A Strong Position

"In the interests of both the Muslim League and of the whole country, Mr Jinnah would be well advised to reflect that no nothing can be lost, and much may be gained, by testing the adequacy of the offer which Lord Wavell and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have made to him. Mr Jinnah and his colleagues would occupy a very strong position. The assumption that they would have it in their power, by withdrawing from the coalition, to recreate the communal deadlock would invest any stand they adopted on a point of principle with a formidable degree of authority.

"In fact, they would occupy, in relation to the Congress Party, much the same position that the Congress Party now occupies in relation to the British Government. In neither case could a breach be contemplated with equanimity, since the resulting political consequences would be of incalculable magnitude. Thus, if Mr Jinnah were to enter the Interim Government, he would enjoy additional opportunities of safeguarding the interests of his community without any prejudice to his future freedom of action.

Weapon Of Secession

"It is equally to the advantage of the Muslims to take part in the Constituent Assembly, here also they insist in their hands the weapon of secession if they should find that arrangements set out in the State paper of May 16 are being operated in a fashion of which they disapprove. Whatever grounds the League may have originally possessed for fearing that the system of provincial grouping would be weakened have now been removed by later and more considered pronouncements from Congress Party leaders.

"Even if these assurances are not received with complete conviction in the present temper of the Muslim community, they serve at least to strengthen the case for putting their to the test, in which the League will lose nothing and may gain that it is seeking. It is unlikely that Mr Jinnah would have agreed to go to Delhi at all if he did not consider that the prospect of entering the Interim Government and taking part in the Constituent Assembly is now worth exploring.

Ghastly Events

"Mr Jinnah is too shrewd to overlook the dangers which attend his present course of action, and the events of Calcutta and Bombay have shown him that the sufferings caused by communal rioting fall with equal severity upon Muslims and Hindus. As a patriotic Indian, he can derive little satisfaction from the reflection that so long as communal tension remains at its present height, his countrymen must continue to regard British forces as their best protection, and he knows that it lies within his power to invest the new Interim Government with authority over both communities, which can alone ensure their co-operation.—Reuter

MOVE WELCOMED IN LONDON

LONDON, Sept 12.—News that Mr Jinnah is to meet the Viceroy, probably in New Delhi on Sunday was described as a "ray of light in a dark world" by Mr Sorensen, Labour MP and well-known champion of Indian Independence, in London today.

The news has been welcomed in all political circles where it is hoped that it will mean at least the beginning of the end of the Hindu-Muslim impasse. At the same time the improvement in the riot situation in Bombay and Calcutta and the more moderate tone of the speeches of Indian leaders this week have led to what may be described as qualified optimism in all quarters.

Discussing the general situation with Reuter's political correspondent, Mr Sorensen said that Labour circles had always been anxious for the Muslim League to co-operate in the new Central Government. It is no secret that we regarded the failure of the Muslims to participate even under protest as a bad mistake", he said. "Participation would have given them a far better platform on which to air their aspirations than cold-shouldering the whole business ever could have done.

"Fellow religionists, Muslims of Arab States, did not make that mistake over the Jerusalem Palestine conference and have already made their views very plain. But a great point is that it is not too late for the Muslims of India to retrieve that error. I sincerely hope this means an end of the Hindu-Muslim clashes and a brighter outlook all round."

The news was also welcomed in authoritative circles in London where tributes were paid to the Viceroy for his unflagging persistence in trying to find a solution acceptable to both Congress and the Muslim League.—Reuter

"REAL STRUGGLE OF INDIAN MASSES"

LONDON, Sept 12.—Will the regime of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru go down in history as an Indian "Kerenskiad," as a "short-lived clique of impudent idealists, asks F. A. Ridley, well-known Socialist writer, in this week's Socialist Leader, organ of the Independent Labour Party.

"Will India become a helpless battleground in Asia in some future titanic struggle between Russia and Britain's more powerful successor, American imperialism? Or is it the destiny of this vast Tsarist Russia of Southern Asia to stage before the world its version of the Russian Revolution, the second major revolution of the 20th century?

"For a generation at least Asia, the cradle of human culture and the home of half of humanity, has been straining at the leash against the alien and predatory yoke of Western Imperialism. Political and cultural effects of the emancipation of the greatest Asiatic nation are bound to be profound and far-reaching.

"One can now say that the real struggle of the Indian masses is beginning to take shape. The problems left behind by 200 years of white rule are problems of illiteracy and the strangehold of the money-lender on the Indian peasantry. A fiery cross of revolt blazes through the colonial world, and all Asia and all Africa too hears the bell toling the final knell of imperialism."—Reuter

PUNJAB MINISTER APPEALS TO MUSLIMS TO BE PEACEFUL

LAHORE, Sept 13.—If the Muslim League wants to resort to Direct Action, let it by all means do so. But let it be conducted peacefully, without setting one community against another, said Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar, Finance Minister, at a Press conference today.

Mr Bhim Sen Sachar, who was underlining the appeal for communal harmony already made by two of his Cabinet colleagues earlier in the week, said: "Our friends of the Muslim League are angry because they are not at present in the Government. They are saying things which are likely to spoil the communal atmosphere. If they want to paralize the Government they are free to do so by non-violent means. They have every right to non-co-operate with the Government or resort to non-payment of taxes. No Government can deny them the right. Nor can any Government claim the right to remain in power if it cannot carry the majority with it. But no one has the right to set one community against another."

"It is true," he added, "that the Coalition has not got the support of the Muslim League and there are no Muslim League representatives in the Government. But I challenge the Muslim League to produce the slightest evidence to prove that, despite the absence of the Muslim League in the Government, any rights of the Muslim community have been ignored or tampered with; there has been any interference with the social or cultural privileges of the Muslim community; the rights of the Muslims in the Services have suffered in any way.

"I will keep this question open, and if the Muslim League has any answer to refute the above claims the Punjab Government will be ready to meet that answer by means of a communique."

Newspapers Warned

Mr Bhim Sen Sachar said that the aim of the Punjab Government was that no man, woman or child should be in fear of losing life and limb in passing freely along the streets. The Punjab Government had already warned certain newspapers regarding the tone of their writing. They had also taken note of certain speeches of an inflamatory nature. At present the Punjab Government did not contemplate any action, but if the situation in respect of criticism and recriminations should threaten to endanger communal peace, the Punjab Government was determined to use all means at its disposal to enforce law and order.—API.

"BOMBAY POLICE NOT PARTIAL"

Statesman

MUSLIM ALLEGATIONS DENIED 13.9.46

POONA, Sept 12.—The Government of Bombay, in a Press note issued today, have denied allegations, made by Sir Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, of partiality against the Government and the Bombay City Police in dealing with the Bombay disturbances. The Government also assure the public of "their firm intention to protect all peace-loving citizens to whatever community they belong and to maintain in maintaining peace no partiality is shown to any section of the public."

The Press note adds: "The Government have made careful inquiries into the allegations of partiality which have been made by some representatives of the Muslim community. They have interviewed persons bringing complaints, both Muslims and others, have interrogated the officers concerned, have examined reports and statistical material relating to the various cases of assault and disturbance and the action taken by the police, including figures of arrests and of casualties, and have considered all material supplied to them, and they are satisfied that there is no substance in the allegations of partiality or in suggestions that the police have failed to accord protection to all parties to the extent of their ability. The police have been working on the lines determined as the result of their long experience in the past and on a system which was laid down before the present Government took office.

Many Calls On Police

"Enormous demands have been made on the police for protection from members of both communities. In only a small proportion of cases do the police find on investigation that there is real need for protection. But, unfortunately, owing to the large number of calls made upon the police, there is often some delay before the necessary police help can be given in genuine cases. Such delay has led to complaints of partiality from members of both communities. If only persons really in need of police protection applied for it, assistance could be rendered far more promptly.

"With regard to suggestions that oppressive measures have been taken against Muslims, the Government are satisfied that arrests are made entirely with regard to the needs of preserving the peace and protecting the public. In actual fact, the number of Hindus arrested exceeds the number of Muslims, although the former community has suffered not less severely during the disturbances than the latter."—API.

TERMS OF REFERENCE OF RIOTS INQUIRY

CALCUTTA, Sept 11.—The terms of reference of the Commission of Inquiry set up under the presidentship of the Chief Justice of India, Sir Patrick Sneng, will be, says a communique, "to inquire into the causes and the course of the disturbances in Calcutta between Friday, August 16, and Tuesday, August 20, and into the measures taken to deal with them and to submit to the Government of Bengal a report of their findings."

The communique says that the President of the Commission will have full discretion to decide the procedure to be followed in the conduct of the inquiry and in particular whether the evidence or any of it will be heard in public or in camera.

The President of the Commission will also have full powers to appoint times of meetings to adjourn meetings, to hear such persons as he may think fit, admit or exclude at his absolute discretion any evidence, oral or documentary which may be tendered before him, and call for such evidence, oral or documentary, as he may think fit.—API

RIOT COMMISSION TO HAVE LEGAL POWERS

CALCUTTA, Sept 12.—The Government of Bengal have published a Bill to invest the Calcutta Riot Inquiry Commission with the powers of a civil court.

The statement of objects and reasons of the Bill says that it is necessary to empower the Commission to administer oaths, to compel the production of evidence, to enforce the attendance of witnesses, and to punish contempts of the Commission, so as to ensure that the Commission will be able to obtain satisfactorily all the evidence it needs for its purpose. Apart from having all the powers of a civil court, the Commission, while dealing with matters relating to contempt, shall act as a High Court established by Letters Patent.—API

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Struggle For Social Democracy

A.B. Patwardhan - 12.9.46

TASK BEFORE CONGRESS

Mrs. Asaf Ali's Plea For A "New Order Of Congressmen"

MADRAS, Sept. 9.

A "new order of Congressmen must emerge to replace the old. And these new men must reorganise to revitalise the Congress to meet the fresh needs of the people", states Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, on her return to Madras after nearly three weeks of tour in Tamil Nad and Kerala.

"Socialists in the Congress", she said, "will do well to close their ranks and reorganise it, so that an anti-national body may not draw within its fold young men who are militant socialists"

While she agreed that communist activities directed to embarrass and harass the Congress were a source of genuine anxiety to Congressmen, she felt that the Ministry's measures to combat them were helping that party to gain mass popularity. "The Congress Government must combat its enemies by acting constructively, announcing its economic policies and programmes boldly and dealing with the people through the Congress organisations rather than the old Governmental apparatus. Unless Congressmen give up their small-power and political preoccupations, the anti-Congress organisations will succeed in disintegrating its actual and potential strength".

She added: "The Congress should not reduce itself to becoming an apologist for the Government of the day. It must function henceforth if the anti-imperialist phase is really over as the people's organ of struggle for social and economic democracy". — (A. P.)

SUHRAWARDY'S SOLICITUDE FOR COOPERATION

Plea For Settlement With Congress On Interim Basis

S.H.S. 13/9/46

CALCUTTA, Stpt. 11.

"Whatever may be the details of a settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League, the one outstanding condition must be sincere desire on the part of both parties to co-operate and not merely manoeuvre for position to get a tactical victory," said Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Chief Minister of Bengal, in an interview to the A.P.I. on the present political situation in the country.

He would say now that "Congress is in a very much stronger position today and it would make all the difference in the world, if it could tell the Muslims, "what do you want? You can have it and it will find that the Muslims will immediately try and co-optrate with the Congress."

"In that state of affairs", Mr. Suhrawardy added, "things can be settled on an Interim basis which will be satisfactory to both parties".

"Congress alone can say this", continued Mr. Suhrawardy, "because the Hindus are numerically superior. But even if it does not go as far as that, it must give more signs of co-optration than mere words and phrases. If such a background could be developed, it would not take time to work out details for a settlement. Without this background if there be any settlement now there would be deadlocks and bickerings at a later date".

When the Chief Minister's attention was drawn to the tension reported from East Bengal, Mr. Suhrawardy said, "Yes, I have seen reports of this unfortunate communal tension in East Bengal. We all must deplore it".

DIRECT ACTION

While speaking of communal tension, Mr. Suhrawardy desired to clarify a point on which, he said, there should not be any misunderstanding. The Muslim League was contemplating some form of Direct Action and had asked the Muslims to prepare for it. But let it be clearly understood, he emphasised, "the Muslim League has not given the signal for Direct Action nor laid down any programme."

Continuing Mr. Suhrawardy said. "The Direct Action, whatever from it may take, is going to be non-violent. It is not going to take the form of arson, murder and loot. Muslims, therefore, will have to be extremely careful, how they act, and must not allow themselves to be provoked".

In conclusion Mr. Suhrawardy made a fervent appeal to both communities not to provoke each other. "I am determined to see that peace is maintained with a strong hand", he said. "We have had enough of loot and carnage and it has got to be stopped".—A.P.I.

LEAGUE'S DIRECT ACTION

Aim To Paralyse Nehru Govt.

Searchlight 13/9/46

NEW DELHI, Sept. 11.—"The aim of our movement is to paralyse the Government by peaceful means in the beginning", said Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, President, Punjab Provincial Muslim League, in course of an interview to United Press of India. "If we are not successful by peaceful means", added Mr. Khan, "it may take any other shape, but I cannot say what form it will take; it depends on the circumstances."

"But I can tell you that our movement will not be against any community", said the League leader.

"Punjab is prepared to launch the Direct Action movement. We are fully prepared so far as our provincial programme is concerned", continued Mr. Khan.

Asked to give an idea of the Punjab's programme ,he said the provincial programme would include among other items picketing, diffiance of orders, banning meetings, processions, etc.

The Council of Action of Punjab Muslim League, will meet at Lahore on September 16 to finally direct Punjab and decide when to launch the movement.

IF PAKISTAN NOT CONCEDED

League Fuehrer Threatens Bloodshed

BOMBAY, Sept. 11.

"The last thing that I seek is bloodshed," says Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an interview to Henne sy of Kemsley newspapers of Britain. It is to avoid bloodshed and to create conditions in which India's two nations can live as friendly neighbours that I offer my constructive solution—Pakist an", he adds.

Following is the text of his interview:

The only way out of the deadlock between the Muslims and the Hindus is for the British Government to make an unequivocal declaration in favour of Pakistan (separate sovereign Muslim and Hindu states), with a clear undertaking that they will implement it without delay", Mr. M. A. Jinnah told me when I saw him today.

"Why did you refuse to take part in the Interim Government?" I began.

"It was not I who refused," he replied. "The Cabinet's original proposal was a coalition of 5 Congress, 5 Muslim and 2 Minority representatives. I agreed, Congress refused. To overcome Congress objections to Hindu-Muslim parity, the Mission then proposed the addition of a third Hindu minority representative. I agreed. The Congress refused. On June 16, the Viceroy produced the final formula of 5 Hindus, 5 Muslim Leaguers and 4 minority men. On the strength of the Viceroy's letter to me of June 20, in which he said that no decision on a major communal issue could be taken by the Interim Government if the majority of either party opposed it, I again agreed. Next the Viceroy said that if either of the two major parties were unwilling to join an Interim Government, he would form one as representative as possible of those willing to accept the Cabinet's long and short term plans. I again agreed but the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission scrapped their own proposals on June 16 and went back on their word. And now to appease the Congress we find that the Viceroy instead has invited them, the Hindu Congress party, to set up a Cabinet in which we are offered 5 seats as against (here Mr. Jinnah emphasised his next words by a wave of his cigarette), all nominated by them. The Hindu-Muslim parity is rejected. The Congress is free to nominate Muslims of its own choice—an obvious attempt to bribe League members away by dangling before them the rewards of office. Gone is the safeguard that no major communal issue may be decided by a simple majority."

Mr. Jinnah paused to ferret for a cigarette in the large silver

us then he continued in the same, quiet, unemotional tones:

"Thus, not only has the British Cabinet scrapped their own Interim Government proposals but the Congress party has not even accepted the Cabinet's long-term plan, as is clear from their published qualifications, giving to take but one example, their own interpretation to the important condition that a province cannot opt out of its Group until after the first general election that is to be held under the finally agreed constitution".

How about Pandit Nehru's recent broadcast assurance that the Congress party agrees that the constituent I Countered.

"What is wanted is not vague generalities which butter no parsnips", smiled Mr. Jinnah. "But a detailed statement of what the Congress party does or does not regard as binding. Mere words and phrases do not carry us far. What is required to meet the situation is a definite and categorical statement regarding the points in dispute".

"Your critics allege that your attitude is purely destructive and can only end in civil war", I observed.

"The last thing that I seek is bloodshed," cried Mr. Jinnah, roused at last. "Although, if driven to it, no Muslim is afraid to defend himself. Destructive attitude? It is to avoid bloodshed and to create conditions in which India's two nations can live as friendly neighbours that I offer a constructive solution—Pakistan. —A. P. I.

Statesman
13.9.46

SHOULD CABINET MEMBERS RETAIN SEATS ON WORKING COMMITTEE?

The AICC will decide whether those members of the Congress Working Committee who have joined the new Central Government can retain their seats on the Working Committee, says Miss Mridula Sarabhai and Dr Balkrishna Keskar, General Secretaries of Congress, in a statement.

"Since the formation of the Provisional Government at the Centre by Congress, there has been some misinformed speculation in the Press regarding Congress presidentship.

"This matter was considered by the Working Committee at their last meeting and was referred by them to the AICC for decision. As many inquiries have been made about the procedure to be adopted, we are releasing to the Press part of the proceedings of the Working Committee dealing with this matter.

"The Committee considered the question of members of the Working Committee, who join the National Provisional Government, continuing as members of the Working Committee; also, whether the Congress President can continue as such after he joins the Government.

"In regard to the Congress President, it was the general opinion that he should not continue as President after he joins the Government. A view was expressed, however, that if members of the Provisional Government could continue as members of the Working Committee, the President should also continue as such. Another viewpoint was that the President may continue as a formal non-functioning President, but that an acting President be chosen to carry on the work of the Congress President.

"As regards membership of the Working Committee, some were of the opinion that no member of the Provisional Government should continue his membership of the Working Committee. The others were of a contrary opinion, though some thought that such common membership should be limited to a fixed proportion of Working Committee members—one-third or one-fourth or less—to prevent Government members from dominating the Working Committee.

"The question should be decided by the AICC and it was resolved to refer it to that body which is meeting next month. In view of the variety of opinion, it was further decided not to place any formal recommendations on the subject, on behalf of the Working Committee, before the AICC. Members of the Working Committee would be free to place their individual opinions before the AICC."—API.

FUTURE OF PANTHIC BOARD THREATENED?

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

AMRITSAR, Sept 12.—A crisis is brewing in Sikh circles here which threatens the very existence of the Panthic Board, which is a kind of coalition of all Sikh parties formed in June for the purpose of opposing the Cabinet Mission's scheme. Sardar Niranian Singh Gill, who resigned its presidentship, says that there was constant opposition from certain individuals. He advises Sikhs to cooperate wholeheartedly with Congress.

Sardar Purshottam Singh, General Secretary of all Sikh parties of the United Provinces Conference, said today that much confusion had been created by the resignation of Sardar Niranian Singh Gill from the presidentship of the Panthic Board. Sardar Gill, he said, had united all sections of Sikh opinion.

Sardar Gill, it is believed, was compelled to resign because some members of the Board issued statements contrary to the Board's policy and because the Akali Party seemed to be exploiting the masses in the name of the Panthic Board to win the forthcoming Gurdwara elections.

These dissensions between Nationalist Sikhs and Akalis have now come to the surface and a conflict is expected at the Board's meeting tomorrow which may lead to the final break. Bitterness between the two parties during the last Assembly elections was never removed, especially when both sides refused to withdraw election petitions against the other's candidates. Both parties now intend to measure their strength in the Gurdwara elections in December. The formation of the new Central Government has encouraged Nationalist Sikhs to challenge the supremacy of Akalis.

At tomorrow's meeting, Nationalist Sikhs will demand equal representation in the Constituent Assembly. They have already demanded the inclusion of a Nationalist Sikh in the Punjab Government, as also nomination on local bodies.

Originally, out of four Sikhs elected to the Constituent Assembly, three were Akalis and one a Nationalist Sikh. If no settlement is reached the issue will be decided by the Punjab Legislative Assembly.

DELHI TEMPERATURE

The maximum temperature in Delhi yesterday was 93.4 degrees and the minimum 79.1 degrees.

H. Times – 12.9.46

"INDIA FACED WITH CIVIL WAR"

Jinnah Demands Fresh Negotiations

BOMBAY, Sept. 11. — Mr M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, declared in an interview yesterday that India stands at the brink of a ruinous civil war involving 400 million people, Hindus, Muslims and small minorities, which only prompt, sincere and skilled diplomatic negotiations could avert.

He described the Calcutta and Bombay disorders as "undoubtedly symptoms of the nearness of civil war all over India, and of the pattern which a civil war might follow."

Having already declared his readiness to participate in a peace conference in London at which a "fresh start" might be made for a settlement of the Indian question, Mr Jinnah discussed the difficulties which such a conference would have to surmount and why he felt it should be held.

"We dealt with the Cabinet Mission," Mr Jinnah said. "Now, therefore, some remedy must be with those at the top of the British Government.

The Alternatives

"Underlings have brought us to a point where we face two choices and only two. One is the horrors of a civil war which would ruin the Hindu and Muslim nations alike and from which, I hope, we can be spared, although we are nearer to it than those persons seem able to realize or willing to admit.

"The other choice is peaceful settlement through negotiation among the leaders from this country and the highest authorities in Britain. This would have to be a conference in which the good of the people instead of the face-saving of individuals would be of paramount consideration. It would need to be carried out in calm surroundings with sincere determination, honesty and skill."

Differing Viewpoints

He gave a warning that "every proposal will be looked upon by me from the point of view of its value towards the achievement of the Pakistan demand, while the Congress will look at it from the point of view of avoiding Pakistan and establishing Akhand Hindustan (United India) over the entire sub-continent of India."

"Even more is at stake than the peace of the people of India," Mr Jinnah said. "This is the sort of situation which the world says Britain is alienating 100 million Muslims by her present policy. Does not that seem to be a dangerous thing for the peace of the world when we consider what has happened elsewhere?

Rumours Denied

"I am not negotiating with Russia nor am I bringing in any help from Russia for her intervention into the affairs of India. Any such story is nonsense. If anyone is spreading it. The recitation of the lessons which history teaches does not constitute an invitation to some foreign Power to do certain things."

Mr Jinnah said there is no basis for assertions which have been made that his objective is to achieve a Pakistan which would be a colony of the British Government. "That definitely is not true," he added. "We want an independent, sovereign Pakistan and we will have it."

"These disorders," Mr Jinnah said, returning to the subject of disturbances in Bombay, Calcutta and elsewhere, "are not a civil war, although they are close to becoming one."—A.P.A.

H. Times 12-9-46

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Lord Pethick-Lawrence Visualizes Better Indo-British Relations

LONDON, Sept. 11.—Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, stated here yesterday that although the relationships between Britain and India were changing they were not changing for the worst.

"We believe," he said, "they are going to change for the better, and in the years to come when the peoples of India have control of their own destiny, friendship with the peoples of this country, not merely individual but national relationships, will be strengthened and this friendship will last and grow greater every day."

Lord Pethick-Lawrence was speaking at the opening by Lady Runganadhan, wife of the High Commissioner for India, of the new Indian students' Young Men's Christian Association hostel.

He told the students: "Just as we have to learn much from you, so we are confident that you will learn much from us, and it is in the intermingling of different ideas as represented by different nations and religions of the world that real progress and hope for the future can come about."

Lady Runganadhan said that the students using the hostel would be building up international fellowship and tolerance at a time when there was much suspicion and distrust among nations.—Reuter.

TRIBESMEN'S ADMIRATION FOR CONGRESS

H. Times

REPLY TO LEAGUE LEADER 12/9/46

"The Congress stand regarding Tribal areas has been very clear and straight-forward. This has naturally led to a feeling of friendship and mutual admiration between the tribesmen on the one side and the Frontier Province and the rest of India on the other," says Mr Mohammad Yunus Khan, a prominent Congressman of the Frontier Province, in reply to Mr Abdur Rab Nishtar's statement.

Future Of Tribal Areas

Mr Yunus Khan says: "The reported speech of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan at a recent meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee at Peshawar about the future of the tribal areas, has given offence to Mr Abdur Rab Nishtar. He has issued a rejoinder criticizing Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's statement. Obsessed with the false sense of greatness thrust on him by Mr Jinnah, Mr Abdur Rab is impertinent enough to pose as the saviour of the tribal areas. He forgets that Pathans, unlike Mr Jinnah and others of the Muslim League, know what he is. The defeat he had to face in the last elections ought to have opened his eyes to the reality and given him a quietus.

Oppressed People

"In the Congress the tribesmen see their friends and those who have been upholding their cause for many years. They know that it was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who first condemned the aerial bombing and other tyrannies perpetrated on the tribesmen, and who was the first to draw world attention to this fact.

"Even now it is a Congress leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, that has taken up the cause of these oppressed people. The Congress is not to oppress or subjugate any class or community. They are fighting for the freedom of all including those of the Muslim League. I hope such mischievous statements by disgruntled elements will not mislead our people, and they will do the right thing at the opportune moment.

"In the union envisaged, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan pictures complete freedom for the tribesmen as well as those living in other provinces of India. He has expressed the hope that the situation in the tribal areas will improve and that the new National Government will do the needful in the matter. We are all looking forward to a change in the old policy pursued so far by the British Government.

Frontier Gandhi Explains

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in a statement issued at Peshawar says:

"Mr Abdur Rab Nishtar has come out with a statement imputing motives to me. For a quarter of a century I have fought hard for the freedom of India and, as a matter of fact, of all people. Attainment of my cherished goal, I have spent the best part of my life in jail. To expect me that I will work for the enslavement of my own brethren next door, for whom I not only have great love but respect, is unthinkable. What I said was I hope the change at the Centre will go a long way to improve the economic and political conditions both in the Frontier Province and the Tribal areas and bring the people close to each other."—A.P.I.

POLICE PARTIALITY ALLEGED

Statesman — 11.9.46.

LEAGUE SECRETARY URGES INQUIRY

The appointment of an impartial and independent commission commanding public confidence to inquire into allegations of Hindu aggression against Muslims, and the partial attitude of the Bombay police was advocated by Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary of the All-India Muslim League.

In a statement he said that he had received a number of communications from Bombay complaining about Hindu aggression and police partiality. These were very serious allegations that had been made against the custodians of law and order and could not be lightly brushed aside as the Prime Minister of the Congress Government had tried to do in Bombay. Without making any inquiry into the allegation the Premier at an editors' conference was reported to have expressed ex-parte his approval of the police actions and the reasoning he had given could not carry conviction to any man who had got the least grain of commonsense.

Mr Liaquat Ali said: "The attitude of the Congress Government in Bombay as exhibited on this occasion will not surprise anyone who has any knowledge and experience of the working of the Congress Governments in various provinces. In every province, where the Congress is in power, all kinds of oppressive measures are being adopted by the Government to coerce and terrorize the Muslims and others who happen to differ from them.

Muslims Harassed

"I have been receiving complaints that in these provinces, even in the distribution of necessities of life which are under the control of the Government, party politics play a chief part. Muslims, especially Muslim Leaguers, are harassed in every conceivable manner and every kind of difficulty is created in their efforts to secure controlled articles like cloth, kerosene oil, sugar, etc. The Congress obviously hope by such methods to cow down the Muslims and coerce them into meekly submitting to Hindu domination.

"I should like to point out that by such methods the Congress cannot break the spirit of the Muslims and such unjust actions will ultimately recoil on their own heads. Injustice never flourishes. Muslims should not expect any protection from the Congress whose sole object in this country is to establish caste-Hindu Raj and oppress and terrorize into submission all the minorities and weaker elements in the land.

"I would request the Muslims to remain peaceful, but in case of attack they should keep themselves ready to protect their lives, property and honour. We have to depend only on God and on our inherent strength."

"INDIA TURNED INTO ASSET"

H. Times — 11.9.46.

Chinese Commend British Policy

PARIS, Sept. 10.—Warm praise for British policy in India was expressed in an interview yesterday by Dr Wang Shih-Chieh, the Chinese Foreign Minister.

"The British people present a very different picture today from the people I saw at the first Council of Foreign Ministers in London some months back," he said. "There is something of confidence, prosperity and a spirit of reconstruction about those same people today. Not the least among the reasons for this has been the settlement of the India question."

"Britain is turning India from a liability into an asset," he said. "We have seen during the last few months that the British Government have done their utmost to give India independence and to ensure the unity of India. This policy has created a very good impression with the Chinese people."

Dr Wang Shih-Chieh added that the success of this policy would not only benefit the Indian people but would also contribute largely to the prosperity and peace of all Asia.—Globe.

JINNAH BLAMED FOR COMMUNAL TENSION

LONDON, Sept. 10.—Mr R. Palme Dutt, addressing his first public meeting since his return from a four-month visit to India, said: "We shall give all support to the Nehru Government in its task conducted in the interests of the Indian people and to mobilize the country from its present position."

The Communists wanted to achieve complete democratic Independence in India and "to formulate an international policy contrary to Mr Bevin's," he added.

Mr Dutt addressed a Jampacked meeting at the Peace Theatre. Many hundreds of people were unable to obtain admission.

He blamed Mr Jinnah "for a serious share responsibility in the atmosphere which had created the riots." He dismissed the allegation that Mr Jinnah was "out for revolution," adding that "Mr Jinnah is aiming at a compromise and joining the Interim Government at a later date."

He said he observed in India a "universal determination to be free."—U.P.A.

H. Times — 11.9.46

KHAKSAR LEADER'S LETTER TO JINNAH

Statesman — 11.9.46.

LAHORE, Sept 9.—Allama Mashriqui, the Khaksar leader, in a letter to Mr Jinnah, in response to the latter's id July appeal to Khaksars to join the Muslim League, says: "If you can convince me that you mean to achieve Pakistan as part and parcel of the independence of the whole of India and will work with Mr Gandhi on this clear basis against British plans, I shall throw the whole force of the Khaksar organization with you and we shall die in thousands.

"I also undertake that Hindus as well as Congress will concede Pakistan if you clearly agree to wrest India from British hands. I shall in that case work willingly with you to the last ditch."—API.

"FRESH START MUST BE MADE"

Jinnah's Appeal To Britain

BOMBAY, Sept. 10.—Mr M. A. Jinnah, has released the following full text of the interview which he gave to a *Daily Mail* correspondent, a summary of which was published yesterday.

Mr Jinnah said: "For the peace of India and the peace of the world a fresh start must be made. The wound is too deep and the negotiations of this summer have led to too much bitterness and rancour for us to prolong the present arguments. The slate must be wiped clean and we must begin from the beginning again. I shall never now go to London after what has been done by the Viceroy to plead my case; but were His Majesty's Government to invite me to London to start a new series of conferences on an equal footing with other negotiators, I should accept.

"No man can witness the present scenes of bloodshed in India without feelings of sorrow and pain. At the same time, if the British insist on doing nothing more than to support the present Interim Government with their bayonets, all I can say is that the Muslims can suffer it, but will never submit to it. If the British withdraw both their troops and their interest in the administration as they should, if they cannot manage honourably, we can sort out things for ourselves."

Referring to Pandit Nehru's broadcast, "which is applauded by Congress newspapers as an assurance to the Muslim League on the vexed question of grouping," Mr Jinnah said: "These are very vague words, he has made many infinite proposals to me; you cannot after parsings with words; I have been stabbed and vague phrases and words alone will not stop the bleeding.

"What am I supposed to do now? It would be foolish for me to draft a series of demands and risk the possibility of having to announce one or more of them because the Congress refused to accept them. We have reached a deadlock, when Pandit Nehru came to me recently to offer me five seats in the new Central Government, I refused to discuss any other problem.

"The fact remains that Muslims in India have suffered a monstrous preparation of wrong at the hands of the British Government. To be charitable, all I can say is that the Labour Government is too new and inexperienced to understand this problem fully. They have allowed themselves to be tricked by the Congress. They have failed to realise that there are two distinct nations in India. Each has different fundamental characteristics and natural ambitions. I can understand an alliance or treaty between them and they might in certain circumstances unite temporarily to face a common danger. But the idea of a permanent coalition is absurd. As the position now is one distinct nation is placed at the mercy of the numerical superiority of another.

Dark Future For Muslims

"I see a very dark future ahead. I have received letters and telegrams of sympathy from all over the Muslim world. If relations between Great Britain, America and Russia worsen, there is no means of telling how which way Indian Muslims may be stampeded at a time of crisis. The question we ask is: 'What have we done to deserve this fate?' We have no reason to love the British, but in 1942, when the Congress started their resistance movement against you, with the enemy at India's border, we refused to join it. At that time I can remember touring Muslim villages where women were reduced to the task of grave-digging because the entire manpower of the community was serving with the Army.

"We accepted all proposals made to us by the Cabinet Mission; if I appeared tardy, it was because I had been empowered only to negotiate and the final decision of refusal or acceptance had to be deferred to the next meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council. If we had later reversed our decision, it was because the Congress only accepted the long-term proposals with reservations which they refused to clarify."

"If you try to sell me this article," said Mr Jinnah pointing to a silver ash tray, "and a piece of it is missing, I am entitled to ask you to replace the missing part before I agree to accept it. Subsequent Congress speeches and actions have proved that our course was amply justified."

Talking of the present wave of riotings throughout India, Mr Jinnah indignantly disclaimed Muslims were responsible. He said: "Prior to August 16, that is Direct Action Day, when the rioting broke out in Calcutta, we had issued very strict instructions through our Press, by circulars and by letters to local League leaders that there was to be no violence. The sole purpose of the day was to explain to the public why direct action had become necessary. We are entitled to free speech and to the right to stage peaceful demonstrations. We were attacked by Congress followers because they wanted to stamp out our propaganda and discredit our cause by creating disturbances and then throwing the blame on us."

Defining direct action, Mr Jinnah stated that it was passive non-co-operation with the Government. It had not yet been resorted to and the details of the form which it is to take are now being worked out by a special committee in Delhi.

Renunciation by League members of the titles conferred by the British was not a direct action measure but a protest against the present attitude of the British Government, Mr Jinnah said.—A.P.I.

A. Tung - 11.9.46.

"Bengal Ministry Must Be Dismissed Before Riot Inquiry Begins"

CALCUTTA, Sept. 10.—"So long as the present League Ministry continues to rule over the destinies of Bengal no inquiry commission can get at the truth. The dismissal of the Ministry is the essential condition precedent to the successful working of the proposed commission to enquire into the disturbances," says Mr Lahiri, Secretary, Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement.

Mr Lahiri adds: "The conduct and activities of some of the Ministers, particularly of the Chief Minister, during the progress of the riot lends weight to the conclusion that the Ministry wanted this unrestricted butchering, arson and spoliation of Hindus to go on unchecked. For two days Calcutta was without any police protection whatsoever, and though armed guards were patrolling the streets, not a single round was fired at anybody; nor was the crowd even lathi-charged, though hundreds and thousands of persons collected throughout the city and committed arson and murder on an unprecedented scale in the very presence of the police.

"As the Chief Minister had been personally directing the entire police force with his headquarters in Lall Bazar, he is directly responsible for this criminal inaction of the police.

"There is, moreover, evidence to show that a certain Minister was taking great interest some well known Muslim criminals and persons who were caught red-handed and who, when made over to the police were released forthwith on the intercession of the Minister himself."

When Military Pickets Came

Mr Lahiri alleges that discrimination was made in the matter of posting military pickets. "They were called in only when the League Ministers found their calculations upset and the tide was turning against them. It was only in a predominantly Hindu area that military pickets were posted on the afternoon of August 17. The predominantly Muslim areas were left undisturbed though hundreds of Hindus were being cruelly butchered there during the first three days."

Mr Lahiri, criticizing the Bengal Provincial Muslim League statement on the Calcutta disturbances, says that it is the Ministers and leaders of the Muslim League who are the main accused in this tragic episode and against whom there is a strong *prima facie* case for action.

Mr Lahiri describes the statement of the Committee as a "sinister move to white-wash its own misdeeds and an amazing tissue of mis-statements and distorted facts."—A P I

'SHARE POWER WITH LEAGUE'

Statesman —10.9.46

SUHRAWARDY'S APPEAL TO NEHRU

"If Pandit Nehru really desires co-operation, he must share power and responsibility with the Muslim League in the new Central Government," declared Mr H. S. Suhrawardy, Premier of Bengal, commenting yesterday on Pandit Nehru's recent broadcast.

Mr Suhrawardy said: "Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has spoken to a credulous world. He dwells on the coming might of India as a nation—India riddled with brother warring against brother within the land. A portion of the broadcast appears on the face of it to be addressed to Muslims. But as Muslims know Jawaharlal they are not hoodwinked; they know that the broadcast is actually for foreign consumption.

"He invites us to walk into his parlour in the Constituent Assembly and assures us of co-operation, of good faith and that he will not utilize his majority against the wishes of the minority. What guarantee has he given of his good faith and his good intentions, he who has so infected his people with the cult of Hindu domination that any one can see that the two-nation theory is no more a theory but a fact? If he really intended to co-operate with the Muslims, there was no point in manoeuvring to keep them out of the new Central Government.

"Unpractical Offer"

"Can he and his colleagues deny that their endeavour from the very beginning was to exclude the Muslim League from participation in the new Central Government by some means or other? His threats to the Muslims, his wild and yet wilder utterances are not forgotten, and no one is delivered by the cooings of his broadcast. His partial offer is hardly unpractical. If he really desires co-operation, he must share power and responsibility with the Muslim League in the new Central Government, give up his ideas of Hindu rule, his claims to represent the Muslims and his attempts to drive a cleavage in the Muslim ranks—attempts which can only serve to consolidate the Muslims further.

"The Muslim has been excluded and has been made to feel that he is without a country. So be it. Pandit Jawaharlal is sowing the wind in conjunction with the British imperialists. If he hopes the whirlwind will be of small dimensions and will be easily neutralized, he will find himself sadly mistaken. But after all, what consolation is it to any one if he finds his mistake through the horrors of internecine strife of unpredictable dimensions.

"In the name of peace, in the name of true and active toleration and goodwill, in the name of the happiness and prosperity of the common man whose future is dark, insecure and perilous, I fervently appeal to him and to his colleagues to drop all the tremendous inhibitions with which they have surrounded themselves, to steer clear of rule and domination, of parties and party factions, to take a bold leap forward and to co-operate with the Muslim League and with the Muslim nation on terms of equality and brotherliness, before the chasm yawns too wide to be bridged. In this lies statesmanship, even magnanimity and generosity."—APL

Statesman 11/9/46

LEAGUE TO STAND BY PRINCIPLES

LAHORE, Sept 9.—"Where is Mr Gandhi's much-trumpeted blank cheque to the Muslims?" asks Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, MLA, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party, commenting on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's broadcast.

He says: "One would have expected of the Congress leaders that after assuming power they would have made a gesture to us on the lines on which the Egyptians have made a gesture to the Copts. Instead one finds with great regret that the Congress bania policy is underlying all they have pronounced."

Expressing a hope that a League-Congress rapprochement if the latter gives up its "all-grabbing policy," Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan declares that the Muslim League does not want to pick a quarrel with any party, but it is not prepared to compromise its principles for temporary gains that may jeopardide the positiln of Muslims in independent ndia.—API.

AHRAR LEADER NOT JOINING LEAGUE

LAHORE, Sept 9.—Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar, the former Ahrar leader, who resigned from that organization a few days ago, today contradicted the report that he had joined the Muslim League. Maulana Mazhar Ali stated that he did not contemplate joining any political party and that he would explain his attitude vis a vis the Muslim League at a public meeting to be held at Lahore on September 14.—API.

LABOUR M.P. PLEADS FOR INDIAN UNITY

BIRMINGHAM, Sept 8.—A plea for Indian unity was made by the Labour Member of Parliament, Mr W. G. Cove, when he addressed the largest Indian political gathering in Britain since the outbreak of the war here today.

The conference was organized by the Indian Workers' Association and was attended by nearly 400 delegates from Britain, including Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.

Mr Cove said they had arrived at a definite point where India was setting out on the road to complete independence, but Indians everywhere had to realize that independence was only the beginning of a particular solution of India's problems.

They had to face, for example, the problem of the terrible poverty India itself was not poor but Indian poverty had been caused by an imperial Power exploiting its resources without thought for the benefit of the Indian people.—Reuter

JINNAH WEAKENS LEAGUE'S CASE

Misinterpretation Of State Paper

KARACHI, Sept. 9.—The assurances given by the Viceroy coupled with the clarification made by the British Ministers themselves, should have convinced any reasonable leader of the Muslim League that the Muslim League's stand has been fully vindicated, says Sheikh Abdul Majid in a statement. "It has been authoritatively asserted and reasserted that the references to the Federal Court will arise in disputes over communal issues alone," he added.

"Mr Jinnah takes it for granted, however, that the disputes regarding interpretation intended or the references of the Federal Court cover the fundamental principles also, regarding which the Viceroy declares unequivocally that 'there can be no question of any change,' and that 'the procedure regarding the framing of provincial and group constitutions will be faithfully adhered to," stated Sheikh Abdul Majid. "It is a glaring instance of how sometimes renowned lawyers and leaders can unconsciously harm and weaken the case of their own clients by hopelessly misinterpreting famous rulings and decisions which are indisputably in their own favour," he declared.

Sheikh Abdul Majid continued: "The misunderstanding can be removed by the Working Committee of the League or by the Viceroy and the Congress combined. It will add to the greatness of the leader of the Muslim League to confess his own mistake or misunderstanding."

"I am sure that no peaceful settlement, whenever arrived at, will give the Muslims anything substantially more than what could be secured now or in future from accepting the British State Paper," he concludes and asks "Where is then the necessity of inviting the disasters of a civil war or of war against any Government?"—A.P.I.

H. Times — 10. 9. 46.

COMMUNALISM NOT A FALSE SPECTRE

Statesman 10.9.46.

NEW YORK Sept 8.—India's communal tension, which was generally covered on the inside pages of American papers in the past week, is the subject of a long article in the New York Times Sunday Magazine beneath a picture of the police using tear-gas dispersing a mob trying to set fire to a holy shrine in Calcutta.

The correspondent, George Jones, wrote: "There is communal tension in India today mingled with shock, caused by the murder and destruction in Calcutta's streets" Jones declares that none, who saw the carnage in Calcutta in August can minimize the gravity of the split among India's people.

"There are some, who will say that communalism is a false spectre raised by British imperialists to divide India's peoples and perpetuated by Muslims for their own political purposes. Such is simply not the case.

"Communalism does exist in India and its presence cuts deeply into the country's social and economic pattern."

After outlining Hindu-Muslim differences, Jones concluded: "In the immediate future a foreign observer sees only two courses. Wisdom and restraint on the part of the Congress Party in the new national Government can do much to tide India past this tense period in her political and communal divisions.

"A systematic campaign to better the lot of the individual Muslim peasant and city dweller will remove many impulses arising from suspicion and insecurity. If the tension grows unchecked, India sooner or later must purge itself in blood. Calcutta serves as a reminder to the consequences in the latter event."—Reuter.

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DIRECT ACTION PLANS DISCUSSED

Statesman 10.9.46

Constituent Assembly May Be Picketed

PROPOSAL TO LAUNCH NO-TAX CAMPAIGN

FROM OUR SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE

NEW DELHI, Monday.—Reorganization of the National Muslim Guards was discussed by the Direct Action Committee of the Muslim League which met again at Mr Liaquat Ali Khan's residence in New Delhi today.

MR Khurshid Anver, organizer of the Muslim Guards, met the Committee in the evening and submitted details of his proposals which were discussed at length. Mr Anver, it is understood, suggested that it would be desirable to organize units of the Guards in every city and town in India, and detailed his plans regarding the strength and organization of such units.

The Committee later saw Mr Siddiq Ali Khan, "Salar-e-Ala" (Commander-in-Chief) of the Muslim Guards, and ascertained his views regarding the expansion and reorganization of the Guards.

The Committee it is understood, devoted the morning session to devising plans of Direct Action, Boycott of the legislatures and the Constituent Assembly, and picketing of both, if necessary, it is believed, were considered. Refusal to pay Central Government taxes was another step discussed.

The meeting is expected to continue for about a week, at the end of which the Committee hopes to have an exhaustive scheme ready. The scheme will be submitted to the Working Committee of the League for approval.

It is learnt that the members of the Working Committee after their meeting which is expected to take place towards the end of the month, will tour the provinces to prepare Leaguers for the forthcoming programme of Direct Action and to raise funds.

SIND MUSLIM LEAGUE APPOINTS DICTATOR

KARACHI, Sept 9.—The Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, which concluded its two-day session late tonight, appointed its President, Mr Yusuf Abdullah Haroon, M.L.A (Central) the first Dictator in Sind to conduct a "Direct Action" campaign.

The Council also appointed a Committee of Action, with Mr Badruddin M.L.A. as Chairman, to prepare Muslims for the coming struggle.

It was decided to raise 5,000 volunteers in each district and strengthen the Muslim League National Guards.

Earlier the Council elected new office-bearers and nominated 27 members to the Council of the All-India Muslim League. The election of the Parliamentary Board was postponed. —API.

JINNAH FAVOURS "NEW SERIES OF CONFERENCES"

LONDON, Sept 9.—"Were the British Government to invite me to London to start a new series of conferences on an equal footing with other negotiators, I should accept," the Muslim leader, Mr Mohammed Ali Jinnah told the special correspondent of the Daily Mail, Ralph Izzard, at Bombay.

Mr Jinnah added: "In such a case, I should agree to the present Interim Government remaining in power.

"If the British insist on doing nothing now than support the present Interim Government with their bayonets, all I can say is that the Muslims can endure it.

"If they want to arrest me now, I am ready to go to prison immediately."

Referring to Pandit Nehru's Saturday broadcast Mr Jinnah declared: "I have been stabbed and kind words alone cannot heal the wound."

He said that he thought the British Labour Government had been "tricked by the Congress," adding, "to be charitable, all I can say is that the Labour Government is too new and inexperienced to understand this problem fully.

"I see a very dark future ahead. If relations between Britain, the United States and Russia worsen, there is no way of telling now which way Indian Muslims may be stampeded at a time of crisis."—Reuter.

MUSLIM PREPARATIONS FOR STRUGGLE

FROM OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

LAHORE, Sept 9.—Many Muslims are transferring their movables and immovable property to their wives or relatives in preparation for the coming "Direct Action" struggle, according to Leaguer circles here. 10/9/46 Star, Delhi

"C. R.'s" APPEAL TO LEAGUE

Times 9.9.46

Britain's Intentions Are Clear

MADRAS, September 7: "We have accepted a hard and arduous task by entering the Interim Government. We would do our utmost to allay the fears and suspicions of our Muslim brethren and enable them to join the new Government," declared Mr. C. Rajagopalachari speaking at a reception in his honour at Theogaroyangar on the eve of his departure to Delhi to take up office as the Industries and Supplies Member, Government of India.

The Muslim League leaders were downhearted at present, he said, because they felt that the British had handed over power to Congress hands. They were mistaken in holding that view. It was a fact that notwithstanding the obstructionist tactics of the Muslim League, the Britons had transferred the responsibility of governing India to Indian hands. He expressed the hope that the Leaguers would soon realise that and change their attitude and join hands with them to share the responsibility of governing their country for the common good of all Indians.

Mr. Rajagopalachari added that there would not be rejoicing in the country until their Muslim brothers shared responsibility with them, took part in the deliberations of the constituent assembly and drew up a new constitution for the country.

Referring to strikes in various parts of the country, Mr. Rajagopalachari said that if the workers really wanted to improve their lot they should abstain from strikes and allow time for Government to settle down. For a Government to function efficiently there should be all-round co-operation and there should be no strikes or other impediments in the way.

Mr. Rajagopalachari is leaving Madras for Delhi by air on Monday morning.—A.P.I.

Bengal League Disowns Responsibility For Calcutta Riots

H. Times 13.9.46

CALCUTTA, Sept. 7.—The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League in a statement issued yesterday appeals to all, both in cities and in rural areas, and to Muslims in particular, to be calm and peaceful, to do everything possible to restore normal conditions of life and not be carried away by rumours and stories of designing persons. They deplore the serious loss of lives and properties in the disturbances and express deepest sympathy for all innocent victims and sufferers.

The statement adds: "Anxious, however, to avoid all chances of conflict the Government of Bengal declared August 16 as a public holiday and the League decided that all essential services should be maintained and that the railways should run as usual. City transport services workers and labourers were, however, appealed to observe the 'hartal' to which they responded abundantly.

"In declaring a public holiday, the Bengal Ministry could not possibly have the motive, as has been alleged, of creating any conditions of violence or disorder."

Hospital Admissions

The resolution then details allegations of looting Muslim shops, setting of houses and throwing of stones on Muslim processions. It further alleges that Muslims suffered the most and this could be corroborated. The reports of hospital admissions as published in the hostile Press were also incorrect. By about noon on Friday, Muslims injured formed the largest number in the Campbell Hospital, that by the end of the day more than 75 per cent of the total 350 admissions into the Medical College Hospital were Muslims. Of the total admissions on the first day in all hospitals of Calcutta—taking into account the first 90 admissions in Eamauh Hospital—the Muslims were by far the largest number and all these in spite of the statement of the Congress Working Committee that the Muslim processionists were armed with big bamboo sticks, swords, spears, daggers and axes.

"Muslims Retaliated"

"The situation was further aggravated by publication of wild stories and rumours about the killing of the Hindus of some known families, one of which received publicity through the radio and all of which turned out to be false and were contradicted and corrected. The Muslims in such a situation then retaliated killing a large number of Hindus followed by loot and arson of Hindu shops.

When Military Was Called In

"The statement of the Congress Working Committee that the military was not called earlier is also contrary to fact. Realizing that the situation had taken a serious turn, the Chief Minister asked for military assistance at about 2 p.m. on Friday. The Governor accompanied by the Army Commander soon after went round the troubled areas."

The Working Committee in the end mentions the humanitarian services rendered by hundreds of Muslims to Hindus even at the risk of their own lives just as such services were correspondingly rendered by some Hindus.—A.P.I.

MINISTERS BLAMED FOR CALCUTTA CARNAGE

H. Times 10.9.46

BENGAL MUSLIM LEAGUE'S ALLEGATIONS REFUTED

CALCUTTA, Sept 8.—Mr Kalipada Mukherjee, Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, criticizing the statement made by the Bengal Provincial Muslim League on the recent Calcutta disturbances, expresses surprise that the League should say that there has been "distortion of facts." He asserts the blame for the riots rests entirely with the organizers of "Direct Action" and the Ministers in office. "Their playing of the double role if law-breakers and law-preservers is wholly responsible for the carnage."

Referring to the allegations made in the League resolution that all the killings, arson and hooliganism were done by the Hindus up to the noon of Saturday, i.e., the second day of the rioting, and that the Hindus organized a premeditated attack on the Muslims and that the followers of the League were all disciplined and were victims throughout the whole of Friday and part of Saturday, Mr Mukherjee maintained that nothing could be further from the truth.

Hospital Figures

Mr Mukherjee says: "Although the League statement quotes some figures of admission to the Medical College Hospital, it is conveniently silent about admissions to other hospitals in the city. The ratio of the number of the dead on the first two days has not also been mentioned. Besides having the privilege of their patrons being in office the followers of the League must have had greater facilities of carrying the wounded to the hospitals and getting them admitted there. The Congress workers, who were organizing relief even during the fury of the first three days, have bitter experience of how official position was being utilized in every way to help the followers of the League."

Contrary to Facts

Mr Mukherjee regrets that a responsible body like the Muslim League could in their resolution incorporate such a statement as that the League demonstrators were all peaceful and unarmed. "This," he says, "is absolutely contrary to all facts known to lakhs of people residing in the city."

Mr Mukherjee however, joins in the appeal made in the League statement for restoration of normal life and says that every attempt in this direction will receive hearty co-operation from the Congress.—A.P.I.

LEAGUE WILLING TO JOIN ON PARITY

Statesman 8-9-46

TERMS FOR ENTERING GOVERNMENT

BOMBAY, Sept 6.—Mr H. S. Suhrawardy, Chief Minister of Bengal, told the United Press of America today that he believed the Muslim League would be willing to enter the new Central Government on a parity basis provided no non-League Muslim is included and with the assurance that all major communal issues would be decided by a majority vote of both parties.

Discussing the establishment of the Interim Government, Mr Suhrawardy said: "The shameless betrayal of Muslims and the Muslim League is now established history." To what can we look for redress? he asked. World opinion, which acts very slowly, or British public opinion, which can act and can undo this wrong if properly enlightened.

All these must fail for no one is or can be more interested in the fate of the Indian Muslims than they themselves, and in the last resort the extent to which the Indian Muslims fight and struggle for their rights must determine their future.

"It is impossible," Mr Suhrawardy continued, "when you are playing with the passions of a people to confine them within the narrow bounds of civilized conduct.

"After all, there appears to be to little that stands in the way of co-operation between the Hindu and Muslim nations. The first and main obstacle is the decision that has overtaken Congress to dominate and rule in India and to refuse to share the reconstruction of India with the Muslim League. Is it possible to carry on a government or orderly life in the country if the whole nation in arms against you?"

Two Separate Nations

"A handful of people, well knit, determined to achieve or die, can throw the whole machinery out of gear if they have a strong moral background." "I think," he said, "the position would be just the same if Muslims were in the majority and Hindus in the minority, for the problem is not that of a political entity with majority and minority parties where, through the hazard of the ballot box, a minority can be converted into a minority and vice versa, but the permanent existence of two separate nations with different ideologies, that will always remain numerically unequal as far as time and mind can conceive."

Mr Suhrawardy added: "There is a common fallacy, and actually it is on a basis of that fallacy that I have been expressing my views and it is a fallacy that appears to be accepted by world opinion, that the Congress represents (1) all peoples of India and (2) if not all peoples, at least all Hindus of India. If it is realized that Congress does no such thing and that it has attained pre-eminence and recognition by virtue of its organization, its backing by wealthy capitalists, its leadership by men and women of great ability and charm, by its political acumen, its judicious propaganda and its insistent clamour, and, let us not forget, by its patronage by a personality like Mr Gandhi whom the world has enveloped in a mantle of mysticism; if it is realized that there are such large and important peoples as the Muslims, Scheduled Castes and the Adibasis outside the fold of the Congress, it will be seen that the Congress really represents a minority that is obstructing the progress of the majority."—U.P. of America

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Statesman 7.9.46

FRONTIER'S DIRECT ACTION PROGRAMME

PESHAWAR, Sept 6.—The Frontier Muslim League Council of Action passed three resolutions regarding the direct action programme in the Frontier.

The Council called upon Frontier Muslims to buy all their requirements from Muslim shopkeepers.

By another resolution the Council urged Muslim lawyers to devote all their spare time in propagating the correct Muslim League point of view and to form defence committees to defend Muslim Leaguers in courts of law.

The next meeting of the League Council of Action will be held in Peshawar on September 14 when further plans will be made.—API.

NEW GOVERNMENT'S BIG RESPONSIBILITY

LONDON, Sept 6.—The assumption of office by the first purely Indian administration is a decisive landmark in the history of India, but the fact must be frankly faced that it is not the administration which the British Cabinet Mission or any true friend of India hoped for, says the weekly Spectator in its editorial columns.

The Journal adds: "Now an immense responsibility rests on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues, several of whom, like Mr C. Rajagopalachari, are men of ability and moderation. They might have taken office with the communal difficulty bridged. Instead it is, if anything, accentuated for the fact that of the five seats destined for Muslims, three are filled by comparative nonentities and the other two not filled at all, is little calculated to assuage Muslim feeling. In such circumstances Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru can only make his administration work by making it work.

"There are immense economic tasks to be executed in India into which politics do not or should not enter, and although most of them are beyond the scope of the Interim Government, the Nehru administration will be strengthened considerably if it can give evidence of some capacity in that field. While Britain has given decisive proof of good faith in the transfer of responsibilities to Indian hands immediate prospect in India can be viewed with only limited optimism."—Reuter

CO-OPERATION WITH COMMONWEALTH

Statesman 8.9.46

PANDIT NEHRU ON INDIA'S FUTURE ROLE

FOREIGN POLICY TO BE INDEPENDENT

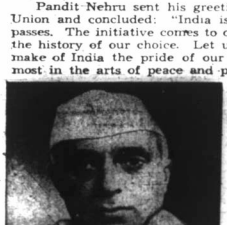
"In spite of our past history of conflict we hope that an independent India will have friendly and co-operative relations with England and the countries of the British Commonwealth," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a broadcast to the nation from New Delhi on Saturday.

PANDIT Nehru expressed hope of an early realization of full independence for India, and added that it was because of this expectation that he and his colleagues had entered the present administration.

The new Government, he said, would take a full part in international conferences as a free nation "with our own policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation." While they would co-operate with other nations in the furtherance of world peace and freedom, they would, as far as possible, keep away from the power politics of groups aligned against one another.

Referring to sections and groupings in the Constituent Assembly, he said: "We have accepted the position of sitting in sections which will consider the question of the formation of groups. I would like to make it clear that we do not look upon the Constituent Assembly as an arena for conflict."

Pandit Nehru sent his greetings to the USA and the Soviet Union and concluded: "India is on the move and the old order passes. The initiative comes to our people now and we shall make the history of our choice. Let us all join in this mighty task and make of India the pride of our heart, great among nations, foremost in the arts of peace and progress."



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

The following is the text of the broadcast:

Six days ago my colleagues and I sat on the chairs of high office in the Government of India. A new Government came into being in this ancient land, the Interim or Provisional Government we called it, the stepping stone to the full independence of India. Many thousands of messages of greeting and good wishes came to us from all parts of the world and from every nook and corner of India. And yet we asked for no celebration of this historic event and even restrained our people's enthusiasm. For we wanted them to realize that we were yet on the march and the goal had still to be reached. There were many difficulties and obstacles on the way and our journey's end might not be so near as people thought. Any weakness now, any complacency would be fatal to our cause.

Our hearts were heavy also with the terrible tragedy of Calcutta and because of the insensate strife of brother against brother. The freedom we had envisaged and for which we had laboured, through generations of trial and suffering, was for all the people of India, and not for some group or class or the followers of one religion. It aimed at a co-operative commonwealth in which all would be equal sharers in opportunity and in all things that give meaning and value to life. Why then this strife this fear and suspicion of each other?

I speak to you today not much of high policy or our programme for the future—that will have to wait a while—but to thank you for the love and affection which you have sent us in such abundant measure. That affection and spirit of co-operation are always welcome but they will be needed more than ever in the difficult days ahead of us.

Many Storms Ahead

A friend sent me the following message: "May you weather every storm, first pilot of the ship of State, bon voyage!" A cheering message, but there are many storms ahead and our ship of State is old and battered and slow-moving and unsuited to this age of swift change. It will have to be scrapped and give place to another. But however old the ship and however feeble the pilot, when there are so many millions of willing hearts and hands to help, we can brave the high seas and face the future with confidence.

That future is already taking shape and India, this old and dear land of ours, is finding herself again through travail and suffering. She is youthful again with the bright eyes of adventure, and with faith in herself and her mission. For long years she had been narrowly confined and had lost herself in brooding. But now she looks out on the wide world and holds out her hands in friendship to the other peoples of the world, even though that world may still be full of conflict and thoughts of war.

The Interim National Government is part of a larger scheme which includes the Constituent Assembly which will meet soon to give shape to the constitution of free and independent India. It is because of this expectation of an early realization of full independence that we have entered this Government and we propose to function so as progressively to achieve that independence in action both in our domestic affairs and our foreign relations. We shall take full part in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation. We propose to develop close and direct contacts with other nations and to co-operate with them in the furtherance of world peace and freedom.

We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have led in the past to world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale. We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples, and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races. We repudiate utterly the Nazi doctrine of racialism, wheresoever and in whatever form it may be practised. We seek no domination over others and we claim no privileged position over other peoples. But we do claim equal and honourable treatment for our people wherever they may go, and we cannot accept any discrimination against them.

World Commonwealth

The world, in spite of its rivalries and hatreds and interests, moves inevitably towards closer co-operation and the building up of a world commonwealth. But for this One World that free India will work, a world in which the ends of free co-operation of free peoples and no class or group exploitation other.

In spite of our past history of conflict, we hope that an independent India will have friendly and co-operative relations with England and the countries of the British Commonwealth. But it is well to remember what is happening in one part of the Commonwealth today. In South Africa racialism is the State doctrine and our people are putting up a heroic struggle against the tyranny of a racial minority. If this racial doctrine is going to be tolerated it must inevitably lead to vast conflicts and world disaster.

Pt. Nehru's Broadcast (contd.)

We send our greetings to the people of the United States of America to whom destiny has given a major role in international affairs. We trust that this tremendous responsibility will be utilized for the furtherance of peace and human freedom everywhere. To that other great nation of the modern world, the Soviet Union which also carries a vast responsibility for shaping world events, we send greeting. They are our neighbours in Asia and inevitably we shall have to undertake many common tasks and have much to do with each other.

We are of Asia and the peoples of Asia are nearer and closer to us than others. India is so situated that she is the pivot of western, southern and south-east Asia. In the past her culture flowed to all these countries and they came to her in many ways. Those contacts are being renewed and the future is bound to see a closer union between India and south-east Asia on the one side, and Afghanistan, Iran, and the Arab world on the West. To the furtherance of that close association of free countries we must devote ourselves. India has followed with serious interest the struggle of the Indonesians for freedom and to them we send our good wishes.

China, that mighty country, with a mighty past, our neighbour, has been our friend through the ages and that friendship will endure and grow. We earnest hope that the present troubles will end soon and a united and democratic China will emerge, playing a great part in the furtherance of world peace and progress.

Domestic Policy

I have not said anything about our domestic policy, nor at this stage do I wish to do so. But that policy will inevitably have to be governed by the principles by which we have stood all these years. We shall look to the common and forgotten man in India and seek to bring him relief and raise his standards of living. We shall continue our fight against the curse of untouchability and other forms of enforced inequality, and shall especially try to help those who are economically or otherwise backward. Today millions lack food and clothing and houses, and many are on the verge of starvation. To meet this immediate need is an urgent and difficult task and we hope other countries will help us by sending food grains.

An equally urgent and vital task for us is to conquer the spirit of discord that is abroad in India. Out of mutual conflict we shall never build the house of India's freedom of which we have dreamt so long. All of us in this land have to live and work together, whatever political developments might take place. Hatred and violence will not alter this basic fact, nor will they stop the changes that are taking place in India.

There has been much heated argument about sections and groupings in the Constituent Assembly. We are perfectly prepared to, and have accepted, the position of sitting in sections which will consider the question of formation of groups. I should like to make it clear, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, that we do not look upon the Constituent Assembly as an arena for conflict or for the forcible imposition of one viewpoint over another. That would not be the way to build up a contented and united India. We seek agreed and integrated solutions with the largest measure of goodwill behind them.

We shall go to the Constituent Assembly with the fixed determination of finding a common basis for agreement on all controversial issues. And so, in spite of all that has happened and the hard words that have been said, we have kept the path of co-operation open, and we invite even those who differ from us to enter the Constituent Assembly as equals and partners with us with no binding commitments. It may well be that when we meet and face common tasks our present difficulties will fade away.

India is on the move and the old order passes. For too long have we been passive spectators of events, the plaything of others. The initiative comes to our people now and we shall make the history of our choice. Let us all join in this mighty task and make of India, the pride of our heart, great among nations, foremost in the arts of peace and progress. The door is open and destiny beckons to all. There is no question of who wins and who loses, for we have to go forward and together as comrades and either all of us win or we all go down together. But there is going to be no failure. We go forward to success, to independence and to the freedom and well-being of the four hundred millions of India.—Jai Hind!

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UNIONISTS REJECT LEAGUE OVERTURE

H. Times — 8.9.46

No One-Community Rule In Punjab

(From Our Special Correspondent)

SIMLA, Sept. 7.—Unionist Muslims have been in receipt of primarily renewed invitation to them by some Leaguers to rejoin the Muslim League, following Mr Jinnah's recent appeal The League proposal this time was it is stated, based on a baited offer that the Unionist Muslims would be allowed to retain their seats of power in the Government under the League Ministry

"We cannot consider any such offer in the absence of our leader, Sir Khizr Hyat Khan," a Unionist spokesman told me

"However," added the spokesman, "there is no possipility of a League-Unionist settlement for three reasons: First, the working of provincial autonomy has shown that communal balance in the Punjab precludes one-community rule. No Ministry in this Province can function without the participation of members of all the three communities, Muslim, Sikh and Hindu; secondly the Unionist Party has always been averse to interference in provincial affairs by any outside authority. We have our serious differences with the All-India Muslim League on this point; thirdly, the Unionists have always followed a consistent policy and will not emulate quick change artists like Mr Fazlul Huq of Bengal."

CALCUTTA KILLING

LEAGUE REFUTES CONGRESS ALLEGATIONS

Statesman 7.9.46

CALCUTTA, Sept 6.—"The statements in the resolution of the Congress Working Committee on the Calcutta disturbances are totally unwarranted by facts and the Committee have delivered their flagrantly biassed judgment, knowing full well that a commission is to be appointed by the Government of Bengal to make an impartial and thorough inquiry into the Calcutta disturbances," said a statement issued by the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League today.

It added: "The Working Committee of the Bengal League, while reluctant to say anything to prejudice the quick restoration of normal conditions, are compelled to challenge the statements of the Congress Working Committee in order that no wrong impression may thereby be created anywhere. In doing so, the League deplore the serious loss of life and property and express their sympathy for all innocent victims and sufferers."

Explaining that since the success of the League in the last elections, every effort was being made to discredit and oust the Ministry and that the Muslims never did anything to interfere with the hartals and strikes arranged as a result of such policy, the statement said: "Anxious, however, to avoid all chances of conflict, the Government of Bengal declared August 16 a public holiday and the League decided that all essential services should be maintained and that the railways should run as usual. City transport service workers and labourers were, however, appealed to to observe the hartal, to which they responded voluntarily.

No Direct Action

"Mr Jinnan, as also the League leaders in Bengal, in their statements and speeches made it quite clear that August 16 was for the purpose of explaining the resolution of the League and the day should be observed peacefully and in a disciplined manner. In declaring a public holiday, the Bengal Ministry could not possibly have had the motives, as has been alleged, of creating any condition of violence or disorder.

"But almost the entire Press of Calcutta, excepting the Anglo-Indian and Muslim Press took up a most hostile attitude. In numerous speeches and statements, through Press propaganda and otherwise, the Hindus were provoked in every possible way. The cumulative effects were that extensive preparation and organization became suddenly manifest on the morning of the hartal day in all Hindu quarters and in all vantage points on the routes of the Muslim processions.

"On the morning of August 16 Muslim volunteers came out. As reported in one of the Congress papers, Muslim college and school students, followed by Muslim girls dressed in blue uniforms, came out in two successive processions, sober and disciplined. Similar processions came out in small batches but almost everywhere they had to face a barrage of brickbats, stones and other missiles.

Friday's Incidents

"It would also appear from the reports of Friday's incidents in some of the Congress papers that on the morning of the hartal the League flag hoisted by Muslim students in two Calcutta colleges was immediately brought down by the Hindu students, who then hoisted the Congress flag in its place that Hindus from every house in north Calcutta came out and looted the shops of all Muslims, burning all their articles in one of the main roads of Calcutta, that a Muslim bustee was put on fire, that Muslim shops were attacked in another main shop area about 11 a.m., that a vast Hindu assembly threw stones in excited conditions, that all Muslim book shops in the main book shop area of Calcutta were broken open followed by burning of all their books, and that at 2 p.m. a vast assemblage of Hindus opposed two Muslim processions coming by the main road in south Calcutta resulting in a clash between the two, soon followed by looting of all Muslim shops in that area. All these almost everywhere were accompanied by the killing and injuring of Muslims and some of the police stations in Calcutta became full of Muslim refugees in thousands.

"But this did not stop on Friday. The following day as will also appear from some of the reports in the Congress Press, Muslim houses in one of the main Muslim areas in south Calcutta were attacked, looted and burnt, Muslim shops were looted in one of the main markets in south Calcutta, Muslims coming towards Calcutta were killed near a railway level-crossing and Muslim injured persons in a hospital were demanded to be handed over to a Hindu mob. As was also reported in one of the Congress papers there were some persons among the Hindus on this day whose main concern appeared to be the desecration of mosques.

"All these will also be corroborated by the reports of hospital admissions as published in the hostile Press. Of the total admissions on the first day in all Calcutta hospitals, the Muslims were far the larger number.

Situation Aggravated

"The situation was further aggravated by the publication of wild stories and rumours about the killing of Hindus of some known families, one of which received publicity through the radio and all of which turned out to be false and were contradicted and corrected. But some of the tragic brutalities against the Muslims was its direct consequence. The Muslims in such situation then retaliated, killing a large number of Hindus followed by loot and arson of Hindu shops.

"As a well-known Congress paper stated, the Hindus in their defensive arrangements were organized in military methods. For some time rumours had been going on daily in numerous places in Calcutta on the ground that a gigantic procession was being arranged in honour of some visiting INA officers. The parade programme was published through the Press three days before the disturbances.

"The statement of the Congress Working Committee that the military was not called earlier is also contrary to fact. Realizing that the situation had taken a serious turn the Chief Minister asked for military assistance at about 2 p.m. on Friday. The Governor, accompanied by the Army Commander, soon after went round the troubled areas."

The statement concluded: "The Working Committee of the Bengal League do not at this stage wish to say more for reasons given at the outset, but only challenge every statement of fact in the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress as being utterly baseless and contrary to facts."—API.

MUSLIM PROPAGANDA IN BRITAIN

Statesman 7.9.46

LONDON, Sept 4.—Mr Mohammed Abbas Ali, President of the London branch of the All-India Muslim League, today denied persistent rumours among London's Indian community that Mr Jinnah was authorizing expenditure of £2,000 annually on League propaganda in Britain and the United States.

He declared: "When a direct action campaign is launched, every Muslim throughout the world knows what to do. He will do it with such thoroughness that there will be no need for paid propaganda."

A move towards unity between the two sections of the League in Britain has been noted in recent weeks. It is considered that fusion of the two organizations, which split nine months ago might be the first step towards organized presentation of the Muslim viewpoint in London. There has been great recruitment activity among Muslim students and workers in London and provincial cities by various wings of organizations of the League.—Reuter

"PREMIER MISUSED AUTHORITY"

H. Tuesday 7.9.46

Calcutta Citizen's Appeal Dismissed

CALCUTTA, Sept. 6.—The Chief Minister of Bengal, as Minister in charge of Law and Order, figured in a petition of complaint in connection with the recent Calcutta riots, which has been dismissed by Major Mohsin Ali, Extra-Additional Chief Presidency Magistrate.

The complaint was made on behalf of Mr Narendra Chandra Das, secretary of three firms in the city which stated that they had suffered damages during the disturbances.

It was stated in the petition that the Chief Minister as a member of the Muslim League Party and as Premier of Bengal had declared August 16, the League's "Direct Action Day" as a holiday in the province in spite of the protests by other sections of the people. From the morning of that day the followers of the Muslim League started direct action of forcing people to observe hartal. The Minister in charge of Law and Order "purposely misused his powers," the petition added.

The petition included allegations that "Muslim hooligans" looted some property from one of the petitioner's firms worth about Rs. 21,000 and the police force attached to Taltola and Jorasanko thanas failed to render him requisite help. It is alleged in the petition that the officers of the local police stations pleaded their inability to interfere on the ground that "they had no instructions to meddle in such affairs."

The Magistrate dismissed the petition, because it could not take cognizance of allegations against a public servant of the rank of the Chief Minister except with the previous sanction of the Government.—A.P.I.

LEAGUE MAY SET UP PARALLEL ASSEMBLIES

Statesman 7.9.46

FROM OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

LAHORE, Sept 6.—Will the Muslim League set up parallel Constituent Assemblies for the B and C Groups? The suggestion originally made by a local Muslim League paper seems to be gaining favour with the Provincial High Command and will probably be considered by the Council of Action at Delhi.

According to the suggestion, if the Viceroy and the new Central Government proceed with the framing of a constitution despite the Muslim League's absence from the Constituent Assembly, "the League will be justified in calling a session of the members of the B and C Groups for framing constitutions.

"In this way, it will be possible to confront Parliament with constitutions for the three Groups. It will not matter if non-Muslim members do not co-operate with the Muslim groups."

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"SUPREME ACT OF COURAGE"

H. Times — 7.9.46

Labour Paper's Tribute To Interim Govt.

LONDON, Sept. 6.—"It is right that we should pay our tribute to men led by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who have formed the Interim Government. Their acceptance of power is a supreme act of courage and of faith," says the *Daily Herald*.

After a brief reference to the tragic events in Calcutta and Bombay, the paper says: "Very few men in the new Government have had previous administrative experience. They have spent their lives in the opposition, sometimes in jail, in struggle on behalf of the cause they loved. It is not easy to move from this sphere of action to the task of constructive achievement. How great must have been the temptation to reject the responsibility!"

"Had the Congress leaders adopted that course, India would have been condemned to another long period of turmoil, deadlock and despair. Instead, responsibility has been bravely shouldered. There is still much disorder but at least there is hope," the paper concludes.—Globe.

BALDEV SINGH THANKS ARMED FORCES

SIMLA, Sept. 5.—Replying to the Deputy Commander-in-Chief, Lt.-General Sir Arthur Smith's message of congratulations and welcome on behalf of the armed forces in India on his appointment as Defence Member of the Government of India, Sardar Baldev Singh, says:

"India appreciates very greatly the role played by the Commander-in-Chief and yourself in raising the high traditions of our armed forces. I am indeed proud of their achievements and valour and feel sure that the present Government with your help will do everything possible to ensure that they rank among the best and noblest anywhere, to be always a source of strength for India's great destiny. Please convey my thanks and best wishes to all forces. —A.P.I.

H. Times — 7.9.46

A.-I.C.C.'S DIRECTIVE

H. Times — 7.9.46

POWERS OF CONGRESS MINISTRIES DEFINED

ALLAHABAD, Sept. 5.—The relations between the P.C.C.s and the Congress Ministries continue to be governed by the resolution passed at the A.-I.C.C. meeting in Bombay in June, 1939, says the general secretary of the A.-I.C.C. in a circular to all Provincial Congress Committees.

The circular adds: It is open to the Congress Central Parliamentary Board to issue further directions in the matter consistent with the main policy laid down in the resolution.

The A.-I.C.C. resolution reads: "The Working Committee has repeatedly laid stress on the desirability of co-operation between the Ministry, the Congress Party and the P.C.C. Without such co-operation misunderstandings are likely to arise with the result that the influence of the Congress will suffer.

"In administrative matters the P.C.C. should not interfere with the discretion of the Ministry, but it is always open to the executive of the P.C.C. to draw the attention of the Government privately to any particular abuse or difficulty. In matters of policy, if there is a difference between the Ministry and the P.C.C., reference should be made to the Parliamentary Sub-Committee. Public discussion on such matters should be avoided."—A.P.I.

JAMIAT LEADER'S REPLY TO JINNAH

H. Times — 7.9.46

(By Our Staff Correspondent)

The Secretary of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Delhi Province, characterizes Mr Jinnah's demand that all Muslim organizations, like the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the Majlis-i-Ahrar and the Khaksars, should join the Muslim League, as "unconstitutional and undemocratic." "It is not democratic," he says in a letter addressed to Mr Jinnah, "to ask organizations which differ from the League to accept the settled policy of the Muslim League."

He suggests that an all-parties Muslim Conference or a conference representative of all the Muslim parties should be called to find a way out of the impasse. "Organizations," he says, "can only join as organizations."

PUNJAB MUSLIM LEAGUE ON THE WAR-PATH

Statesman 6.9.46

FROM OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

LAHORE Sept 4.—The Punjab Muslim League is now busy putting its organization on a "war footing." This is the impression I got today from Mian Mumtaz Daultana, newly appointed member of the Council of Action of the All-India Muslim League and Secretary of the provincial League.

"We have no illusions of the coming fight" he said. "It is going to be bitter and long." The two-day Working Committee meeting of the Provincial League, he added, was the most momentous in his experience. The Committee met for many hours a day and discussed in detail the possible forms of direct action suitable to this province and those which could be adopted on an all-India basis as part of the general programme.

While Mr Daultana refused to divulge priority No 1 in order of merit, he revealed that the pros and cons of every conceivable method were gone into and they include non-payment of land revenue and abiana (canal water tax), non-payment of income-tax and defiance of orders under Section 144. The basic principle adopted was non-violence.

The League movement in the Punjab, he asserted, would also be non-communal.

Asked what steps the League was taking to avoid the League fight assuming a communal colour, he said that instructions had been issued to see that communal clashes were avoided at all cost. "But", he added, "in the present circumstances communal bitterness is bound to rise. We cannot help telling people that the Hindu Congress, wittingly or unwittingly, has made an alliance with British imperialism."

Muslim Trade Unions

He has issued instructions to primary Leagues in the province to enlist all able-bodied Muslims who were willing to suffer for the League cause. "One may call this voluntary conscription." The League was also anxious to see separate trade unions set up for Muslims. "Muslim workers will fight with workers of other communities for economic rights but separately on political issues."

In order to equip the League organization for civil disobedience, Mr Daultana said that they had vested the provincial President with dictatorial powers who could, if occasion arose, appoint another president in his own place. In addition they had formed a provincial council of action of seven members, most of whom belonged to Lahore, so that they could meet frequently and take quick decisions. Similar councils would possess powers of working committees.

Efforts would be made, he concluded, to brush up local organizations so that they had proper offices and secretaries. "The final form of protest will, of course be decided in Delhi by the Council of Action."

LET JINNAH PROVE HIS SINCERITY

H. T. 7.9.46

Sir,—In the course of his recent speech at the Id gathering Mr Jinnah has unusually appealed to the Nationalist Muslim organizations to enter the Muslim League unconditionally in the name of unity and consolidation of the Muslims. I used the word "unusually" because Mr Jinnah has been so far accustomed to call the Muslims outside the League who have been always devoted to the Islamic cause and have rendered most appreciable services to the nation, as treacherous betrayers merely on the basis of his political differences with them. Thank God that bitter circumstances and facts have forced Mr Jinnah to realize that there exist some Muslim organizations outside the League in India without whose support and co-operation no organization can achieve its objective. But Mr Jinnah has once again ignored intentionally or unintentionally the golden principle of Islam that when two or more organizations have specific and basic differences in their objectives and methods, it is very inconsistent on the part of one of them which considers its own views to be the revelation of God to refuse to give sincere consideration to the other's views and make vain appeals for unity. Mr Jinnah is not unaware of the fact that the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the Majlis-i-Ahrar and other nationalist organizations are sincere and honest in differing on Pakistan, the objective of the Muslim League, and the course adopted by the League to achieve it. Under such circumstances the only appeal acceptable to them is firstly agreeing, after mutual consultation, to some objective and the means for its achievement and then to struggle unitedly and sacrifice everything for the cause. This and only this is the Islamic way of settling an issue. If Mr Jinnah has sincerely appealed for unity he should practically work for it. The nationalist Muslims are willing to welcome any such activity. Otherwise such vain appeals are no more than mere tactics to gain political power and influence.

I am confident that Mr Jinnah and the supporters of the League would seriously consider the matter and prove the sincerity and integrity of their appeal. The All-India Jamiat-ul-Ulema has declared and once again announces that if the League leaders are ready to adopt this course to consolidate the Muslims, it will offer its fullest co-operation and support and do its best for their success. Yours, etc.

MOHD. HIFZUR RAHMAN,
General Secretary,
All-India Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Delhi.

League-Communist Alliance

H. Time 7.9.46

POONA, Sept. 5.—The Bombay Assembly debated today for two hours an adjournment motion moved by Mr S. A. Dange, Communist member, to discuss "unjustifiable, indiscriminate and revengeful firing by the police on strikers of Pratap Mills, Amalner, resulting in nine deaths and injuries to several others." The motion was lost by 98 votes against 18 when pressed to a division.

The debate on the motion was marked by a lively passage-at-arms between the Government and the Opposition, Government charging the Communists with following a policy intended to make the working of Government impossible, and the Premier, Mr B. G. Kher, sarcastically referring to "the holy alliance of the day between the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Communists."

Moving the adjournment motion, Mr Dange demanded an impartial inquiry into the firing, compensation to its victims, and trial of the District Superintendent of Police who had ordered it.

The Communists were not at one with the present policy of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha, he said.

Recounting the circumstances leading to the strike, the Communist member said the workers had shown patience and taken legal steps. Although Government had promised protection to all legal strikes, they had taken measures to prevent the workers from mobilizing opinion in their favour and to break the 'red flag' union.—A.P.I.

HONOUR TO THOSE WHO GIVE MOST

SULTAN AHMED PLEADS FOR COMPROMISE

Sir Syed Sultan Ahmed, Adviser to the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, who recently had talks with the Viceroy, Mr Gandhi, Maulana Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and Mr Jinnah-Prasad, has issued the following statement:

"My attention has been invited to several reports appearing in the papers that I have taken part in some negotiations between the Viceroy and members of the new Central Government and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, and that I have given them some new formula regarding the settlement of the constitutional problem with special reference to the dispute between Congress and the Muslim League. These speculations are entirely unfounded. I have not taken part in any negotiations, nor have I presented any new formula for settlement of the dispute between Congress and the League or any new plan for the future constitution of India.

"I saw the Viceroy, Mr Gandhi, Maulana Azad and some of the members of the new Central Government, entirely in my personal capacity. I have neither been commissioned by the Chancellor nor have I taken any negotiations on any point, nor have I any authority to do so on behalf of any other party. That must be left to the accredited leaders of the parties concerned. My discussion with those whom I interviewed was in my personal capacity, prompted by the desire which is shared by every patriotic Muslim or non-Muslim to explore possibilities of an honourable way out of the present unfortunate impasse. The final settlement on points at issue must be between Mr Jinnah on the one hand and Pandit Nehru on the other.

"I am still personally of the view that the main points at issue can and should be settled in a spirit of far-sighted and accommodating statesmanship. The need for evolving an agreed constitution for India at this juncture transcends any notions of personal or party prestige. In fact history will accord the highest place to those who could give most at this crucial moment to save the honour and ordered progress of the country and its various sections.

Two Points At Issue

"The main questions for consideration at this stage are, firstly, the inclusion of a nationalist Muslim in the new Central Government from the quota of Congress, and secondly whether the grouping suggested in the Cabinet plan is compulsory or optional. I believe that the plea to include a nationalist Muslim in the Congress quota involves no question of principle. The right of Congress to nominate Muslims or non-Muslims in their quota may in ordinary circumstances be incontestable. But the point has to be considered in the light of recent developments whether the inclusion of a nationalist Muslim, by which there will be six Muslims and five Hindus in the new Central Government, will be acceptable to or in the interests of the country as a whole.

"The Muslim League, which is preeminently the spokesman of 90 to 95 per cent Muslims, has, for good or bad reasons, objected to it and I feel sure that a large majority of Hindus is likely to resent it.

"Those who disagree with my reading of the situation may put it to the test in the present Government by having six Muslims and five Hindus. In view of the background of this issue, I plead that this is much too small a thing to jeopardize the larger interests of the country and the possibility of an agreed constitution which it is the duty of every Indian to assist, irrespective of political party or alliance. It is not beyond constructive statesmanship to evolve a formula by which the non-inclusion of a nationalist Muslim in the new Central Government may be without prejudice to the representative position of the Congress and the Muslim League, and I am happy to feel that top rank Muslim nationalists will be willing to make a big patriotic gesture to assist towards a settlement of Congress and the League on this issue.

Grouping Dispute

"As regards the question of grouping I consider that its reference to the Federal Court is quite unnecessary. The authors of the plan can be easily referred to as to what their intention was when they laid down the scheme. His Maiesty's Government may be requested to make a public declaration as to the intention of the Cabinet Delegation. If the authors of the plan make their intention clear, and if there arises any difficulty which will in any way hamper the free exercise of the power of any unit of the group to opt out at the second stage, the matter can be referred then to the Federal Court for decision.

"In my contacts with the Viceroy and the leaders of Congress, I have personally appealed to them not to let the feud, which has just begun, assume proportions such as would be impossible for any leader or party to handle. After all the peace and tranquillity of the country are the vital factors without which no plan either of the new Central Government or of the Constituent Assembly can work successfully."—API.

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H. Times - 5.9.46

"NO LEAGUE-AKALI TALKS ON BASIS OF DIVIDED INDIA"

(From Our Special Correspondent)

SIMLA, Sept. 4.—It is now certain that unless Mr Jinnah abandons his Pakistan demand, the proposed League-Akali negotiations for a political settlement cannot be started.

Clarifying the Sikh position about Mr Jinnah's indirect invitation to Master Tara Singh to meet him, Col. Niranjan Singh Gill, Dictator of the Panthic Board, in an interview said: "There is absolutely no possibility of any political talks with the League leader on the basis of a divided India."

United India

The All-Party Sikh Panthic Board is meeting at Amritsar on September 5 to decide its national objective. The Sikh national demand, it is learnt, will be based on a united India in which all communities will have their just share and every minority interest will be properly safeguarded, not purely by weightages.

It is also likely that the Board may commend the introduction of joint electorates in all legislative and local bodies.

Forward March To Freedom

Welcoming the formation of the Interim National Government, Col Gill said it was a great step in India's forward march to freedom and he hoped that Sikhs would play their part along with the Congress in furthering the common nationalist cause.

Referring to his meeting with Sir Shafaat Ahmed in Walker Hospital on Monday, Col. Gill said, "We have had a long talk covering many subjects. Sir Shafaat Ahmed is in high spirits and expects to be in Delhi in a week's time."

Col. Gill has left for Delhi to meet Congress leaders.

PANTHIC BOARD PRESIDENT RESIGNS

Statesman 6/9/46

AMRITSAR, Sept 5.—Sardar Niranjan Singh Gill, President of the Panthic Board, resigned from the Presidentship today when the Board met here in the Teja Singh Samundri Hall. The Sardar presided over the meeting

The following letter of the Sardar was read: "I am of the opinion that the political situation has now considerably changed since my becoming President in June 1946. The threat to the Sikh community is no longer urgent. As such my services are no longer absolutely necessary. Moreover, after four years of imprisonment under the Japanese and the British I am in great need of rest. So I request the Board to grant me permission to resign from the Board's Presidentship. It is needless to say that my services are at the disposal of the community and the country whenever needed."

The Board then adopted a resolution appreciating Sardar Gill's services to the community. The question of electing his successor shall be considered at the next meeting of the Board on September 13.

The resignation does not, it is stated, signify any change in the Board's policy."—API.

JINNAH NOT CONVINCED BY CONGRESS ASSURANCES

BOMBAY, Sept 3.—Mr Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in an exclusive interview with Gerald J. Rock, United Press of America staff correspondent, today said that he could place no confidence in Congress assurances of equal treatment for Muslims and challenged Mr Gandhi's assertion that "Congress could never ally with Britain against Muslims" and reiterated his contention that Pakistan was the only solution to India's problem.

In the course of the interview in which Mr Jinnah answered questions pertinent to India's internal difficulties, the League President also charged that the Viceroy, Mr Gandhi and Congress "cannot be absolved of their main responsibility in creating the Calcutta situation."

Referring to the disturbances in Bombay, Mr Jinnah said that he knew from personal knowledge that Muslims were insulted and taunted by Hindus who considered that a Hindu raj was established and that Muslims must submit.

Mr Jinnah said that threats against his life had been made by anonymous telephone callers and letter writers. "However" he said "the Muslim League never intended to see that its programme should be carried out in any other way than a peaceful one."

"The Muslim League" Mr Jinnah continued "has not so far taken any steps actually to resort to direct action."

To the question as to whether the League could put confidence in Pandit Nehru's statement to the Press that "India is going to be run by Indians for the benefit of Indians without reference to whatever creed they might belong to, in whatever province or part of India they may live," Mr Jinnah said "No! We are experiencing every day in provinces where Congress Ministries function under the present Constitution in every department of life, a situation wherein Muslims not only are unjustly and unduly treated but positively mistreated. I get daily complaints from all Congress regime provinces."

Congress Obstruction

"The Congress is even now busily engaged in obstructing Muslims and trying to break Muslim League Ministries in Bengal and Sind and have successfully prevented League Ministries from being formed in Punjab and the North West Frontier provinces by unscrupulous methods."

Mr Jinnah's attention was drawn to the statement made by Mr Gandhi during his Monday evening prayers that "Congress could never ally with Britain against Muslims" and that Congress had gone to the Interim Government with one object upon only that of winning freedom—pure and unadulterated—for the whole of India, which meant the Muslim League also.

"Mr Gandhi," said Mr Jinnah "has, I know spoken and expressed his gratitude to the British for having put Congress in power at the Centre and yet he says Congress could never ally with the British against Muslims." Why asked Mr Jinnah did Congress not accept the proposals of the Cabinet delegation and the Viceroy of June 16 to form an Interim Government and why did it threaten that if an Interim Government were formed without Congress there would be dire consequences, worse than 1942 and why have they now gone into the Interim Government?

Mr Jinnah asserted: "They have received the terms they wanted and the Viceroy has completely surrendered to them and sacrificed the Muslims. How can we place any confidence in the new Government's intentions which they are now professing."

Asked whether there was any way at this point for the League to participate in the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly, Mr Jinnah replied: "I see no be of the League going into the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly for it will be nothing but abject surrender and humiliating for us."

With regard to a programme of direct action Mr Jinnah said: "I cannot give any information of the programme to be adopted but we are fully alive to the fact that any programme that we may put into operation should be based on peaceful means."

Discussing the offer of the Viceroy to the League to nominate League Muslims to replace the three Muslims already appointed to interim Government offices and to which still remain vacant, Mr Jinnah said: "The principle of parity is gone. The question whether Congress could nominate a Muslim of their choice is still there and the safeguard which was assured to us in the June 16 proposal, namely, the two major communal issue cannot be decided except by an agreement of the majority of both communities is gone to say nothing of other details which were promised by the Viceroy in his offer of June 20 to me."

Basic Terms Not Accepted

"As to the Constituent Assembly Congress has not accepted the basic and fundamental terms of the May 16 statement and therefore told by the Viceroy in his recent appeal that we should go into the Constituent Assembly with unfettered mind and Congress so there with their interpretation and the matter to be referred to the Federal Court. So we are to start with a law suit. Why don't the authors of the proposals say this is the meaning of it and let Congress to accept or reject it? Besides I see no provision for any reference to the Federal Court except with regard to major communal issues and even then there is no provision that the President of the Constituent Assembly will be bound by that. Thus we are left to the tender mercies of an overwhelming majority of Congress and most certainly a Hindu President who is bound to be elected by that Hindu majority."

Discussing further the communal disturbances Mr Jinnah said that Muslims did not make any preparations to disturb the peace. They were not even able to defend themselves against the brutal outrages against them in Calcutta. It was an organized plot to discredit the Muslim League and the Muslim League Ministry on the part of the Hindus.

Mr Jinnah referred to Pandit Nehru's visit to him in Bombay and said that the Congress leader "declined to discuss anything else or make any suggestion with regard to anything else except to offer five seats to the Muslim League and made it clear that they would nominate the other nine and that would not be an Executive Council under the present constitution but a national Cabinet responsible only to the Central Legislature where again there is

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Hindu majority of at least three to one.

The present situation was that Congress rule in eight provinces and at the Centre under the present Constitution could only carry on under the aegis of the British. The British were already using their influences to show that if their hold were removed there would be bloodshed, carnage and chaos.

Asked whether he attached any significance to reports that Russia may have more than a spectator's interest in Indian affairs Mr Jinnah said "I do believe that Russia has more than a spectator's interest in Indian affairs and they are not very far from that either. It is a serious menace and if Britain pursues her present policy of completely eliminating Muslims not only in India but in the entire Middle East, in my opinion it is a very serious and dangerous policy to pursue."

MUSLIM PRESS DISAVOWAL

Mr Altaf Husain, Editor, Dawn, and convener, All-India Muslim Newspapers Association, says in a statement to the Press:

"I find from Press reports that at Monday's Press Conference held by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Members of the Viceroy's new Executive Council, Sir Usha Nath Sen, as President of the Press Association, assured the new Government of "the unstinted loyalty and support of the Press in their task." The Association which Sir Usha Nath represents has no authority to speak or give assurances on behalf of the great majority of Muslim newspapers of India. They have an association of their own and I wish to make it clear on their behalf that the Muslim Press owes no loyalty whatsoever to the Members of the one-party Government which has been just set up. While treating news concerning the new Government as objectively as news should be treated, the member-newspapers of our Association will discharge fearlessly their duty of supporting any national resistance movement that may be launched to bring about the early downfall of this Government."

CALL TO PUNJAB MUSLIMS TO JOIN VOLUNTEER CORPS

LAHORE, Sept 3.—The Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League today called upon every able-bodied Muslim in the province to join the Muslim National Volunteer Corps. The appeal said: "The Muslims of the Punjab have to prepare themselves for the coming struggle on which their life as an independent and honourable nation depends. In this struggle, we stand in need of devoted men who have consecrated their lives to sacrifice everything for Islam and Pakistan."

The Committee stated that the Muslim nation must have as its "vanguard" a whole army of trained volunteers.

SHOCK TROOPS

Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, has also appealed to the Muslim intelligentsia, especially lawyers, to act as "shock troops" in carrying to the remotest corners of the province the message of the "momentous struggle upon which the Muslims of India have embarked."

The appeal says: "It is necessary that the message of the Muslim League, the full implications of the political situation and the manner in which Mussalmans should prepare themselves to face, and defeat, the challenge of their enemies should be carried to every single Musselman in the Punjab.

"The Muslim League counts above all on its intelligentsia, who are the vanguard of our national movement. I particularly appeal to the Muslim members of the legal profession, who have already rendered such conspicuous service to the national cause and who in every district and every corner of the province are the cream of our workers, to rise to the occasion and carry the message of the Muslim League to the people of the Punjab."—API.

VIOLENCE DENOUNCED BY AHRAR CHIEF

LAHORE, Sept 2.—No movement based on violence would ever succeed in India, said Syed Ataullah Shah Bukhari, President of the All-India Majlis-e-Ahrar, speaking at a public meeting called by the Ahrars here last night.

"Anyone advocating violence is the greatest enemy of his community and the country. No violent movement has ever succeeded in India. We, Ahrars, can never compromise with those who preach violence."

"The Majlis-e-Ahrar and other nationalist Muslim organizations have taken up the stand that there should be parity between Muslims and Hindus at the Centre and an assurance from the majority community that the interests of the minorities would not be jeopardized under any circumstance."

For the last seven years, he added, the Muslim League had been advocating Pakistan and the two-nation theory. Faced with the prospect of Ministries, they accepted the one-nation theory. "But when the Viceroy went ahead without the Muslim League, the latter reverted to the Pakistan demand. Can we compromise with a body which changes its decision in this manner?"

Syed Ataullah condemned the great Calcutta Killing and said: "We cannot identify ourselves with those preaching violence."

At this stage there was a disturbance at the meeting, but the police restored order. They are reported to have arrested five persons—three Ahrars and two Muslim Leaguers—on a charge of rioting.—API.

LEAGUE PAPERS CARRY BLACK BORDERS

LAHORE, Sept 3.—All Muslim League papers, both English and Urdu, today came out with black-bordered front pages and the leading articles mostly blacked out. The Eastern Times had the following in black borders for a leader: "The least said the better about the dawn of a new era under Hindu raj and British bayonets."—API.

PUNJAB HARIJANS OFFER CO-OPERATION

LAHORE, Sept 2.—A resolution, expressing confidence in the Interim Government and promising co-operation was passed by the Punjab Provincial Harijan Conference held this evening under the auspices of the All-India Harijan League. Mr Yash, Managing Proprietor of the Hindi Milap, presided.

Mr Yash in the course of his presidential speech said: "I demand for the Harijans a status equal to that enjoyed by other communities. I am not content with allowing Harijans to draw water from public wells or enter temples or get admission to public schools. I want Harijans to be classified according to the four varnas of Hindu society, that is, Harijans engaged in teaching could claim to be Brahmins, those in the Army could call themselves Kshatriyas and those engaged in trade and agriculture should be known as Vaishyas.

He appealed to the Interim Government to remove untouchability by law.

The conference passed another resolution condemning the satyagraha movement launched by Dr Ambedkar.—API.

"INDIA'S STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA A WORLD ISSUE"

PANDIT NEHRU ASSURES ALL-OUT SUPPORT

H-Times 4.9.46

"Many a time we have sent our greetings and our assurances of solidarity to our countrymen in South Africa as we have followed their heroic struggle for India's honour and human rights. Now on the eve of a change in the Government in India, when we are assuming new and onerous responsibilities, I should like to repeat this greeting and assurance," says Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a message to Indians in South Africa.

"Wherever we may be and whatever burden we may have to carry, our guiding purpose will be India's freedom and India's honour, and we shall seek to defend them wherever they are threatened. Today they are threatened in South Africa and that question is an all-India question in which all of us are involved. In India or South Africa or in international assemblies we shall fight this issue and we will not give in till we secure full recognition of Indians' rights and India's honour.

"The struggle in South Africa is, however, not merely an Indian issue. It concerns all Asians whose honour and rights are threatened, and all the people of Asia should, therefore, support it. It concerns ultimately the Africans who have suffered so much by racial discrimination and suppression. It is a struggle for equality of opportunity for all races and against the Nazi doctrine of racialism. Therefore, the Indians in South Africa should help in every way and co-operate with the Africans.

"Our cause thus becomes a world cause in which all people who believe in freedom are interested."

Pandit Nehru gave this message to Mr Ismail A. Cahalia, Vice-President, Transvaal Indian Congress, who arrived in India a few weeks ago.

Non-violent Struggle

Mrs Sarojini Naidu in a message says: "We send our affectionate greetings to our compatriots overseas, men and women who have set us in India a fine example of unity and sacrifice to uphold the honour and prestige of our mother country. May they achieve victorious results as the reward of their determined and dedicated battle fought with the weapon of non-violence taught by our illustrious leader, Mahatma Gandhi, who evolved and perfected his beautiful gospel during the first Indian struggle in South Africa long years ago."—A.P.I.

FAZLUL HUQ WILLING TO JOIN LEAGUE

CALCUTTA, Sept. 2.—Mr Fazlul Huq, former Premier of Bengal and leader of the Krishak Proja Party, today signed a declaration that he was willing to serve the Muslim League with his life.

Interviewed, Mr Fazlul Huq stated that a deputation of about 300 Muslims met him and discussed with him the question of his joining the League. He said he told the deputationists that as there was a ban on his entry into the League he could not join it. Upon this, the members of the deputation suggested to him that he should sign a declaration that he was not against the League as an organization and that he was willing to serve it with his life.

The deputationists told him that they would take whatever steps might be necessary to take him back into the League.—API.

Statesman - 5/9/46

League Leader Accuses Congress of Diabolical Distortion of Truth

Statesman 3.9.46.

"The resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee on Saturday or the recent tragic happenings in Calcutta not only betrays the utter unscrupulousness of the highest leaders of this Fascist body but furnishes further proof of their deep-seated hatred of the Muslims", said Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, in a statement in Delhi on Monday.

"That the Congress High Command should have pronounced an ex parte verdict against the Muslims of Calcutta and the Muslim League Ministry in Bengal on the eve of the assumption by the Congress of governmental responsibility at the Centre has a significance which overseas admirers of Congress should particularly note.

"Congress asks for an impartial inquiry into the Calcutta disturbances, but in the same breath delivers its own partial judgment. It interprets the Bengal Government's declaration of a holiday on August 16 as a warning to 'persons not joining in the observance'—and evidently Congress also includes Hindus in this category—that they 'could claim or get no protection from the Government'. This is diabolical distortion of truth. Nothing that all-India or provincial leaders of the Muslim League had said, or the Muslim League Press had written, could be construed to suggest that anybody other than Muslims was asked or expected to observe "Direct Action" Day.

BITTERNESS AND ILL-FEELING

"As I cannot conceive that the members of the Congress Working Committee had suddenly mislaid their ordinary commonsense, I can only conclude that in making this allegation against the Bengal Ministry they were actuated by the desire to rouse more bitterness and ill-feeling among Hindus towards the Ministry, Muslims and the Muslim League.

"The Congress Working Committee's finding that Muslims started the killing, looting and arson, and Hindus and others only retaliated and indulged in reprisals afterwards, is not only contrary to facts but amounts to a cruel calumny against thousands of Muslim dead. The least they should have done was to wait for the verdict of an investigating tribunal, which is bound to be set up shortly. By prejudging the issue and ignoring the already published evidence to the contrary, the Congress Working Committee only remind Muslims more forcefully than before what to expect from Congress caste-Hindu raj."—API.

APPEAL TO JINNAH TO JOIN GOVERNMENT

LAHORE, Sept 1.—The Raja Saheb of Sheikhupura in a statement welcoming the National Government, appealed to Mr Jinnah to rise to the occasion and bring the two major communities together. With the sole exception of the Muslim League, he said, all parties and communities felt great pleasure and satisfaction on the formation of the National Government.

The Raja Saheb added: "The representative character of the National Government appears to be a sure guarantee of its success.

"I am sure that all shades of opinion are with me in appreciating the broad-mindedness and friendly approach made to the great problem by Lord Wavell and the Labour Government in England.

"The sincerity of Mr Jinnah, so far as the question of safeguards for the Muslim community are concerned, is unquestionable."—API.

RESISTANCE THREAT BY PUNJAB LEAGUE

Statesman 3.9.46

LAHORE, Sept 2.—The Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League after a two-day meeting recorded "the determination of the Muslim people of the Punjab" to repudiate "the civil authority of the so-called Interim Government" and requested Mr Jinnah to outline a programme of direct action.

The Working Committee called upon Muslims of the province to "open Muslim shops, encourage Muslim trade and buy from Muslims" in order to be economically independent. It appealed to Muslim workers to form separate Muslim labour organizations "as the labour upheavals in the country were being exploited by Congress leaders to the detriment of Muslim interests".

The following are the main resolutions passed by the Committee:

"UNHOLY COMPACT"

"This meeting of the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League places on record its contempt for the unholy compact between British Imperialism and Congress Hindu capitalism which has resulted in the formation of the so-called Interim Government, and voices the emphatic determination of the Muslim people of the Punjab not to recognize this Government in any way or to consider its decisions and mandates as having any validity or sanction whatsoever for them.

"The Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League conveys to the Qaid-e-Azam and the All-India Muslim League Committee of Action the complete readiness and eagerness of the Muslims of the Punjab to bear all the consequences of the repudiation of the civil authority of this contemptible Government, and requests them to outline a programme of direct action based on a full appreciance of the implications of such repudiation.

EMERGENCY FACING NATION

"In view of the emergency now facing the Muslim nation, the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League authorizes the President, whenever he is of the opinion that he is not likely to be in a position to function as the head of the organization to nominate another person to take his place, who shall have all the powers inherent in the office of the President. In case the President or a person nominated by the President is of the opinion that an emergency has arisen in which the Working Committee cannot properly function, all the powers of the Working Committee shall reside in the President or in a person thus nominated.

"The person thus nominated shall have powers similar to those of the President to nominate a person to take his place in an emergency"—API.

BALDEV SINGH'S SUCCESSOR

H. Times — 3.9.46

Swaran Singh To Be Development Minister

(From Our Special Correspondent).

SIMLA, Sept. 2.—The Akali Assembly Party at its meeting held here today unanimously elected Sardar Swaran Singh, M.L.A. and leading advocate of Jullundur, as leader of the party to succeed Sardar Baldev Singh, who has been appointed a member of the Interim Government.

The party also adopted a resolution placing on record its high sense of appreciation of the services rendered to the party, the Sikh community and the province by Sardar Baldev Singh during his term of office as leader of the party and as a member of the Council of Ministers in the Punjab.

Sardar Baldev Singh, I understand, will reach Delhi on September 18, to take over charge of his new duties. Sardar Swaran Singh will on that day be sworn in as Development Minister, Punjab. The decision to elect him as leader came after four days of deliberations. There were four candidates in the field. The matter was referred to arbitration. The award went in favour of Giani Kartar Singh who, however, declared that he was not keen on accepting office and finally, the name of Sardar Swaran Singh, a tall, lean lawyer of 38, was proposed and accepted by all members of the party.

In an interview, Sardar Baldev Singh said that Gyani Kartar Singh's gesture was appreciated by every member of the party and warm tributes were paid to him. "I have no doubt that by this sacrifice Gyani Kartar Singh has risen high in the estimation of the entire Sikh community and Sardar Swaran Singh thus assumes his duties as the leader of the party with goodwill of all."

Muslims' Direct Action Aimed at "Paralysing Nehru's Government"

Statesman 3.9.46.

LAHORE, Sept 1.—"The aim of our direct action is to paralyse Nehru's Government, which will vanish like the historic half-day rule of Nizam, the water-carrier," said Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan, the principal speaker at a Muslim League meeting held near Delhi Gate last night to condemn the "by-passing" of the Muslim League in the formation of the Interim Government.

Strong police precautions were taken for the occasion with a large number of high police officers remaining on duty till after midnight at the city's police stations. Armed police stood by.

"SCORCH-SURPLUS-FOOD"

Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan, outlining the possible lines of the Muslim League's direct action programme, said: "Zero hour is fast approaching and it calls for the strictest vigilance on our part and readiness to jump into the fire."

He added: "I visualize the adoption of a 'scorch-surplus-food' policy in order to prevent surplus food in Muslim majority areas falling into the hands of our enemies."

Explaining other possible lines of action by the Muslim League, he said that they might embark on a "pay-no-rent" campaign and declare a social and political boycott of the Hindus and the British. Among other possibilities were defiance of Section 144 CrPC wherever it was promulgated and non-co-operation with Government bodies and services.

"The day of the swearing-in of the Hindu Interim Government," he said, "will not be a day of rejoicing. India's freedom but will mark the beginning of a civil war—a sanguinary war between the usurper and the oppressed.

"British imperialism wants to go behind the scene, passing on the legacy of authority to Hindu imperialists, who are as much averse to Muslim independence as their Western counterparts are to the independence of Indonesia. We shall fight for the attainment of Azad Pakistan and Azad Hindustan in a free India."

"NEHRU ACTED FOOLISHLY"

Pandit Nehru acted foolishly in agreeing to form an Interim Government. Far from solving any pressing problems of the country, the political situation will rapidly deteriorate, for the so-called National Government will be too busy mobilizing troops and erecting new prison houses for Muslim rebels."

Speaking at the same meeting Miaı Mohammed Mumtaz Doultana, General Secretary of the Punjab Muslim League, said: "Ours is a positive fight for the achievement of the independence of 10 crores of Muslims. We have no grouse against any person or community, but we shall wipe out all obstacles that may crop up in our path to Pakistan."

"Acting on a prearranged plan, the British and the Hindus have by-passed the Muslim League and the Muslims. Driven to this extreme, we have no other way open to us except to take the way of a jehad (religious crusade) for our own salvation."

The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the formation of the Interim Government without securing the co-operation of the Muslim League and warned the Government that "Muslims will resist such a Government with their blood."

The meeting assured Mr Jinnah that Muslims as a body could come to lay down their lives at his and call.—API.

MOMIN REPLY TO JINNAH

"CALL ALL MUSLIMS TO CONFERENCE"

"If Mr Jinnah is really serious and desires our co-operation what possible objection is there to his issuing an invitation to all Muslim organizations and top-ranking personalities to sit round a table with him and talk matters over to a happy conclusion," says Mr Mohd Zahiruddin, President, All-India Momin Conference, replying to Mr Jinnah's recent statement.

Mr Mohd Zahiruddin adds: "In a memorable speech on Id Day, Mr Jinnah once again appealed to nationalist Muslims to cast in their lot with the League and hold aloft its banner. The Daily Jung has put forward an apologia on behalf of Mr Jinnah and argued that now that Mr Jinnah had acknowledged the nationalist Muslims as being a separate political entity, the Gordian knot had been cut and the way strewn with roses for us to walk into the League fold.

"Such an appeal fails in its effect and falls on deaf ears. However, if he desires our co-operation, I am sure everybody will gladly respond to the invitation, and it is not unlikely that a scheme would be evolved by which a platform common to all Muslims could be constituted.

"This scheme will not necessarily mean a break with the Hindus, rather will it succeed in forging a stronger link between the Muslims and all other sections of the populace.

"But while this effect to unite Muslims is being projected there is no reason why a parallel effort should not be launched for a rapprochement between League and the Congress."—API.

SORENSEN'S GOOD WISHES FOR INDIA

LONDON, Aug 31.—On the eve of the Nehru Government coming into power Mr Reginald Sorensen, MP, sends the following message: "Would you convey to India my warmest greetings and expression of goodwill. It is my earnest hope that a free and independent India will soon be a reality and that will also mean a resurgent India."—U P of America

BIKANER REFORMS ANNOUNCED

Responsible Govt. After 3 Years

(From Our Correspondent)

BIKANER, Sept. 2.—A declaration laying down the automatic attainment of responsible government as the aim of the State was made by the Maharaja of Bikaner in a Durbar proclamation.

The Maharaja said that a Constitution Act would be promulgated with that end in view embodying both transitional and permanent provisions of the Constitution.

The personnel of two committees—one to submit a draft constitution and the other to examine the question of franchise, demarcation of constituencies, etc., "keeping in mind the interests of the different classes and communities"—has also been announced.

The first consists of 12 members (one name is still to be announced)—Mr S. M. Mushran, Chief Justice, (Chairman), the Raja of Bidsar, the Rawat of Rawatsar, Pandit B. P. Vyas, Seth S. C. Bardia, Sheikh Nassar Ahmed, Members of the Assembly, Sardar Niranjan Singh, vakil, Lala Satyanarain Saraff, vakil, Pandit Surajkaran Acharya, vakil, Chowdhary Hari Singh, vakil, and Lala Kamta Prasad, Foreign and Political Secretary as member Secretary.

The other committee consists of nine members (one name to be announced later)—Thakur Prem Singhji, Revenue Minister (Chairman) Thakur Kan Singhji, the Rao of Bhukarkka, Malik Mehdi Khan, landholder, Seth L. C. Sethia, Sr. Lall Singh, Chowdhary Harish Chandra, and Chowdhri Ram Chandra, District Judge as member-secretary.

Offer To Praja Mandal

I understand that late on Saturday, one seat was offered to a Praja Mandal leader in both the committees, but he is reported to have replied that he could not accept the seat without consulting the Working Committee of the Praja Mandal and decided their attitude to the reform scheme. In Praja Mandal circles there is general dissatisfaction with the composition of the committees and the preponderance given to official and vested interests.

The Maharaja has directed in his proclamation that the work of the committees should be completed and the draft constitution submitted before March, 1947. "It is my intention," says the Maharaja, "that the new Legislature should be constituted and the Interim Government commence to function from not later than November 1947."

The proclamation enunciated certain "principles" which the committees have been asked to follow in drafting the constitution. Regarding interim arrangements, it is the Maharaja's desire that they should provide for the appointment by the Maharaja of not less than half the number of Members of his Executive Council from among the elected members of the Legislature who will be in charge of the following Departments:—

1. Public Works and Works of Public Utility;
2. Railway and Civil Aviation.
3. Electrical and Mechanical Department.
4. Education.
5. Medical and Public Health.
6. Revenue and Irrigation.
7. Customs and Excise.
8. Industries, Mines and Minerals.
9. Local Self-Government.
10. Rural Uplift and Improvement.
11. Agriculture;
12. Co-operative Credit Societies.
13. Labour Welfare.
14. Food and Civil Supplies.

These Ministers, so nominated, will so long as they enjoy the confidence of the Legislature, work along with the other members of the Executive Council as part of the Government. This interim arrangement is not to extend beyond a period of three years or the inauguration of the Union of India whichever is earlier.

Responsible Ministers

At the end of the interim period, the entire Council of Ministers, including the Prime Minister, will be appointed by the Maharaja "from among those enjoying the confidence of the elected Legislature."

The Maharaja also says in his Proclamation that he has decided to reconstitute the present Legislative Assembly on a more popular basis with as little delay as possible and that the Legislature will be elected on a wide and liberal franchise "from suitably demarcated territorial and other constituencies."

The Maharaja has given an assurance to his "chiefs and nobles" that "their rights and privileges will be maintained by him and that safeguards will be provided for the purpose in the future constitution."

"Vast changes are taking place in the country today, concludes the proclamation, "our motherland is on the threshold of her independence and the events in the next few years will decide the course of history for a long time to come. In these critical times, the people of the Bikaner State will have to play an important part and take their due place in the future polity of the country. We need not slavishly follow any particular system of administration. We have from time immemorial maintained our own system of administration and have changed it to suit our requirements according to changing conditions. Let us once again utilize the best in us to mould our destinies according to our requirements."

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Present Mr Sarat Bose and Mr Jagjivan Ram, who went to Bhangi Colony for Gandhiji's visit before going to the Viceroy's House on Monday morning, received a written message. Gandhiji was observing his weekly day of silence.

The message urged the new Ministers to remember the imperative need for immediate abolition of the salt tax and thereby taking Swaraj to the homes of the poor masses of India; to remember the Dandi March and also the pledge to abolish untouchability and to identify themselves with khadi; and to concentrate all efforts for the achievement of Hindu-Muslim unity.

Door To Purna Swaraj Opened

— *MAHATMA GANDHI*

"The door to Purna Swaraj has at long last been opened," said Mahatma Gandhi addressing the prayer gathering on Monday evening, when he spoke on the events of the day. He said the Interim Government in its endeavour to lead India to Swaraj deserved the loyal co-operation of every Indian.

Gandhiji began by saying that the whole of India had waited, watched and suffered for years for this day and they could say that the door to Purna Swaraj had at long last been opened. For this, what ever their past quarrels with the British Government, they must thank them for they had come to a willing understanding with the leaders.

One man had written and asked Gandhiji that now that the reins of Government were in Indian hands, when would the Viceroy's House become a hospital for the sick. The writer had reminded Gandhiji of what he (Gandhiji) said at the Round Table Conference in London. Gandhiji had no doubt in his mind that this would certainly be so, when full power came into the hands of the people. Full freedom had not yet come, but Gandhiji had not exaggerated when he had made the remark in London. And for him, of course, the poor unclothed millions. The Viceroy was still in that residence and it would be discourteous to ask him to leave the palatial house so long as he held that office. Full freedom, Gandhiji said, would come when their uncrowned king, Pandit Jawaharlal, and his colleagues who had taken charge of the Interim Government would have rendered the true service which the people expected of them.

Gandhiji said that that day (September 2) memorable as it was and would be in the annals of Indian history, could not be celebrated with illuminations and feasting. They must remember that their Ministers had gone there as a matter of duty to wear a crown of thorns. The Muslim League, the next powerful and representative organisation of the Muslims, had not joined the Interim Government. They were blood brothers, for they were sons of the same soil. They were angry with the Hindus. The League said that the Hindus had deceived them. Therefore, they regarded the day as one of mourning. The Hindus must not return anger for anger or blow for blow. Time was when the Ali Brothers were with the Hindus. Today it was otherwise with the Muslims of the League. Though the Hindus could not mourn with them, yet they must not feast nor must they have illuminations or other show of rejoicing. They must be patient.

What sin had been committed by the Hindus to make so many Muslims look upon them as enemies? asked Gandhiji. **The League wanted to offer direct action against them as also against the British Government. Gandhiji held that the League could not ride two horses at the same time. If it non-co-operated with the British, it implied co-operation among themselves. But why against their brothers? That was not the teaching of Islam, which he claimed to understand fairly. He had lived among his Muslim brothers in South Africa.**

Congress Role

Congress could never ally with Britain against the Muslims, said Gandhiji. Congress had gone to the Interim Government with one object, and one only, that of winning freedom—pure and unadulterated—for the whole of India which meant for the Muslim League also. In that way lay wisdom, democracy and humanity. Nevertheless, if the Muslim League insisted on looking upon the Interim Government as enemies the latter had by their correct conduct to falsify that belief.

What, then were the Congress Ministers to do? Gandhiji took the audience with him to the days of the Dandi March—the glorious epoch, in which Indian womanhood were also awakened as never before. He had been witness to their heroism and sacrifice in those days. That march was a symbol of Congress's pledge to win freedom for the toiling millions. Free salt was the issue then. Therefore one of the first acts of the new Government should be to remove all vestige of the Salt Tax. The poorest in the remotest village would then instinctively know that freedom had dawned. And this included all the poor of India whether Hindu of Muslim or any other.

Gandhiji then said that he had already alluded to communal harmony. Like the repeal of the Salt Tax, it could not be brought about in a moment. The Ministers will have to live and die for it. No military aid, not even police if he (Gandhiji) had his way, must be sought by them. After all, if the Hindus and Muslims must fight, let them be brave and fight it out among themselves. So long as they relied on British arms to protect them there could be no real freedom.

Then they (the Ministers) had pledged themselves to complete removal of untouchability and to the spread of Khadi. Up till now, Gandhiji said, he as a bhangi had had to go to the Viceroy as head of the British Government to rid them of the squalor in which his fellow bhangis lived. Now he had to appeal to the Interim Government to take this matter in hand to do what it could to remove this blot from society. Let them look at the bhangi quarters.

Khadi

The pledge of Khadi, too, must be redeemed in order to cover the nakedness of our people. The villages must be made self-sufficient in cloth through hand-spinning and weaving. Gandhiji upbraided the people for grumbling about not getting Khadi simply because they were too lazy to spin. Why should any one get anything without labour? The Interim Government, if it wanted Khadi to adorn its offices and homes, could come to him as a friend and he would supply the quota of yarn and procure the Khadi needed. There was no doubt a dearth of Khadi in the country today but he would try to carry out their orders. He could not, however, guarantee to supply today's fine Andhra Khadi.

Gandhiji hoped fervently that the Interim Government would give the right lead and thus put India on the road to truth and purify and real Swaraj. In their endeavour they deserved the loyal co-operation of every Indian.

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NEW GOVT. TO FUNCTION AS CABINET

H. Times - 3 Sept.

PANDIT NEHRU'S ADDRESS TO PRESSMEN

(By Our Special Representative)

NEW DELHI, Monday — Pandit Nehru and the members of his Cabinet met Pressmen at a gathering in a Committee Room of the Council House this afternoon. Pandit Nehru addressing the gathering emphasised that he and his colleagues would work as a Cabinet, i.e. they would draw up a definite programme and pursue it and that in his opinion the practice of granting titles should stop.

The gathering was larger than even on the occasion of the Cabinet Delegation's first Press conference. Information and Broadcasting officials held up the function for ten minutes going about with the new Cabinet Members and getting photographed and filmed. Although the gathering was intended to be informal, the entire setting was for a Press conference. Pandit Nehru and his colleagues appeared to have been taken unawares as they had not come prepared for a Press conference. Pandit Nehru, however, addressed the gathering. When he asked his colleagues whether he should speak in Hindustani, one of them whispered: "Yes, that will put them out of gear."

His speech in Hindustani was brief and to the point. He deprecated premature jubilation and said the day of rejoicing would come only when they became entirely independent. The formation of the Interim Government was, however, a big change and he and his colleagues would work as a Cabinet, taking joint responsibility. The old system of departments functioning directly under the Viceroy's authority would give place to collective responsibility.

The Cabinet Members would maintain their contact with the people through the Press, radio and by tours, for they considered themselves the servants of the people and answerable to them.

Pandit Nehru declared that the office of Congress President was the highest honour an Indian could get; there was, therefore no occasion for elation on appointment to the Interim Government.

New Delhi's Numbing Effect

Pandit Nehru then spoke in English. He said that a group of people representing a revolutionary tradition and a dynamic organization would now come into contact with a static agency. What result this contact would produce remained to be seen, but they hoped co-operatively to achieve the targets which they would set for themselves on a five-year or ten-year basis.

New Delhi had a numbing effect on individuals. It toned them down, even weakened their intellectual faculties and certainly

(Continued on Page 4 Column 4)

FEEDING THE HUNGRY THE FIRST TASK

(Continued from Page 1 Col. 6)

their physical faculties. How far it would be possible to change this atmosphere and introduce real Indian atmosphere he did not know. But the Cabinet would have to think in terms larger than those of New Delhi. "Whether New Delhi changes or not, we shall think in terms of the larger problems of India, its villages, markets and factories," he said.

He did not like the appellation "Hon'ble" attached to the Members' names, and wished in fact that the practice of giving titles would stop as it was against individual self-respect.

Pandit Nehru added that he could not announce the Cabinet's policies and programme because all the Members had not yet gathered in Delhi. The programme would have to be fashioned by them collectively.

The leader of the Government appropriately ended the proceedings with "Jai Hind."

Standard Of Living

Pandit Nehru declared, in what amounted to his inaugural address that raising the standards of clothing, feeding, housing, education and health for India's 400 millions would be the immediate objectives of the new Government although from the highest objective," adds the *A.P.A.*

"Freedom is our highest objective but we have to see to the immediate problems of clothing, feeding, housing, educating, looking after the health of our fellow countrymen," said Pandit Nehru.

He indicated that there probably would be five or ten-year plans with definite objectives as a means of bettering conditions in India and bespoke the co-operation of the entire nation in carrying it. It was necessary if the Government is to be successful.

Discussing the advent of the new Government, he commented that "it is a situation fraught with difficulties and risks. The human element is unpredictable but we have entered into this business with every desire to do our best, with full co-operation in order to achieve our objective, complete and full Independence of India."

Indians To Run India

Indians To Run India

"If," he went on, "we are co-operating with those whom we have opposed all along in Government much more so inevitably do we seek the co-operation of every Indian in this country because after all the foreign elements in this country are temporary residents here or are temporarily in office. Inevitably they have to go, not physically — they are welcome to stay on in India — but in their official capacity, because, obviously India is going to be run by Indians for the benefit of Indians not to the injury of others. I hope anywhere, but certainly for the benefit primarily of the people who live in this country, to whatever religion or creed they might belong, in whatever province or part of India they may live."

Visit To Departments

Pandit Nehru began by saying that man of his colleagues had not been able to come to Delhi to take charge of their respective portfolios "owing to illness, partly owing to other reasons." The result had been, as far as he was concerned, rather odd. "Normally I have been charged with External Affairs Department and the Commonwealth Relations Department—the two joined together. But for the moment, maybe for ten days or so, I am supposed to be in charge of all the other Departments of my absent colleagues, namely, the portfolios of Defence, Finance—of which I know hardly anything — Commerce, Health, Education, Industries and Supply. A queer collection! Today we started off in the Finance Member's room and for the space of 10 or 15 minutes I discussed high finance. Then on to Commonwealth Relations Department, where we discussed Commonwealth affairs.

"Later in the afternoon, I went to the External Affairs Department and spent an instructive hour there and then I finally wound up with the Defence Department and tried to understand the various branches of the War establishment in India. So I have had a varied education today and I, and in the course of the next day or two I hope to tackle health, education, commerce and industries also. Obviously this is more for my own education than for anything else.

"In the main, my job is going to be External Affairs and Commonwealth Affairs."

Appealing for the co-operation of "every Indian in this country," Pandit Nehru said: "We are all going to remain here and even though we may get irritated with each other, it is obvious we have to live together and we have to work together and co-operate together. Therefore, it becomes incumbent on all of us to seek that wider co-operation and make every effort to achieve it because after all the problems before us are so vast and intricate even apart from that major and dominating and primary problem of achieving Indian independence."

INFORMED

Sardar Baldev Singh

Dr Rajendra Prasad

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"The Interim Government will take office

may also apply. Such candidates other than those in the armed forces, must attach to their application a certificate about their recognized "War Service." "War Service" candidates are not required to pay the cost of the application form, and those outside India may apply on plain paper, if prescribed forms are not available and give full details about their nationality, residence, educational equipment etc. etc.

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2563

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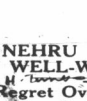
NEHRU THANKS WELL-WISHERS

H Times 2.9.46

Regret Over League's Non-Co-operation

"During the last few days I have received a thousand telegrams of greeting and good wishes on the formation of the provisional Government of India," says Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a statement issued on Sunday.



Pt. Nehru.

"They have come from old friends and comrades and from many whom I do not know. They have come not only from every corner of India but also from various countries of Asia and Europe and America and Africa. They have come from Indians scattered all over the world, often in distant lands, very far from the motherland and yet joined to her by invisible bonds that cannot break. They have come from foreign friends and friends who look upon India's freedom as a mighty step towards Asia's freedom and world peace.

"I am deeply grateful for all these good wishes, and I am sorry I cannot acknowledge them separately. I feel in no mood to congratulate myself or others for we have yet to reach our goal and the path is still difficult. Though I do not claim to prayer, it is in a prayerful mood that I approach this task, fervently hoping for the co-operation of all my countrymen in facing the difficulties ahead. I regret deeply that the Muslim League has for the moment chosen a different path. I shall continue to hope for their co-operation and the door for it will always be open.

"For this business concerns us all and we would be unworthy of the people's confidence if we functioned in a narrow way seeking the good of particular groups or parties and forgetting the larger good of the nation. My colleagues and I go forward as Indians thinking of India, working for India's freedom and the emancipation of her masses. If we forget this at any time then we shall have failed in our endeavour.

"We have completed [illegible] and we have [illegible] of destiny with courage and faith in India's future. The dream of her freedom that has inspired us for long beckons to us again and speeds our realization. May we prove worthy servants of India and her people. Jai Hind."

DAY OF REJOICING FOR INDIA

G. D. BIRLA WELCOMES FORMATION OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT

"Today is the day of rejoicing. After a hard struggle, lasting for a period of nearly 60 years, involving immense sacrifice, we have reached at last the outer portals of Independence. The people of the country will succeed in enthroning itself in the inner sanctum sanctorum of the free India in a short period," says Mr G. D. Birla in [illegible] welcoming the formation of the Interim Government.

Continuing, Mr. Birla says: "It is deplorable that the Muslim League at this juncture should have refused to give a helping hand in the task of the new construction. Let us hope, however, that they will review their position soon and realize that this is the time for every soul in the country to make his or her utmost contribution towards the building up of a new India.

"The Indian mercantile community may take legitimate pride in feeling that in its own humble way it stood solidly behind the national struggle throughout its history.

"The mercantile community knew fully well that a National Government naturally and rightly cannot be favourable to any capitalist interest. This, however, never deterred the mercantile community from identifying itself with the national struggle. It sought no rewards then and will seek none in future. We aspire to see a happy India. We stand for increased prosperity and equitable distribution. The National Government may count on our fullest co-operation to that end.

"If, however, *Swaraj*ya—self-rule—is coming, *Swaraj*ya—ideal rule—is still a distant dream. India has been governed in the past only for the purpose of collecting taxes and maintaining law and order. Her economics, her education, her health, her culture and other conditions—all these vital arteries of the nation were totally neglected.

"As one of the authors of the Bombay Plan, I fully subscribed to the view that only a National Government could plan for a prosperous, healthy and educated India. I have repeatedly said so often during the past few years. The time has now come when this contention will be put to test. The country will expect the new Government to solve the immense problems that face us and require urgent solutions.

"The first problem is that of food. During the last 35 years India's population has grown immensely without any appreciable increase in food production. The shortage of food is no longer a temporary phase. It must continue for years until we increase our production.

"Unless we succeed in increasing our production by 50 per cent within the next five years, we shall have either to continue to import food from abroad to keep without a full stomach no progress in any direction is possible.

"The next problem is that of cloth. Here again, unless we increase our production by 50 per cent within the next five years, cloth shortage must continue. At present we are producing more than what we did before the war. But the demand has increased. Tastes and requirements have changed. Hence we need increased and better quality production.

"Many other consumer goods such as sugar; cement, paper, drugs and medicines and engineering goods are needed in a much greater quantity. For this plants will be necessary. They will have to be manufactured locally and also imported. But they will have to be found. The question of foreign currency for that purpose will have to be solved.

Fighting Inflation

"The question of inflation is now assuming a serious proportion as each day passes. But only increased production can combat inflation, which no amount of control can ever do. Controls at their best can only ensure fair distribution of the depleted supplies. At their worst they breed black markets and corruption. They don't satisfy the needs of the needy. Increased production alone is the remedy for unemployment, starvation, poverty and inflation.

"There are many other problems requiring endeavour and urgent solution. Our seven lakhs of villages are virtual repositories of ignorance, disease and squalor. They have to be remodelled and rebuilt and reformed to be converted into beauty spots. A mighty enough task.

"Hospitals, roads and rail, cheap power for villages, supply of pure water and better irrigation are some of the attendant problems. Illiteracy—that mental which has kept India in political and economic bondage so long—needs total annihilation. All this will require hard and continuous work.

"There are serious difficulties which one should not underestimate. But difficulties should not also be over-emphasized. They should now be faced with courage and solved. The march must begin without delay.

"The Bombay Plan, based on deep study and practical experience, assumed that all this can be achieved by a National Government within a period of 15 years. If—and there is one 'if' only. If only the National Government was built of determination, it had competence and efficiency and had the capacity and the will to mobilize co-operation from every quarter and thus with its popularity and earnestness ensured the stability and continuity of its administration and, above all, it had external and internal peace, then it could within 15 years have built up a new healthy, educated, clean, beautiful and prosperous.

"This is a fascinating dream worthy of great sacrifice but also of the spirit of accommodation. The mercantile community will think it a great privilege to give its utmost co-operation in the building up of this noble, ideal India. May the National Government god-speed in their noble task, and congratulations to the people of the country and India's future [illegible] achievement."

H Times 2.9.46

COMMUNISED

[illegible] P. H. Patwardhan has [illegible] its resignation from membership of the Congress Working Committee because he felt that he should devote himself more to the Congress work in Maharashtra," said Pandit Nehru announcing Mr Jaiprakash Narain's nomination. "In the vacancy so caused I invited Shri Jaiprakash Narain to join it and he has accepted my invitation. Therefore, I nominate Shri Jaiprakash Narain to be a member of the Working Committee."

Regretting Mr Patwardhan's decision to leave the Working Committee Pandit Nehru said: "At the time the Working Committee was being formed after the last A-ICC meeting, it was my desire to have Shri Jaiprakash Narain and Dr Ram Manohar Lohia in the Commitee. They felt at that time, however, that they could do more useful work outside the Committee. I had, therefore, regretfully to leave them out."

"The Committee as formed," he said, "even during this brief period, has done a great deal of work and has faced many vital problems. The new secretaries Sreemati Mridula Sarabhai and Shri Balkrishna Keskar, have applied themselves with vigour to the great task of strengthening and tightening up the Congress organization."

"It is manifest," said Pandit Nehru, "that the Congress has to face now not only many of its old problems, but several entirely new problems. We have grown in strength and with this has come greater responsibility.

"The formation of the provisional Government brings new questions before us which will have to be tackled with foresight and care. It is essential that during this tremendous period of transition to full independence the Congress organization should function with solidarity and efficiency and should do its utmost to serve the cause of the people of India including all classes and communities."

"It must be our special endeavour", he said, "to win over by our service these groups or communities who are apprehensive of the future that is taking shape. We must always remember that Congress has stood for and stands today for the good of the people in India and it can never look at our problems from a narrow party point of view.

"In the unfortunate communal tension that exists today the responsibilities that Congress shoulders is all the greater. We have to show by our acts that we are not swept away by any passion or prejudice but that we act always for the good of the whole and with a broad vision, including every one in India."

"In order to achieve this," he continued, "it is essential that Congressmen and Congresswomen should put aside their party rivalries and function together. I welcome, therefore, particularly the inclusion in the Working Committee of Shri Jaiprakash Narain, who represents a viewpoint held by a considerable number of Congressmen and whose ability and record of service in the cause of India's freedom has given him an outstanding position in our public life.

"I earnestly trust that the Congress organisation will rise to the occasion [illegible] show itself fully capable of its [illegible] spirit of co-operation and [illegible] service to [illegible] of the times and the [illegible] steadily to the goal of complete [illegible] whose inspiration [illegible] all these years."—API.

MUSLIMS IGNORING NEW GOVERNMENT

CALCUTTA, Aug 30.—"There is no likelihood of any disturbance on September 2 arising out of the Interim Government taking office. The apprehensions are wholly unfounded," said Mr H. S. Suhrawardy, Chief Minister of Bengal, in an interview today.

This was in answer to a question whether, "in view of apprehensions that have been expressed in some quarters in regard to September 2, when the Interim Government takes office, are special police and military precautions being taken for that day in Calcutta?"

Mr Suhrawardy added that the Muslims were not paying the slightest attention to the Interim Government taking office and "the new Ministers or Members may swear as much as they like."

Nevertheless, the Chief Minister said, all precautions would be taken on that day.

On the question of a coalition or a party Ministry for Bengal, the Chief Minister declined to be drawn into a discussion.—API

JINNAH WRITES TO ATTLEE & CHURCHILL

BOMBAY, Aug 31.—Mr M. A Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League has issued the following statement:

"My attention has been drawn to the Press report that Mr Michael Foot, MP, has written an article in the Daily Herald, the official organ of the British Labour Party, that Mr Churchill and I have been engaged in correspondence over a period. This is incorrect and mischievous.

"I wrote to Mr Attlee, the Prime Minister, on July 6, 1946, apprising him of how the Muslim League had been betrayed by the Cabinet delegation and the Viceroy and for his information I enclosed copies of statements that had been issued by me on June 27 and 29 together with other papers on the eve of the departure of the Cabinet delegation from India, as it was announced that the matter would be placed before Parliament immediately after the return of the delegation. An identical letter was written by me to Mr Churchill, Leader of the Opposition with similar enclosures, and Mr Attlee was informed by my letter that I was doing so.

"I received replies from both Mr Attlee and Mr Churchill and I have sent them further material with regard to further serious developments that have taken place for their information and consideration."—API

CONGRESS CONDEMN CALCUTTA CARNAGE

The Congress Working Committee demand a "thorough inquiry into the Calcutta carnage by an impartial tribunal which will command the confidence of the public, and express the opinion that "the Government of Bengal utterly failed to maintain peace and give protection of life and property to peaceful citizens."

The following is the text of the resolution a brief reference to which appeared in yesterday's Statesman and which was released to the Press on Saturday in Delhi:

"The Working Committee have read with deep sorrow reports about the recent happenings in Calcutta in connexion with the observance by the Muslim League of Direct Action Day on August 16 and the subsequent days. They deplore the serious loss of life and property and condemn in particular the acts of brutality committed against defenceless persons, especially women and children. The Committee offer their sympathy to the innocent sufferer of whatever community and party and call upon them to meet the situation with courage, forbearance and fortitude.

DIRECT ACTION RESOLUTION

"On July 29 the Council of the All-India Muslim League passed a resolution deciding upon direct action. In support of the resolution inflammatory speeches were made, and subsequently speeches and statements and pamphlets by responsible members of the League and Ministers, and articles in some League newspapers, have served to inflame a large section of the Muslim masses.

"The Government of Bengal declared August 16 a public holiday in spite of protest and thereby gave an impression that the observance of August 16 was enjoined by the Government and persons not joining in the observance could obtain, or get, no protection from the Government.

"It appears that processionists carried big bamboo sticks, swords, spears, daggers, and which they brandished when ordering people to shut their shops from the early morning of the 16th and merrily assaulted anybody who declined or hesitated to close his shop.

HOOLIGANS USED GUNS

"Stabbing and looting started early in the day and guns are said to have been used by hooligans in many places. Murders, in the present circumstances, the looting and burning of houses on a large scale followed and lasted for three or four days resulting in the death of several thousand persons and the looting and burning of property worth crores of rupees.

"There was practically no police, not even in the police to be seen on the 16th and even the precaution of sending foot and mounted police to accompany processions as is done with the Moharram and other processions, was not taken. Even when the police were available, they rendered no help to peaceful citizens, and frantic appeals for help to officers in charge of police stations were not heeded and the people were told to save themselves as best as they could.

"The curfew order was not enforced, even after it had been proclaimed, for the first two nights. Although no transport was available to the public, hooligans used motor lorries. Petrol was freely used for committing arson. Houses and furniture and other articles were smashed or burnt and whatever valuable remained was carried away. Bodies littered the streets and many dead and dying persons were thrust into manholes of underground sewers or thrown into the river.

DELAY IN CALLING OUT TROOPS

"The military were not called till long after the havoc had commenced. In some places even the police participated in the looting. After the initial orgy of murders, loot and arson, the Hindus and others retaliated and indulged in reprisals wherever they could and a large number of Muslims were killed.

"It is satisfactory to note however that in the midst of this mutual slaughter and inhuman barbarities, there were cases where Hindus gave shelter to Muslims in distress and Muslims gave protection to Hindus in difficulty.

"The Committee are concerned to note that the communal tension in other places has increased and conflicts resulting in casualties have arisen. There is a general apprehension that this may extend and unless checked in time may become very widespread. It is the primary duty of every citizen to prevent this and every Government to maintain peace and ensure protection to peaceful citizens.

"In view of the very serious nature of the riots, the like of which has never before happened in any part of the country, it is essential, in the opinion of the Working Committee, that a thorough inquiry be held by an impartial tribunal, which can command the confidence of the public, into the circumstances preceding the incidents of the 16th and the following days and the steps taken by the Government, both before and during the riots, to meet the situation.

"The Working Committee place on record their opinion that the Government of Bengal utterly failed to maintain peace and give protection of life and property to peaceful citizens.

FORGIVE AND FORGET

"The Committee realize that the wounds inflicted not only on the bodies but the spirit and self-respect of the people will take long to heal. Nevertheless they appeal to them to forget and forgive and to utilize this terrible experience for re-establishing goodwill and friendly relations between the different communities which have been so rudely disturbed during recent times.

"The Working Committee are of the opinion that the communal problem cannot be solved by intimidation and violence but by mutual understanding, friendly discussion and, if necessary, by agreed arbitration."—API.

TRIBUNAL TO BE SET UP IN BENGAL

5-9-46 Morning T. G. 96

CALCUTTA, Aug 31.—"The Working Committee of the Congress in their usual high-handed manner have already condemned the Government of Bengal and given a version of the course of events regarding which there is considerable variance," says Mr H. S. Suhrawardy, Chief Minister of Bengal, in a statement commenting on the Congress Working Committee resolution on the Great Calcutta Killing.

Mr Suhrawardy says, that he has refrained from referring to the carnage and for its responsibility despite grave provocation and unjust vilification, and hasty and one-sided judgment. "I shall still refrain from doing so and shall place all the facts before the public when I face the Legislature. Although late, I only crave one favour from the members of the public and the Press, from my friends and from my enemies, not to judge before both sides of the picture are presented to them.

"The Working Committee of the Congress in their usual high-handed manner have already condemned the Government of Bengal and given a version of the course of events regarding which there is considerable variance. At the same time, they have recorded their opinion that it is essential that a thorough inquiry be held by an impartial tribunal. The Committee being a responsible body might have withheld their judgment as their statements, necessarily one-sided, are bound to have far-reaching consequences. I have already announced that I am taking steps to set up such a tribunal and have already requested His Excellency the Viceroy to assist me in securing personnel that will command the confidence of the public.

"I particularly welcome the appeal of the Committee to the public of Calcutta to forget and forgive and utilize the terrible experience for re-establishing goodwill and friendly relations. That must undoubtedly be our main object and to attain this, we should leave no stone unturned."—API.

Letters To The Editor

"ONE WORLD" OR FEDERAL UNION

Sir,—In your issue of August 28 Mr Ramakrishna Dalmia writes that "the ultimate goal for permanent peace is only 'One World,' without divisions and differences of territory. The federation of nations would not lead us to permanent peace because of clash of personal interests."

As statements have appeared associating my name with Mr Dalmia, and as in the earlier part of this year I was associated with him in the belief that he approved of a federation of nations, may I say that we have discovered the difference in our outlooks and have parted company? I do not believe either in the possibility or desirability of a world "without divisions and differences of territory," any more than I believe in the possibility of a country without municipalities or local councils. As I see it, the "clash of personal interests," which Mr Dalmia says would prevent federation from succeeding, operates the other way about. The federal system has produced internal peace in the U.S.A., in Canada, Australia, the U.S.S.R., Switzerland and elsewhere, and will ultimately be adopted by the world. Attempts to impose mere uniformity will always be successfully resisted. Monopolistic money power will fail as certainly as did Napoleon and Hitler who tried force of arms.

"Federal Union" has now many thousands of supporters in European countries, and it is proposed to hold an international conference in Luxembourg in October. In England a very large number of Members of Parliament and distinguished men belong to Federal Union, the office of which is at 20, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.2. In America Mr Harold Stassen, a probable candidate for the presidency of the U.S.A., is an ardent advocate. A weekly paper, *Freedom and Union* under the editorship of Mr Clarence Streit will shortly be produced; the office is at 700, Ninth Street N.W., Washington, D.C.

I hope in time to see a federal union branch in India.—Yours, etc.,

ARTHUR MOORE.

Delhi, August 28.

Bengal Ministry's Complicity In Riots

H. Times 31-8-46

LONDON, Aug. 30.—Reviewing recent events in India, the *New Statesman and Nation*, says: "The taking over of power by the first National Government would rank as one of the biggest and most auspicious events in Indian history, were it not clouded by the abstention and revolt of the Muslim League. After spending 20 years of his life in prison Pandit Nehru heads the Government as Premier in all but name."

On Lord Wavell's visit to Bengal, the weekly says: "He will have to investigate the responsibility of the Bengal Muslim League Ministry for the recent riots, and even if its complicity was less direct than the Hindus allege, there may be a case for deposing it."—Reuter.

Times 7.9.46

"ENTRUST POWER TO MAJORITY PARTY"

British Writer's View

LONDON, August 6: "There is no hope of an acceptable solution of the Indian problem short of entrusting the majority party with power as is the normal democratic practice," says the Foreign Editor of the *News Chronicle*, in an article published today in which he analyses the personality and actions of Mr. Gandhi.

The article is headed "The remarkable Mr. Gandhi" and its author writes, "The Congressman's answer to the query 'What about the Muslims and other minorities if power is handed over to the majority,' is a blunt one. 'They are our fellow Indians and you can trust us when we are free to manage our own affairs to treat them fairly and generously' is his reply. 'It is our problem and not that of the British. To hand over tidily and peacefully is your problem and the rest is not your business.' "

Analysing his attitude in view of the recent events in Parliament, the author adds, "When the subject was discussed in the Commons the other day, there were 50 members present. If this was our business in which we, as a nation, were interested could the 590 other members remain indifferent and retain their seats."—Reuter.

"FREEDOM DEPENDS ON INDIANS"

British Paper's View

LEEDS, August 6: The hope that the Congress Working Committee will do everything it can by studious moderation to dissipate the angry fears of the Muslims is expressed today in an editorial in the *Yorkshire Post*.

"There appears," the paper says, "But one way open to the British to make a last urgent appeal to India's politicians for India's sake. The country is faced with unexampled difficulties: hundreds of thousands of Indian soldiers to be put back into work, deep and widespread industrial unrest, hard problems abroad with South Africa, Burma and Malaya. Never were unity and co-operation among India's leaders more needed. The issue is entirely in their hands. No shadow of excuse remains for the hoary accusation that Britain foments communal strife in order to perpetuate her own rule. India's independence is for Indians alone to frame and take."—Reuter.

Mr Jinnah Charges Britain With Betrayal

BOMBAY, Aug. 30.—Mr M. A. Jinnah addressing an Id gathering here reviewed the political developments in the country since the British Cabinet Mission came to India in April, and said: "Muslim India is stunned and shocked, for the moment by the gross and wicked betrayal by the British Government, who had made a solemn pledge in its declaration of August 1940 that no transfer of power would take place unless there was agreement between the major parties and other major elements of national life in the country. That declaration laid down clearly that not only a new constitution would not be framed except by an agreement between Hindus and Muslims, but even the machinery to draft a new constitution would not be brought into being unless there was agreement between major elements of national life in the country.

"Today, that solemn declaration has been torn to pieces by the British Government. It is, no doubt, a severe blow to the Muslim League and Muslim India. But I am confident that nothing is going to shake us or frighten us. We shall march on and face all obstacles and march through fire, trials and tribulations in our onward march. There will be setbacks and sufferings, and we will not flinch or falter."

Viceroy's Policy Criticized

Mr Jinnah criticized the action and policy of the Viceroy, and said that the Viceroy had committed a double betrayal in going back on his solemn word and in ignoring and bypassing the Muslim League. "If the British Government is happy to have tickled the vanity of the Congress, let it strike a bargain with the Congress. We are prepared for it."

Breach Of Faith

Mr Jinnah referred to the negotiations carried on by him on behalf of the Muslim League with the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy and said that the Council of the All-India Muslim League on June 6 accepted the proposals although not fully satisfied with them. "We accepted the proposals, both short-term and long-term," said Mr Jinnah, "for the sake of an amicable settlement and on the promise given by the Viceroy on June 3. But, immediately the Viceroy committed a breach of faith in making certain modifications in the original proposals and announced the plan for the immediate formation of an Interim Government at the Centre. The Congress rejected the short-term plan, but accepted the long-term plan of the Cabinet Mission's proposals, and that was only a sham acceptance.

"Despite this, the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy went back on their promise and did not go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government."

Pre-arranged Plan

"There seems to be a mystery behind all this," added Mr Jinnah. "But it is a conspiracy pre-arranged with the Congress. I cannot understand how the Secretary of State for India in that position with his two eminent colleagues and the Viceroy committed in cold blood a breach of faith and broke their solemn words. Having betrayed the Muslim League, the Viceroy has now completed the pre-arranged conspiracy with the Congress, and finally bypassed the Muslim League."—A.P.I.

League Leader In Correspondence With Churchill

LONDON, Aug. 30.—Much interest has been aroused in Indian and British political circles here, by an article in today's *Daily Herald* the official organ of the British Labour Party. The article, written by Mr Michael Foot, Member of Parliament for Davenport, quotes an American journalist for the statement that former Premier Winston Churchill over a period had been engaged in correspondence with Mr M. A. Jinnah.

While the contents of the correspondence are not revealed, there is a suggestion by Mr Foot that they may have a bearing on Mr Jinnah's recent attitude towards the Indian Interim Government and his refusal to join it. Mr Foot makes the point that some explanation is desirable.

Mr Churchill, the one man who could answer the questions now being asked, is holidaying in Switzerland. His secretary told me today: "Mr Churchill cannot and must not be disturbed. He is the only person who could answer the questions."

When I tried to get in touch with Prof. Harold J. Laski, former Labour Party Chairman and one of the powers behind the scenes in the organization, I was told by his wife: "The Professor is away today, but even if he were here he would not say anything. He is not going to put his foot in it over this."

The pro-Congress India League which is usually well informed about parliamentary happenings which have a bearing on India's future would make no comment on the report beyond the fact that they had read it in the *Herald*.—Reuter

LINGUISTIC PROVINCES QUESTION MUST BE SETTLED FIRST

H-Times. — • — 31-8-46.

DR PATTABHI'S PROPOSITION TO CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The question of formation of linguistic provinces should be taken up as "the first and foremost problem to be solved by the Constituent Assembly," urged Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, former member of the Congress Working Committee.

Dr Pattabhi suggested that in the preliminary sitting the Assembly should constitute a sub-committee for considering the question and appoint a boundary commission to report within two months upon the readjustment of boundaries to be effected before provincial constitutions were formed.

Dr Pattabhi says: "The problem of linguistic provinces is now more than 50 years old, being originally started by Sri Mahendra Narayan of Bihar, with Sir Sachchidananda Sinha as his later colleague. The anti-Bengal Partition agitation resulted in the separation of Bihar in 1912, but Orissa's claims were neglected although Orissa had started its agitation almost simultaneously with Bihar. Orissa had its salvation in 1935.

"The Andhras started agitation for Andhra province soon after Lord Hardinge's dispatch dated August 17, 1911, rectifying the partition of Bengal had been published. For 33 years, at first independently of the Congress, very soon through the Provincial Congress Committee and later through both, agitation has been carried on and it even succeeded in securing the approval of the Madras Legislature and also of the Central Legislature.

"It would be wrong to say that the problem today stands where it stood. The circuit was almost completed when the first Congress Premier of Madras recommended it to the Secretary of State in 1935. The Karnatak agitation came close in the wake of the Andhra agitation and had necessarily to assume the form of unification as against the Andhra demand for separation. Karnatak is divided between three groups (one British and two groups of States). That is why the question of unification has come in.

"The claims of Sylhet and Kachar in Surma Valley which are attached to Bengal Provincial Congress Committee for Congress purposes but to Assam in regard to legislative and administrative matters should also be judged aright by the boundary commission. Kerala claims Kesargod taluka in South Canara district and Gudalur taluka of Nilgiri district as due to the Malayalees, while between Andhra and Orissa there are tracts of country in adjoining areas claimed by both. All these are doubtless interesting complications, but they cannot prevent the solution of the main question of linguistic province.

Punjab Districts For U.P.

"An equally interesting question centres round the claim put forward by Ambala and Jullundur divisions in the Punjab, which at one time belonged to the U.P. but were subjected to the penalty after the Mutiny of 1858 of being linked to the Punjab. Even today students from Ambala and Hissar are pointed to in Lahore as Hindustanis as against the people of the rest of the Punjab who are Punjabis. The vast tract of country lying on either side of the Jumna comprising 20 districts is desired to be made into a separate province for reasons of culture and language.

"Bi-lingual areas are bound to be a source of concern and must be satisfied by the acceptance of the verdict of an impartial tribunal. The whole problem must be taken up as the first and foremost problem to be solved by the Constituent Assembly. In the preliminary sitting the Assembly should constitute a sub-committee for considering the question of linguistic provinces and appoint a boundary commission to report within two months upon the readjustment of boundaries to be effected before provincial constitutions are framed.

"The right way of constitution framing would be to proceed from the Centre to the provinces. If so, while the Centre is hammering out its constitution, determination anew of provincial boundaries and the consequent redistribution of provinces will intervene between the completion of the constitution of the Centre and commencement of constitutions of the provinces.

Now Is The Time

"In effect then the Constituent Assembly in framing provincial constitutions would be able to act with a correct knowledge of the size, shape and position of provinces in India and be then able to frame provincial constitutions having regard to such detailed knowledge. To frame constitutions on the contrary for the provinces as they exist today would mean a disturbance to these constitutions the moment they were amalgamated, broken up or carved anew. Or it may be worse if it is stated as the May 16 statement says that constitutions now framed cannot be disturbed for a decade. In that case, the problem will have been shunted to the limbo of oblivion.

"It is, therefore, not only appropriate but necessary that public opinion should be mobilized in all language areas concerned and a convention held in Delhi on the eve of the sitting of the Constituent Assembly to press this point on the attention of the Assembly in its very preliminary sitting and claim priority for the consideration of the subject as soon as the preliminary procedure is settled and the fundamental declarations are made by the Assembly." A.P.I.

PEACEFUL "ID" IN CALCUTTA

Times — 30-8-46

Premier's Relief

ALL COMMUNITIES THANKED

CALCUTTA, August 29.

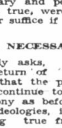
"There must be thanksgiving in the hearts of everyone, Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and all alike, that today, the Id, which was regarded with such apprehensions, has passed off peacefully", says Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, the Chief Minister of Bengal, in a statement.

To the Muslims, he offers his greetings and congratulations for thronging the maidan and parks and places of worship as before, with their little children, without even a stick in their hands, although subdued with grief and sorrow.

To the Hindus, the Sikhs and others, he offers sincerest thanks for assuring that no untoward incident occurred and this the greatest festival of the Muslims, passed off peacefully. The military and police arrangements, it is true, were ample, but none can ever suffice if goodwill is absent.

GOODWILL NECESSARY

Mr. Suhrawardy asks, "Cannot we make this return of goodwill permanent, so that the people of Calcutta may continue to live in peace and harmony as before, pursuing different ideologies, if necessary, but forming true friendship and not coming into clash with each other? There are various methods of achieving one aim and surely justice can be made to prevail and right triumph without having to pass through the welter of massacre. For, understood, that we are so inter-mingled that a hand raised against the other man is in effect a hand raised against oneself and one's own kith and kin. I pray to all to establish peace and good fellowship."



Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy

STORIES IN PRESS

Continuing, Mr. Suhrawardy asks, "What is the point of publishing those horrible tales of cruelty and wantonness which go to show that men have sunk to a level worse than beasts? The Hindu papers tell tales of violence and cruelty by Muslims. Muslim papers of similar Hindu acts. Let us drop this vilification, the excoriation of feelings, this arousing of hate. This will not carry us anywhere, and ultimately result in such terrible embitterment of feeling, in such a wide chasm between the two of us that nothing, no action, no approach, not even the most loyal efforts can possibly bridge."

"END EMBITTERMENT"

Mr. Suhrawardy concludes: "It is time to cry halt. Let us rather devote our attention and our thoughts to those nobler incidents, when men of different persuasions saved each other from the hostilities of a maddened crowd. Let this terrible calamity be a lesson to all of us. Let us now, when we have yet time, get together that there may be no such recurrence in future and that our problems may be solved without letting loose the hell of brutality and bestiality."

Khwaja Nazimuddin, a former Premier of Bengal, in an interview, said: "I am thankful to God that the Id has passed off peacefully. There is no doubt that it is largely due to the determination of both the Muslims and non-Muslims not to give cause for any untoward incidents. The presence of the military and the police helped to restore confidence among the citizens. I hope and trust that this will encourage the public to resume their normal activities as quickly as possible."—A.P.I.

"BASIS FOR FRESH TALKS"

Times — 31-8-46

Bengal Leaguer On Viceroy's Appeal

CALCUTTA, August 28.

"There is a necessity for reconsidering the League's Bombay plan," Mr. Abul Hashim, Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League and M.L.A., told the *Associated Press of America* today.

"It is not a matter for the League Council to decide," he added, "but for the leaders to consider."

The Viceroy's broadcast of August 24, he said, provided a "sufficient basis" for fresh talks between the League, Congress, the Viceroy and Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Nehru.

"Basically, so far as I am personally concerned, I am opposed to accepting the British Cabinet proposals," Mr. Hashim said.

Replying to a question, he observed: "An all-party ministry in Bengal —a League-Congress Ministry in particular—is the most desirable thing."

"We are anxious to have a coalition in Bengal, but we cannot, have it unless the all-India question is settled" or the Congress and League High Commands "leave alone Bengal in the hands of the Provincial League and Congress to decide their own fate", he said. "But", he added, "a provincial settlement without a settlement at the Centre will not correspond to realities."—A.P.A.

Lahore Leaguer's Threat

LAHORE, August 30: Id-ul-Fitr passed off peacefully in Lahore and other towns in the Punjab.

"The Interim Government is a conspiracy between British and Hindu capitalists for the joint exploitation of Muslims, which will be resisted with blood if necessary," declared Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, who recently resigned from the Congress to join the Muslim League, addressing the Id congregation at Minto Park.

Times — 31-8-46

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Sikh Leader Asks Jinnah To Make Concrete Proposals

LAHORE, Aug. 30.—Col. Niranjan Singh Gill, Dictator of the Council of Action appointed by the Panthic Board, yesterday welcomed Mr Jinnah's invitation to Master Tara Singh for informal talks but said the League President must make concrete proposals to the Sikhs before discussion between the Sikhs and the Muslim League could be started.

The Sikhs, he said, wanted a just solution of their problem. They wanted to maintain friendly relations with all communities. They did not want to dominate others nor will they allow themselves to be dominated by others.

Explaining the reasons why Mr Jinnah should put forward concrete proposals, he said the policy of the League was quite different from that followed by the Sikhs. There could be no solution unless the League revised its policy. The Sikhs stood for a united India while the League wanted to divide the country.

Before there could be any discussion for a permanent settlement of the relations between the communities, Mr Jinnah should explain the Muslim attitude towards the Sikhs, he concluded.—A.P.I.

H-Times - 31-8-46

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Statesmanship Of Mr. Jinnah

Times — 28-8-46

LONDON "TIMES'S" APPEAL

LONDON, August 28: In another appeal to the Muslim League to reconsider its policy, *The Times* says that Mr. Jinnah's demands to the Viceroy for "concrete proposals" shows that he has not closed the door on negotiations. The paper says:

"Mr. Jinnah's reply to the appeal for co-operation broadcast by the Viceroy on Saturday, suggests that he is for the present mainly concerned to defend the attitude of the Muslim League."

"Since Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues have involved themselves in a position from which it is difficult to withdraw, the reply to the Viceroy's appeal need cause little surprise, but Mr. Jinnah's sense of reality, to say nothing of his patriotism, should not fail to convince him that matters must not be allowed to rest here.

"The tragedy of Calcutta, in the one province where the League is solidly entrenched in political power, has revealed the dangers inherent in the policy of 'direct action' and has convinced some of the warmest supporters of Mr. Jinnah in his own country and abroad that in the interests both of his own community and of India, he must abandon the perilous path of unconstitutional agitation.

"The Bengal Ministry, whose responsibility for certain aspects of the Calcutta holocaust is now freely alleged has learned that anarchy falls as tragically upon Muslims as upon Hindus.

"The great change wrought in the political situation by the creation of the Interim Government and by the Viceroy's appeal affords an opportunity which may not recur for the League to reconsider its policy. It would be only in consonance with precedent if Mr. Jinnah were to summon his Working Committee to Delhi to consider the new position, and this would make possible renewals of personal exchanges with the Viceroy and with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

"There is already some evidence that Lord Wavell's appeal has made a favourable impression upon certain members of the League, and if Mr. Jinnah's statesmanship displayed on so many previous occasions does not fail him, he may at this moment render the greatest service to his community and to his country which can fall to the lot of any Indian leader."

CHINA'S MESSAGE TO INDIA

Times — 29/8/46

Appeal For Unity

NANKING, August 27.

Communist officials, editors and leading Chinese personalities hailed the establishment of the Interim Government in India as "a triumph of citizenship" and expressed gratification over Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's appointment.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, who is in his summer capital, Kuling, is expected to issue a congratulatory message.

The Minister for Information, Mr. Pengh Sueh Pei, told "Reuter": "I am very happy that India has obtained its own Government. The fact that independence has been achieved without a major conflict is a great credit to British and Indian statesmenship."

The Communist leader, General Chou En-lai said: "The Chinese people in the midst of their long struggle for independence, peace and democracy have been deeply sympathetic with the independence movement of India all the time. History teaches us that winning by a people of genuine freedom depends largely on the solidarity and unity of the nation itself. For that very reason China today still remains disunited.

General Chou En-lai added: "China is suffering from a large-scale civil war. We believe this to be worthwhile for Indian people to think over. It is our sincere hope that the Indian people, regardless of their different parties, religions and castes, will hereafter unite completely for the common cause and bring forth a genuinely independent free democratic India".

The Minister of National Defence, Mr. Pei Chung Hsi, who is one of the leaders of the 30,000,000 Muslims, said "As a friend of India I hope that the different communities will work hand in hand for the common good and unity of the country".—Reuter.

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Harijans' Conversion To Islam

Times — 29.8.46

LEAGUE'S PROPOSAL TO BE CONSIDERED

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, President of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation said, in an interview, on Wednesday that the statement of Mr. Feroz Khan Noon inviting India's 60,000,000 Harijans to become Muslims and members of the Muslim League "certainly will be considered by the Scheduled Castes."

"It is for the Scheduled Castes Federation to pronounce its opinion," Dr. Ambedkar said, when asked for his own reaction to the invitation. He declined to discuss the matter more fully at this time.—A.P.A.

CASTE HINDUS RAID HARIJAN QUARTERS

Kaira Allegation

AHMEDABAD, August 28: The Harijan quarters of a village in Kaira District are reported to have been raided by Caste Hindus on suspicion that the Harijans were causing the death of cattle by witchcraft.

It is alleged that about 200 villagers armed with sticks raided the Harijan quarters, and, tying an old woman to a tree, burnt her face. Another woman is reported to have been belaboured.

The Harijans evacuated the village in panic, but Mr. Chotubhai Patel, Secretary of the District Harijan Sevak Sangh, who was apprised of the incidents, has brought back the Harijans to the village and applied to the authorities for their protection.

A similar incident is reported from another village, where Harijans are alleged to have been severely belaboured.—A.P.I.

6 ?

"HARIJAN INTERESTS NOT NEGLECTED" 29.8.46 H Times

MADRAS, Aug. 28.—"There is no meaning in saying that the Interim Government do not deserve obedience or respect from the Harijans, particularly when their claims are met by the Congress," says Mrs Dakshayani Velayudhan, a Harijan member of the Cochin Council and a member of the Constituent Assembly.

Characterizing the attitude adopted by the Scheduled Castes towards the Interim Government as "most unwise," Mrs Velayudhan says that to demand three or four seats in the Executive Council for Harijans sounds well, but representation made there is not on a population basis or on communal lines. The Harijans' interests which Dr Ambedkar represented formerly are not at all neglected, she adds.—A.P.I.

MR. JINNAH'S ID-DAY MESSAGE TO MUSLIMS

29/8/46

Statesman

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BOMBAY, Aug. 28.—Mr Jinnah has issued the following id message:—

"On this most auspicious and happy occasion, I wish all Muslims id Mubarak, happiness and prosperity.

"The sacred month of Ramzan is just over and Muslims have gone through its regimen of the most trying nature and the rigours prescribed with patience and confidence. It is a great institution in itself and it teaches Muslims that without undergoing hardships, toil and trouble and without making sacrifices it is impossible for one to achieve one's objective and, for we Muslims of India there is much to learn from the regime laid down for Ramzan.

"We have now come to grips with realities and I appeal to Muslims to organize, consolidate and co-ordinate all their activities and forces as one solid and disciplined nation and be ready to face all eventualities. There is no royal road to freedom, except by suffering and sacrifice and by removing all obstacles in our way.

"I want every Muslim man, woman and child, to resolve on this auspicious day to work as disciplined soldiers in every department of life—educational, social economical and political—and thus build up for our nation of 100 million people a place worthy of our glorious past and historic traditions.

"THE HORIZON IS DARK"

"Today the horizon is dark for us. The doings of the British Government and Viceregal Lodge are shrouded in mystery; we are villified, misrepresented and threatened from every direction.

"The Muslim League is ignored and by-passed; tremendous false propaganda is carried on to throw the blame on the Muslim League, for which there is not an iota of justification, the Viceroy and the British Government have surrendered to Congress and it only remains for them now frankly to make a declaration that they have abdicated and are about to hand over to the Fascist Caste Hindu Congress the Government of this sub-continent.

"The British public is kept in the dark and Parliament in recess. This has created a very grave and dangerous situation for us and we must face it as a united nation and go through the test and fire of being suppressed, oppressed and persecuted.

"I am confident that if 100 million Muslims stand united all the manoeuvres, machinations and designs of our opponents will fall miserably and we shall emerge out of this struggle triumphantly and shall achieve Pakistan, which is our only salvation and without which we perish.

GRIM STRUGGLE AHEAD

"We have argued; we have reasoned; we have supplicated and we have made great concessions, but all to no purpose. There remains in front of us a grim struggle and we must face it boldly and courageously but in a disciplined and organized manner and failures or setbacks should not make us despair; nor should success elate us. Our demands are just and righteous and we cannot fail.

"I appeal to every Muslim at this critical juncture to rally round the Muslim League unreservedly, especially after what has happened during the last few months. Let there be no fratricidal war among Muslims and let us stand as one united nation under our flag and on one platform and be determined and prepared to face the worst as a completely united and great people, with our motto unity, faith and discipline. God is with us and we are

LEAGUE URGED TO RECONSIDER ITS POLICY

H. T. Times 29.8.46.

LONDON, [illegible]—Asking the Muslim League to reconsider its policy, The Times says that Mr Jinnah's demands to the Viceroy for "concrete proposals" shows that he has not closed the door on negotiations.

"Mr Jinnah's reply to the appeal for co-operation broadcast by the Viceroy on Saturday suggests that he is for the present mainly concerned to defend the attitude of the Muslim League," The Times writes.

"He still maintains that the Viceroy was morally bound to form an Interim Government on the lines of the proposal of June 16 even in the face of abstention of the Congress Party; and since he finds it difficult to escape the argument that the party's acceptance of the long-term plan' of May 16 compelled Lord Wavell to make yet another effort to form a Coalition Government, he is obliged to repeat his old assertion that the acceptance was insincere.

Fear Relieved

"Before the Wardha meeting of the Congress Party's Working Committee, Mr Jinnah had good ground for this contention, but the party has now associated itself with the Viceroy's emphatic assurance that there will be no departure from the terms of the plan of May 16.

"This should relieve the fear of the Muslim League lest the Congress Party should weaken the procedure for initial grouping of provinces by some strained interpretation of the language of the State Paper, and an additional assurance has been given by the suggestion that any doubt about what this language means may be referred for interpretation to the Federal Court.

Offer Most Categorical

"Scarcely greater weight can be attached to his complaint that the offer of five seats to the Muslim League in the Coalition Government is 'vague.' In point of fact, it could hardly be made more categorical; it follows precisely the lines already approved by the Muslim Working Committee at the end of June.

"Since Mr Jinnah and his colleagues have involved themselves in a position from which it is difficult to withdraw, the reply to the Viceroy's appeal need cause little surprise. But Mr Jinnah's sense of reality, to say nothing of his patriotism, should now convince him that matters must not be allowed to rest here.

Dangers Of "Direct Action"

"The tragedy of Calcutta, in the one Province where the League is solidly entrenched in political power, has revealed the dangers inherent in the policy of 'direct action' and has convinced some of the warmest supporters of Mr Jinnah in his own country and abroad that it is the interests both of his own community and of India he must abandon the perilous path of unconstitutional agitation.

"The Bengal Ministry, whose responsibility for certain aspects of the Calcutta holocaust is now freely alleged, has learned that anarchy falls as tragically upon Muslims as upon Hindus.

New Position

"Mr Jinnah's demand that the Viceroy should put forth 'concrete proposals' shows that he has not closed the door upon negotiations and the great change wrought in the political situation by the creation of the Interim Government and by the Viceroy's appeal affords an opportunity which may not recur for the League to reconsider its policy.

"It would be only in consonance with precedent if Mr Jinnah were to summon his Working Committee to Delhi to consider the new position and this would make possible renewals of personal exchanges with the Viceroy and with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.—Reuter.

LEAGUE'S DECISION "REGRETTABLE"

Mr. Dean Acheson's View

WASHINGTON, August 27: The Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, at a Press conference today, described the failure of the Muslim League to take part in the Interim Government in India as "regrettable," but expressed the hope that it would eventually do so.

The text of his statement reads: "The State Department has followed with great interest the negotiations for a political settlement in India, and welcomes the announcement that a representative Executive Council, composed entirely of Indians, will take office on September 2. The Viceroy and the parties to be represented in the Government deserve the highest commendation for patience and statesmanship which made this important development possible.

"The composition of the new Council makes it clear that its members are entitled to speak on behalf of a great majority of the Indian people. They have the best wishes of the United States in their efforts to effect a peaceful transition to complete freedom. It is regrettable that the Muslim League has not decided to participate, but it is to be hoped that it may later find it possible to do so."—Reuter.

Times 28.8.46

EXCLUSION OF ANGLO-INDIANS CRITICIZED

Statesman 2/9.8.46

"Once again the Anglo-Indian community has been singled out for British Administration for exclusion from the Interim Government," says Mr Frank Anthony, President-in-Chief of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association, commenting on the formation of the Interim Government.

Mr Anthony adds: "I wish to express my thanks and the thanks of the Anglo-Indian community to the Congress Party for their act of statesmanship and magnanimity towards my community. While the British Administration, which owes an irreparable debt to the Anglo-Indian community, insists on excluding us from the Central Government, the Congress, who had good reason to hold that the Anglo-Indian is serving the British Administration had been anti-Congress made every effort to give the Anglo-Indians their proper place in the Government of the country. Unfortunately all the efforts of the Congress Party to secure justice for the Anglo-Indian community have been consistently stultified.

"The Congress urged the Viceroy to increase the strength of the Interim Government to 15 so as to be able to accommodate the Anglo-Indian community. The Viceroy, however apparently was not prepared to accept the extension of the Interim Government to include a 15th member. The reason would appear to be the Viceroy's reluctance to depart from the formula of 6:5:3 announced on June 16. Even after this the Congress did their best to secure representation for the Anglo-Indian community. There is every reason to believe that an Anglo-Indian representative was included in the list of 14 names submitted by the Congress. This also was apparently rejected by the Viceroy, the reason presumably being that it represented a departure from the formula of 6:5:3.

FORMULA NOT ADHERED TO

"The Congress made it clear that, since they had been entrusted with the task of forming the Government and the Muslim League was not prepared, at present to join this Government, there was no object in adhering to the formula of June 16. They however, also made it clear that as soon as the Muslim League indicated its willingness to join the Government the Government would be reformed on the basis of the formula of June 16.

"In any case, the formula has not in fact been adhered to by the Viceroy. While this formula contemplated 6 seats for the Congress, 5 for the Muslim League and 3 for the minorities, the present Interim Government consists actually of 7 Congressmen. I therefore completely fail to see why the Viceroy should have insisted on the formula merely to exclude the Anglo-Indian community while altering it so as to change the fundamental proportions contemplated in the statement of June 16.

"If civic importance had been the test we would have been entitled to a place before several of the numerically larger minorities. But the only yardstick applied has been the numerical one. On this basis (since the Anglo-Indians are at least four times as large as the Parsis, political morality, if there is any left, should obviously have secured representation for the Anglo-Indians before the Parsis. While no one will begrudge the Parsi community representation, I fail to see how anyone can justify the unprincipled political expediency which seems to govern political negotiations in this country, which appear to be inspired by the sole motive of placating those who have either a nuisance or a money value.

"DISPROPORTIONATE"

"The civic stability of the Anglo-Indian community and our unequalled services in maintaining the administration seem to be disqualifications. The moral for Anglo-Indians would appear to be that it is only when we begin to acquire a nuisance value will we secure our rights in the political sphere.

"In any case, I cannot appreciate the refusal to extend the number of members of the Interim Government from 14 to 15. I find it difficult to believe that the Muslim League insists on excluding only the Anglo-Indian community from the Government. The Muslim League has always proclaimed its regard for the smaller minorities of India, and I feel that it would never maintain that it insists on the number of the Interim Government being confined to 14 so that the Anglo-Indians should be the only minority to be excluded.

"The policy of the Anglo-Indian Association has been clearly defined by me. It is nationalist and will continue to be so and to support programmes which we regard as in the best interests of the country. At the same time we have refrained from taking sides in the political arena. Further the Anglo-Indian Association, which is a most highly organized body can produce a really representative non-one, unlike most of the other small minorities.

"What, therefore, does the British Administration hope to achieve by the persistent exclusion of and repeated insults to the Anglo-Indian community, except to convert those who are not unfriendly into enemies?

DELHI TEMPERATURE

The maximum temperature in Delhi yesterday was 86.8 degrees and the minimum 76.2 degrees.

Harijan Campaign Postponed

Tune — 28.8.46

APPEAL TO ENROL VOLUNTEERS

POONA, August 27: The *satyagraha* movement of the Scheduled Castes Federation which was to have been restarted on September 2,—the opening day of the adjourned Bombay Assembly session—has been postponed, according to a statement issued today by Mr. P. N. Rajbhoj, General Secretary of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation. "The movement will be started with greater vigour in Bombay Province, and the Scheduled Castes people are expected to make complete preparations for the same by collecting funds, as well as enrolling volunteers," Mr. Rajbhoj adds.

Mr. Rajbhoj continues, "For the present, the movement will be started soon in the Central Provinces and the United Provinces and it will be conducted on non-violent lines. As soon as preparations for conducting such movements are complete in other provinces, the Council of Action will allow those provinces to start the movement there."
—A.P.I.

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"DISQUALIFICATIONS"

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Message From Britain Can Only Be Short-lived"

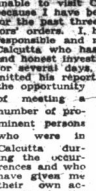
MR. LIAQUAT ALI KHAN MAKES A COUNTER-CHARGE

Time - 28.8.46

NEW DELHI, August 26.

MR. Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, in a statement on the Calcutta killings says: "Muslims of Calcutta had made no preparation of any kind for any trouble. Not to speak of their readiness for an offensive for self-defence. On the contrary, the followers had, apparently made preparations for violence on a mass scale and in an organised manner."

He says: "I have not so far made any comment on the recent happenings in Calcutta as the full facts were not known to me. I was also unable to visit Calcutta personally, because I have been confined to bed for the past three weeks under doctors' orders. I, however, deputed a responsible and reliable person to Calcutta who has made a thorough and honest investigation on the spot for several days, and has now submitted his report. I have also had the opportunity of meeting a number of prominent persons who were in Calcutta during the occurrences and who have given me their own accounts of the situation.



Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan

"What I have been able to ascertain from these sources leaves no doubt in my mind that the Muslims of Calcutta had every intention of observing the 'Direction Action Day' in perfect peace and order, and that the instructions of the Qaid-e-Azam and their local leaders to maintain discipline had had their effect on them.

"From early on the morning of August 16, attacks began on Muslims in widely scattered parts of the city and brickbats and other missiles were thrown on Muslim processionists proceeding peacefully towards the maidan where their meeting was to be held. I am informed that hospital records bear out that the overwhelming majority of the injured and the wounded admitted until late on the night of August 16 were Muslims. This fact itself speaks volumes as to who were the aggressors in Calcutta.

CHARGE AGAINST HINDUS

"The Hindu elements whose actions plunged Calcutta into these orgies of violence and slaughter evidently did so for two reasons: First, they wanted to discredit the Muslim League Ministry by creating disorder on such a large scale that the forces of law and order at the Minister's disposal would be unable to cope with them adequately; and secondly, the Cabinet announcement of the decision to set up an Interim Government at Delhi at the Centre made them feel that Akhand Hindustan had been established already. They had become all powerful and they could be to Muslims whatever they liked. The anti-Muslim propaganda which has since been launched against the Muslim League Ministers corroborates this view and is clearly part of a premeditated plan to put the Muslim League Ministers on the mat.

"The present slaughter and carnage which have taken place must deeply shock everybody, and it is not the intention of the Muslim League to resort to such methods. Indeed if Muslims were minded to do so they would not have chosen for the purpose the city of Calcutta, where they are many times outnumbered by the Hindus. They would have chosen other places where they are in an overwhelming majority and also better organised. I find that, relying on press reports, Mr. Gandhi has expressed the opinion "It depends upon the leaders of the Muslim League as to whether the violence of Calcutta can be "sterilised" and not allowed to spread all over. Mr. Gandhi is supposed to verify his facts before he makes comments on them, but this is not the first occasion when he has disregarded this statutory rule, accepted one-sided versions from only non-Muslim biased sources, and saddled the Muslims with the main responsibility for violence when they were in reality the main victims of it.

QUALITY OF PREACHING

"For the best part of his political career, Mr. Gandhi has been preaching non-violence to the Hindus, but such be the quality of his preaching that it has steadily produced the very opposite results. Can Mr. Gandhi be unaware that they are in opportunities to give exhibitions of it whenever possible? Reports received from every town and city where disturbances have taken place during the last few days, for instance, show that everywhere Hindu elements struck the first blow or threw the first brick-bat at unprovoked and unsuspecting Muslims. If Mr. Gandhi would care to investigate from reliable sources what has been, for instance, happening in Delhi itself, without relying merely on one-sided Hindu versions he would realise the truth of what I have stated.

"I would earnestly appeal to Mr. Gandhi to realise even at this late hour where the policy of the Congress under his religio-political leadership is taking this great sub-continent to. The bitterness which sweeps India as never before and the orgy of violence which has been and will continue to be caused due to the communal arrogance and the spirit of violence fostered by the Congress, will not succeed in establishing the second Hindu period in India's history. A hundred million Musalmans will resist it, and a hundred million cannot be too much number to be wiped out by daggers, bayonets or bullets. The Muslim party which stands to gain by the Congress policy is the British. Were Mr. Gandhi and the Hindu Congress even now to realise that such advantage as they have gained or may gain with British help can only be short-lived and can bring India really no nearer to the common Hindu-Muslim goal of independence, the lives of countless Hindus and Muslims might still be saved and the foundation of freedom well and truly laid."—A. P. I.

League M.L.A.s' Boycott

NEW DELHI, August 27: Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League in the Central Legislative Assembly, has under the directions of the Leader, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, sent a circular letter to all the members of the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature to the effect that, in view of the proposed objectionable composition of the Governor-General's Executive Council as officially announced on August 24, no member of the Party will attend meetings of any committees, including the Standing Committees of various Government departments and the Select Committees on Bills, or any Committees nominated by the Government of India.—A.P.I.

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"Control Better Than State Ownership"

Times 28.8.46.

MR. J. R. D. TATA ON FUTURE OF STEEL INDUSTRY

"While I believe that the public interests involved in a basic industry like steel justify a reasonable measure of control, it will both hamper efficiency and retard future development, if the State assumes the ownership and management of the industry. What is primarily required in the public interest is a well conceived scheme for control rather than ownership or management by the State, and it is to this aspect of the problem that the Government as well as the industry should chiefly direct their attention". Thus observed Mr. J. R. D. Tata, presiding over the 39th ordinary general meeting of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., Bombay, on Tuesday.

Mr. J. R. D. Tata.

U. K. SCHEME

It was significant in this connection, he added, that the Government of the United Kingdom had decided, after mature consideration, to substitute for their original proposal to nationalise the steel industry a scheme for supervising its reconstruction and extension for which the finance would be largely provided by Government.

After emphasising the need for some machinery for checking the upward pressure on prices and also for ensuring distribution in accordance with priorities based on national importance in view of the inability of the industry to raise its output to the level of the demand, Mr. Tata told the shareholders that it was the industry's intention to continue the policy of periodically reviewing the price structure in relation to variations in costs so as to secure for the consumer his due share of the benefit resulting from the reduction in costs. He further stated that any arrangement towards meeting all genuine requirements of steel at reasonable prices would be welcomed by the industry.

EXTENSIVE PROGRAMME

Reviewing the working of the Company, the Chairman stated that the Company would soon have to undertake a fairly extensive programme of major repairs and renewals at a time when prices of plant and equipment were very high. He further pointed out that while the coal allotments were larger since the last meeting, actual receipts at the works were below the normal requirements and unless steps were taken as early as possible for increased production and rational distribution of coal, the future of the Indian steel industry would continue to give cause for anxiety.

In regard to labour's demand, he stated that the tentative proposals embodying the results of the inquiry would be shortly discussed with the workers' representatives. While he held the view that their legitimate fears and grievances should be removed, there should be some degree of flexibility in the wage structure owing to the uncertainty regarding the future course of prices. He indicated that both the basis and rate of bonus would probably be modified and looked forward to a heavier burden on that account from this year onward.

The directors' report for the year ended March 31, 1946 was adopted. The dividends as recommended by the directors were declared. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Mr. Dinsha K. Daji and Sir Fazal Rahimtoola were re-elected directors.

At an extraordinary general meeting of the Company held later, Mr. Tata presiding, resolutions approving and sanctioning the modification in the managing agency agreement between the company, Tata Industries Ltd., and the Tata Sons, Ltd., and altering the articles of association consequential to the appointment of Tata Industries Ltd., in place of Tata Sons, Ltd., as Managing Agents, were passed.

"Both Indian Parties To Blame For Present Discord"

MR. C. P. LAWSON URGES NEED FOR SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE

Times — 28.8.46

CALCUTTA, August 27.

BOTH the major Indian political parties must carry the blame for the deterioration in the Indian situation, said the President of the European Association, Mr. C. P. Lawson, M.L.A. (Central), addressing the Calcutta branch of the Association.

Mr. Lawson outlined the political developments which had occurred during the year and dealt particularly with the visit of the Cabinet Mission and the results of their work.

It was deplorable, he said, that even the measure of success that they had obtained was gradually slipping away into dreary discord as a result of the inability of Indian political parties to compromise for the country's good. Both the major parties must carry the blame for this deterioration, and as long as the spirit of compromise remained absent, the future of the country remained dark.

"GOONDA" MENACE

Dealing with the recent disturbances in Calcutta, the President said that no Government could avoid blame when its subjects were not permitted to go about their lawful occasions without fear of death or injury. It was, however, of little value, without substantial proof, to attempt to place the blame at the door of one or other of the major political parties.

The fact of the matter, Mr. Lawson said, was that during the war the *goonda* population of Calcutta had increased steadily, and they seized every outbreak of political disturbance to ply their disgraceful trade of murder and pillage. The President said that the immediate necessity was to apprehend and imprison all these lawless elements and keep them in prison during the period of transition. Meanwhile, if political parties wished for any sympathy either in India or abroad, they should make it their business to assist the authorities to apprehend and imprison all *goondas*, whatever their creed or politics. No one should be permitted to use the plea of 'patriotic intentions' to screen actions which were no more than brutal banditry.

After the President's address, discussion took place. The Chairman of the Calcutta branch, Mr. P. F. S. Warren, paid a special tribute to the Women's Services which had done so much to assist sufferers in the recent disturbances. Their work and that of the medical services was, he said, deserving of the highest praise.

The meeting urged the authorities to take immediate steps to arrest and suppress all unruly elements which have been responsible for these disturbances and "which are a disgrace to Bengal, and in particular to the city of Calcutta."

The meeting further placed on record its high appreciation of the services rendered by the police and particularly by the military forces.—A.P.I.

'NO ALLEGIANCE TO LEAGUE'

H. Times:— 27.8.46

R.I.A.F. Men Resent Press Report

"In response to inquiries concerning the statement published in certain newspapers that some R.I.A.F. personnel in Ambala have passed a resolution stating that they owe allegiance to the Muslim League, Air Headquarters in Delhi state that the reports do not represent the true facts," says a Press *communique* issued by the Public Relations Directorate, G.H.Q., New Delhi.

"The R.I.A.F. personnel at Ambala," the *communique* continues, "feel very much annoyed over this false news and its mischievous implications.

"It is emphasized that no allegiance to any political party can be allowed to stand in the way of loyalty to the Service. This is fundamental and the principle must be strictly observed.

"There is no question whatsoever of allowing anything which tampers with the discipline of the Services and any attempt to do so will be dealt with firmly."

LEAGUE PAPER'S PROPAGANDA CONDEMNED

The authorities of the Central Ordnance Depot, Delhi Cantonment, in a statement say: "At a meeting held on August 21, the Muslim members of the Labour Welfare Committee strongly condemned the propaganda carried on in "Dawn" against the authorities. They said they had readily accessible constitutional means for getting their grievances redressed."

'DIRECT ACTION' CONDEMNED BY LEAGUER

Times — 28.8.46.

Fear Of Bloodshed

"CALCUTTA RIOTS EYE-OPENER"

POONA, August 27.

Khan Bahadur M. H. Moledina, former Vice-President of the Poona District Muslim League, says that he does not agree with the "Direct Action" resolution of the Muslim League, as, in his opinion, such an act would result not only in bloodshed and loss of life and property, but would ultimately postpone India's freedom.

The Calcutta incidents should be an eye-opener to us, and sooner the Hindu-Muslim problem is settled the better, he adds.

Khan Bahadur Moledina, however, severely resents the action of the Viceroy in not calling upon the Muslim League to form the Interim Government in June last, when the League had accepted both the long and the short-term proposals of the Cabinet Mission. "This action of the Viceroy," he says "has naturally not only perturbed Muslims but annoyed them."

The Khan Bahadur adds that his resignation of the Vice-presidentship of the Poona District Muslim League and the Presidentship of the Poona Cantonment Muslim League was purely on account of personal reasons and not on account of any political differences of opinion. "I still continue to be a member of the League," he adds.—A.P.I.

LEAGUE COMMITTEE OF ACTION

New Members

A new Committee of Action for the ensuing year has been nominated by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah says:—

"In accordance with the powers conferred upon me by the resolution of the all India Muslim League of 24th and 26th December 1943, I appoint the following members of the Committee of Action in place of the present Committee whose term of one year for which they were appointed has now expired:—Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, Mr. Mohammad Ismail Khan, Khwaja Nazimuddin, Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar, Mr. Abdul Matin Chowdhury, Haji Abdul Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth, and Mian Mohammad Mumtaz Daultana.

Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan will be the Convenor of the committee and Mr. Mohammad Ismail Khan will be the Chairman.—A.P.I.

"ESSENTIAL" DEMANDS OF MUSLIM LEAGUE MET"

MR Z.H. LARI ASKS JINNAH TO REVISE DECISION

ALLAHABAD, Aug. 26.—"Lord Wavell has practically met the essential demands of the Muslim League," says Mr Z. H. Lari, M.L.A., Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party in the U.P. Assembly, commenting on Lord Wavell's broadcast appeal to Mr Jinnah.

Mr Lari adds: "Having agreed to participate in the Government announced on June 16, there can be no possible objection to the acceptance of the present offer unless an undertaking be required that Congress nominees will not include a Muslim. But such a demand is, in the present circumstances, is superfluous and inexpedient, at least immaterial. The proposed composition of the Interim Government is on organizational basis and not communal.

If Maulana Abul Kalam Azad could represent the Congress at the Tripartite conferences, what harm would accrue if a man like Dr Zakir Husain were to be among the six nominees of the Congress?

Hard Realities

"The broadcast appeal and assurances by the Viceroy deserve careful consideration by the Muslim League Working Committee and its Council. A proper appraisal is not possible unless we bear in mind the events preceding it and hard realities inherent in the Indian situation. The country is on the edge of a precipice and it is the duty of every one to speak out plainly and honestly so that collective wisdom may guide us to the right course of action. The time for resolution is past, the moment for action has come. Let there be intelligent comprehension and immediate action.

No Change In Principles

"The Viceroy in yesterday's broadcast said: 'The procedure laid down in the statement of May 16 regarding the framing of provincial and group constitutions will be faithfully adhered to; there can be no question of any change in the fundamental principles proposed for the Constituent Assembly in paragraph 15 of the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16, or of a decision on a main communal issue without a majority of both the major communities.' This is a clear reiteration of the original stand. The Secretary of State for India in the course of his speech during the recent debate in the House of Commons made it clear that they would not recommend for acceptance by the British Parliament any constitution in violation of the fundamentals of their scheme. What are the 'fundamentals' according to the British Government has been made crystal clear.

Constituent Assembly

"The Viceroy, apart from asserting that 'the procedure laid down in the statement of May 16, regarding the framing of provincial and group constitutions will be faithfully adhered to,' proceeds on to say that the Congress is ready to agree that any dispute of interpretation may be referred to the Federal Court. Hence there can be no legitimate apprehension that the President of the Constituent Assembly may interpret the State document in any manner he pleases.

"It is clear to me, therefore, that the clarification made by the Viceroy takes us back to the original position when the League accepted the Cabinet proposals. Even though the latest Congress resolution may be a mere make-belief, there is no reason why the League should persist in its withdrawal of the original acceptance. If the Congress attempts to use the general assembly for framing a constitution in disregard of accepted essentials, the League may equally use Sections B and C where it is in majority to form a constitution for an independent sovereign Pakistan State. The direct action that is expected to wreck the present Interim Government, would, with greater force and vigour be available to enforce our own-made constitution.

Interim Government

"Now as to the Interim Government. The Muslim League insisted on immediate formation of a provisional Government. They considered it a part and parcel of the Cabinet Mission's plan. It has come. The Muslim League Working Committee agreed to participate in the Government as announced by the Statement of June 16. It was composed of 14 members, five Leaguers, six Congressmen and three representatives of minorities. The Congress was in clear majority of eight. The offer is exactly the same save possibly with one exception, i.e., the exclusion of a nationalist Muslim."

Appeal To Jinnah

Mr Lari appeals to Mr Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, to convene an urgent meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council to review the situation as it has developed since July '29. Mr Lari maintains that the larger interests of the country and the Muslims warrant and demand restoration of the original League attitude towards the Constituent Assembly and Interim Government.—A.P.I.

PRESS WELCOMES INDIA'S FIRST CABINET

Necessity Of Communal Harmony Stressed

London, Aug. 28.—The British Press welcomes India's first National Government and pays a tribute to the Labour Government for "reversing the tragic policies of the past" and the Congress and others for shouldering the responsibility of governing the country at this juncture.

The magnitude of the latest advance in India cannot be hidden by the dark shadows of communal strife, declares the "Times" today commenting on the formation of the Interim Government.

Regretting that the abstention of Mr Jinnah and the Muslim League had prevented the formation of the desired Coalition Government, the paper says the Viceroy and Pandit Nehru have done their utmost to allay Muslim apprehensions.

Shadows of communal strife which lie over the political scene and even the imminent risk of civil war if Lord Wavell's warning is not heeded are powerless to conceal the magnitude of the latest advances, it writes. "For the first time an Indian Cabinet has been called to control the destinies of India. Pandit Nehru has begun well. The decision of the Sikhs to enter the Constituent Assembly in spite of doubts and hesitations is encouraging; the inclusion of a Sikh in the Interim Government has become possible and the support of a compact and influential community has been secured.

Minorities Represented

"The choice of Sardar Baldev Singh, a Punjab Minister, is wise; and the selection of Dr John Matthai to represent the Indian Christian community will be widely approved. There will be less agreement, perhaps, on the appointment of Mr Jagjivan Ram as the representative of the Depressed Classes, but Dr Ambedkar who is by far the ablest and the most prominent leader of his community has proved himself so doughty an opponent of the Congress Party that many members of the new Government would have found difficulty in working with him. A seat in the Constituent Assembly will enable him to continue his fight for the interests of his followers. But while the minority communities have been successfully enlisted in the new Government, it has proved impossible to secure the co-operation of representative Muslims in the face of the attitude of the League. So far, only three have been selected and one of them, Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, a distinguished historian, has already been put temporarily out of action by a murderous attack. That they will safeguard Muslim interests and discharge competently the responsibilities assigned to them need not be doubted, but they cannot replace those who enjoy the confidence of the great mass of Indian Muslims.

"It is clearly among the most urgent pre-occupations of Lord Wavell and the new administration to display in every pronouncement and every action, recognition of the necessity of communal conciliation. The energy by terms of his broadcast and by his visit to Calcutta is giving a lead which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues would do well to follow.

Able Administrators

"Principal framers of policy are likely to be found among the Congress Party veterans—who will hold the key positions in the new administration. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr Rajendra Prasad and Mr C. Rajagopalachari are three able administrators with a wide knowledge of men and affairs. They will add the firmness to keep some of the younger men trained only in the freedom of irresponsible opposition to harsher paths, which all who hold high public office must tread. While the new constitution is being hammered out the problems to be faced are many, in addition to the present dangerous communal tension, there is a serious labour unrest. The economy of the country remains seriously disorganised, partly owing to the leaner years of war, partly to the lesser

"The threat of famine still lies heavily on many areas. Public services are already overburdened. There are difficulties of constitutional adjustment. Unlike the provinces, where full responsible Government can function easily when the 1935 constitution is supplemented by convention, the new Central Cabinet must rely for its successful operation almost entirely upon unwritten understandings.

Maximum of Freedom

"As Lord Wavell has again stated, it will enjoy the maximum of freedom in the day-to-day administration of the country and though in law it does not possess powers characteristic of Dominion Status, it will be trusted by His Majesty's Government with the same close consultation and consideration. There will be many opportunities for friction as the complicated process of transferring authority from British to Indian hands proceeds; tact and tolerance will be needed on both sides, as well as among Indian communities themselves, if the perils of India's present plight are finally to be overcome and the dawn of independence to be transformed into day."

Triumph For Both

The Liberal "Manchester Guardian" claiming that what is happening in India is "something that has never happened before in the relationship of an Imperial power and a conquered country," adds, "it is a triumph not only for British and Indian compromise but for the Indian gift of commonsense. We welcome the Viceroy's new Ministers and wish them luck in their task. They will need it. So far as the quality of the personnel is concerned we could not wish for a better list."

Referring to the abstention of the Muslim League, it continues: "No doubt, the presence in the Government of Muslims not representing the Muslim League is resented by advocates of 'Direct Action' among the Muslims. When politicians play upon the racial and religious emotions of the masses violence is never far away. That was shown with terrible results in the riots of Calcutta. It is good to know that the Viceroy has gone to see things for himself. A military mind is needed there as much as a political mind. To those on the spot it may seem that the flare-up might have been prevented by more timely military intervention, but the only real remedy is to end the tension that feeds the flow of force."

The paper continues: "It was not an easy decision to break the deadlock by asking the Congress to form an Interim Government and hoping that the Muslim League would be brought in afterwards. We still do not know what the result will be. But Britain could not stand by any longer while two Indian parties tried in vain to reach agreement. We have tried for years to bring them together. It was not always skilfully done and perhaps

the success was not at all times very strong. On the whole however, British record in those 30 years will stand up pretty well as political records go before impartial examination."

Responsibility On Jinnah

The Conservative Daily Telegraph" stressing the responsibility which now rests upon Mr Jinnah, says that the attack on Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan like the riots in Calcutta, Allahabad and Delhi reveal the passion that is seething on the surface.

"If India is to be saved from communal strife and the chaos in Government that would attend it, Muslims of the League will have to be induced to take that generous share of office and responsibility that only awaits their acceptance.

"Upon Mr Jinnah, whose voice is authoritative in Muslim politics as is that of Mr Gandhi in deciding the course of Hindus, lies the onus of decision that must affect the whole history of India. If Lord Wavell's broadcast to the Indian people reveals misgivings as to the immediate future, its direct appeal for sinking differences and their influence in the course of deliberations for which a few days remain. The first All-India Cabinet will be gravely weakened if its authority is not recognized to be based on the willing assent of the people it claims to represent.

"Necessarily the new Ministry in its present form is predominantly that of the Congress Party. The preponderance of power is justified both by the results of the last election and by the Hindu majority in the population."

Direct Challenge

The "Yorkshire Post" says that Pandit Nehru who declared that the provisional Government would consider itself responsible to the Central Assembly, in fact meant that he would carry on, whether that might bring joint responsibility with British authorities in England or elsewhere or not.

"That is a direct challenge to the Viceroy's ultimate constitutional responsibility which only the British Parliament can divest him. The paper adds: "It is only too easy to imagine how serious that challenge will have to be met."

It is urged in some quarters that the Muslim League cannot had no alternative but to turn to Congress and that to carry on with the Caretaker Government was in all these circumstances impossible. The paper says: "That is probably true. There is no turning back in the path that we have so long pursued. But it remains to be seen whether we have chosen even the lesser of the two evils. We have to be prepared for the possibility that the massacre of the recent riots in Calcutta was but the prelude to disasters on a scale compared with which the Palestine trouble would be trivial. If that dreadful prospect is realized then the British people will have to decide now to discharge their duty to the hundreds of millions of Indians who, for nearly a century, have lived in security under their keeping."

Tasks Ahead Grim

The "Reynolds News" says: "Pandit Nehru who suffered behind the prison bars for 20 out of his 57 years for the cause of India's freedom, takes office, as the Premier in the first representative Indian Government. We are proud that the British Government has at last reversed the tragic policies of the past. Now it will fall to the Indian statesmen to deal with the overshadowing problems of communal rivalries, famine and exploitation which cry as urgently as ever for a solution.

"Tasks ahead are grim, but only Indian people can overcome them. All sections of the British democratic movement wish them well."—Reuter A.P.A. and Globe.

JINNAH WANTS MORE CONCRETE PROPOSALS

Statesman. 7.8.46

EFFORTS TO SEEK LEAGUE CO-OPERATION WELCOMED

VICEROY'S LATEST OFFER "VAGUE"

BOMBAY, Aug 26.—"If the Viceroy's appeal is really sincere and if he is in earnest, he should translate it into concrete proposals by his deed and actions," says Mr M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, commenting on Lord Wavell's recent broadcast announcing the formation of the Interim Government.

"I do not know what the Viceroy means," Mr Jinnah adds, "when he says in his broadcast, of his offer that has been made and which is still open. It is so vague, except that the Muslim League will have five seats. Nothing else is clearly stated.

"I am glad that the Viceroy realizes that what is needed is a Coalition Government in which both the main parties are represented, and I am glad that he is also speaking on behalf of Pandit Nehru and the Congress that they hold this view as strongly as he does and that their efforts will still be directed to persuade the League to join the Government."

Referring to the Constituent Assembly and the Viceroy's assurance that any dispute or interpretation arising out of the discussions in the Assembly may be referred to the Federal Court, Mr Jinnah asks: "Are we going to commence the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly with litigation and law suits in the Federal Court?"

The following is the text of Mr Jinnah's statement:

"My reaction to the Viceroy's broadcast is that he has given a severe blow to the Muslim League and Muslim India, but I am sure that the Muslims of India will bear this with fortitude and courage, and learn lessons from our failure to secure our just and honourable position in the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly.

"I once more repeat my question: why has the Viceroy gone back on what was announced in the statement of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on June 16 as final, and the assurances given to the Muslim League in his letter dated June 20?

(Editorial comment on page 4)

What has happened between June 16 and July 22 that he was pleased to change that formula vitally and substantially, and what has happened between July 22 and August 24 that he has gone ahead and jammed in a one-party Government?

"He says in his broadcast that he was addressing those who advised him that this step should not have been taken in this or at this time. I was one of those unfortunate persons and I still maintain that the step he has taken is most unwise and unstatesmanlike and is fraught with dangerous and serious consequences and he has only added insult to injury by nominating three Muslims who, he knows, do not command either the respect or confidence of Muslim India and two more Muslim names still remain to be announced.

"He is still harping that we are not opposed to the main policy of His Majesty's Government to fulfil their pledges by making India free to follow her own destiny. Of course, we are not opposed to the freedom of the peoples of India and we have made it clear that the only solution of India's problem is division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan, which would ensure the most freedom to the two major nations, and every possible safeguard for the minorities in the respective States.

"I am sorrier than the Viceroy about his failure to secure a Coalition Government but my sorrow springs from a different fountain and for different reasons from those of the Viceroy. I am glad that the Viceroy realizes that what is needed is a Coalition Government in which both the main parties are represented and I am glad that he is also speaking on behalf of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Congress that they hold this view as strongly as he does and that their efforts will be directed to persuade the League to join the Government. I do not know what the Viceroy means when he says in his broadcast of his offer that has been made and which is still open. It is so vague except that the Muslim League will have five seats. Nothing else is clearly stated.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

"He has referred to many other things into which I need not go at present. As regards the Constituent Assembly, I do not know what he means when he says that here again let me remind you that assurances have been given to the League that the procedure laid down in the statement of May 16 regarding the framing of provincial and group constitutions will be faithfully adhered to. It is not a procedure, it is fundamental and basic. The question is whether it can be changed in any way whatsoever.

"Then he proceeds to say that there can be no question of any change in the fundamental principles proposed for the Constituent Assembly in paragraph 15 of the statement of May 16 and he echoes that the Congress are ready to agree that any dispute or interpretation may be referred to the Federal Court. But how can he expect an agreement on the terms and fundamentals of the statement of the May 16 when one party puts one interpretation and leaves to the authoritative statement of

[illegible] any dispute or interpretation arising out of the discussions in the Assembly may be referred to the Federal Court, Mr Jinnah asks: "Are we going to commence the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly with litigation and law suits in the Federal Court? Is this the spirit in which the future constitution can be framed for [illegible] 400 million people of this sub-continent? If the Viceroy's appeal is really sincere and if he is in earnest he should translate it into concrete proposals by his deed and actions."—API.

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SIKH LEADER WELCOMES VICEROY'S BROADCAST

(From Our Correspondent)

AMRITSAR, Aug. 26.—"The formation of the Interim Government is indeed an important step forward in the history of our country; for the first time since the advent of the British in India, the people's representatives, among whom are some of the best Indians, will form a popular Government." says Sardar Niranjan Singh Gill in a statement.

He adds: "I have no doubt that the members of the new Government will be able to solve the problem of the poverty of our masses.

The Sikhs will give all the cooperation in this constructive work as they have previously done in the battle for freedom but their just rights and deserving place in the future India must be assured.

"I welcome the general tone of the Viceroy's speech but feel that his reference to the constitutional position of the armed forces was unnecessary and gives one the impression that these forces will be treated as a reserved subject. I hope, however, that statesmanship on both sides will solve this thorny problem and we will have national forces for the defence of India in the immediate future, for without that independence will be a myth."

SIKHS' CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

AMRITSAR Aug 24.—When asked what he thought of Mr Jinnah's latest invitation to him Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, said: "I do not believe in quibbling. I maintain that Sikhs have lifted their boycott of the Constituent Assembly owing to changed circumstances in order to achieve their object namely, safeguards for Sikh rights and Panthic unity. If our objective is not achieved forthwith we shall resort to direct action.

"The Muslim League's reversal of earlier policy may not be a change in Mr Jinnah's eyes. With me words do not matter."

JINNAH CONDEMNS ATTACK ON SIR SHAFAAT AHMED

BOMBAY, Aug. 26.—Mr M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, has sent a telegram to Begum Rehman, sister of Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, at Simla strongly condemning the brutal and outrageous attack on Sir Shafaat, and expressing the hope that he will be alright soon.

The telegram reads: "Political views apart, I entirely condemn the brutal and outrageous attack on Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan and I am glad he is out of danger. Hoping he will be alright soon."—A.P.I.

SIND LEAGUE PRESIDENT WARNS MUSLIMS

KARACHI, Aug. 26.—"I am shocked to hear of the dastardly attack upon my friend, Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, who has served the Muslim community with singleness of purpose and devotion worthy of emulation. He, therefore, deserves well of the community," says Mr M. H. Gazdar, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League.

"At a time when passions run high in this country, it behoves every member of my community to keep his head cool. The younger generation especially needs to be reminded at this critical hour in the history of Islam of the teaching of our Holy Prophet. Violence of any kind is likely to cut the very root of the League cause which everyone of us has at heart. Dastardly crimes like political terrorizing do not pay any dividends as the history of India and the history of the Jews of Palestine teach us.

The present occasion demands cool and dispassionate thinking to find a way out of the impasse created by the British Government. I, therefore, appeal to my fellow Muslims not to be misguidtd or indulge in acts which are bound to hit us back like a boomerang."—A.P.I.

MOST COWARDLY CRIME SAYS SIR T. B. SAPRU

ALLAHABAD, Aug. 26.—"It is intolerable that our politics should have reached this stage when no difference of opinion can be tolerated and when any one who differs from you must do so at the peril of his life," said Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru when interviewed on the assault made on Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan at Simla.

Sir Tej added: "Socially Sir Shafaat was a most popular figure in Allahabad during his many years' stay here as Professor of History. I have always respected him for his knowledge and learning and when he attended the Round Table Conference he made his mark as a close student of politics and as one who could speak with knowledge on the federal constitution.

"Sir Shafaat may have his faults, but who of us has not? But to punish a man like this merely because he has accepted office in the teeth of opposition of the party from which he resigned, is one of the most dastardly and cowardly crime. I sincerely hope and trust his life may be spared. My sympathies are with him, his wife and daughter."—A.P.I.

MOHALLA UNITS FOR SELF-PROTECTION

NEHRU SUGGESTS WAYS TO END RIOTING

ALLAHABAD, Aug 28.—"Calcutta has been a terrible shock and the horror and heart-rending tragedy of the killing and in human atrocities there have shaken up all of us" says Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a statement to the Press.

"The new development of violence, involving stabbing arson and looting, chiefly in cities, obviously cannot be tolerated if else all organized life would become impossible, Pandit Nehru adds.

"This has ceased to be merely communal or political. It is a challenge to every decent instinct of humanity and it should be treated as such. What has led up to this, the incitements to violence, the direct invitations to the shedding of blood, are worthy of inquiry so that effective action may be taken.

"For the present, we are concerned with the immediate steps to be taken. It is well to remember, however, that during the past 28 years of repeated conflict on an intensive and mass scale between the nationalist movement and the British Power in India, nothing of this kind has happened. A very few regrettable incidents have occurred, but in spite of high passion and deep feeling, our movement has been carried on at a high level of peaceful and decent behaviour even todards our opponents. It is well to compare this with recent events.

CITIZEN'S RESPONSIBILITY

"In the present circumstances then, what are we to do? The responsibility for maintaining peace and order must necessarily fall on the Government and its police forces. But every citizen has also a certain responsibility and in a crisis like this it is an obligation for every citizen to discharge this responsibility. For, the conflict is between ordinary decency and bestial behaviour. When such conflicts occurred, there is always danger of even decent persons being swept away by passions and sinking to low levels. We cannot permit this or else there would be no hope for India. Inevitably, when one is attacked there has to be self-defence and organized defence by the police as well as by the people. Anti-social and gangster elements can never be allowed to dominate a situation. This requires co-operation between the people and the police, and a spirit of accommodation between them so that such anti-social elements might be isolated and dealt with adequately.

"It has been the usual practice that when a communal riot occurs, a peace committee is formed consisting often of some of the very elements that have caused the trouble. Such peace committees may be useful, but thir utility is not enhanced by the presence of these elements. Trouble-makers do not easily transform themselves into messengers of peace and goodwill. It is more necessary for the average citizen to organize themselves so as to prevent trouble or nip it in the bud as soon as it begins.

MOHALLA ORGANISATIONS

"No resident of a mohalla or ward wants trouble at home. The residents of each mohalla should, therefore, organize themselves for self-protection, that is for the protection of that mohalla. Their primary concern should be to look after that particular area and the people who live there. Being neighbours they know each other and can rely on each other. Even if some trouble occurs in some other part of the city, people should stick to their mohalla and keep it immune for it. If all or most of the mohallas are so organized, no trouble can spread and, even if it occurs sometimes here, it can easily be isolated and ended.

"Mohalla committees or peace committees should be open to all the residents of the mohalla, without any question o religion or party or profession. No elaborate organisation necessary, either in the mohalla or the city. The more informal all this is the better. With further experience, the idea can be devlopd. A such attmpt at "ganising self-protection in many areas should lead to self-reliance and co-operation between the people living there. It should be based also on co-operation with the police and the authorities who have a very difficult task in these critical times. Just as in a mohalla is organized for self-defence so also villages can be organized."

API.

AMBEDKARITES TO LAUNCH Satyagraha MOVEMENT

27.8.46.

POONA, Aug 26.—The Working Committee of the Scheduled Castes Federation has decided to launch a non-violent satyagraha movement to achieve their political objective and to renounce all the titles conferred by the British Government.

The mode of the satyagraha is to be decided by the Scheduled Castes people of different provinces subject to general directions.

In a resolution adopted at its meeting in Poona during the week-end the committee stated that the British Government had treated the Scheduled Castes with utter disregard, leaving them to the mercy of the two major political parties in India and had not hesitated to ignore their own promises and pledges given

Dr. Ambedkar.

The resolution adds "The Working Committee thinks that the Scheduled Castes cannot sit silent and bear this insult and that the least they can do to meet the situation is to renounce the titles that have been conferred on them by the British Government in the past and refuse to accept any in the future.

EMPHASIS ON NON-VIOLENCE

By another resolution the Committee stated that it had come to the conclusion that "the launching of satyagraha is essential if the cause of Scheduled Castes is to triumph and may have to be intensified from time to time until the object is achieved". The resolution impressed upon the provincial organizations of the Federation to see that the "non-violent character of the satyagraha is strictly maintained".

Referring to the formation of the Interim Government, the Committee stated that the Government was not entitled to the respect and co-operation of the Scheduled Castes and that Congress did not deserve their confidence and trust.

The resolution condemned the "unholy conspiracy between the British Government and Congress to reduce the Scheduled Castes to the position of a non-entity in the Executive Council. It regarded the offer of one seat to the Scheduled Castes in a Cabinet of 14 as an insult and injury to them and called on Mr. Jagjivan Ram not to accept the invitation of Congress, until full justice was done to the Scheduled Castes.

The Committee also conlemned Mr. Gandhi's article in Harijan of July 28 in which he said that untouchables were not a minority.

The Committee welcomed the assurance of Lord Pethick-Lawrence and the Prime Minister that they regarded Scheduled Castes as an important minority. It, however, felt that in order to strengthen the position of the Scheduled Castes in the Constituent Assembly and the Advisory Committee and to make it known that His Majesty's Government, while making the treaty, would examine whether the safeguards provided for the scheduled castes were adequate, it was essential that the Prime Minister should make a public pronouncement on this issue and resolve all doubts.—API.

Wavell's Statement Gives Basis For Fresh Talks

A. B. Patrika. 24.8.46.

Bengal League Secy. Pleads For Coalition Ministry

Mr. Abul Hashim, Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League and M. L. A., told the Associated Press of America that Viceroy's August 24 broadcast provides "sufficient basis" for fresh talks between the League President Mr. Jinnah and the Viceroy and Mr. Jinnah and the Congress President Pandit Nehru.

"There is necessity for reconsidering League's Bombay plan," he recognised, adding, "It is not a matter for the League Council to decide but for leaders to consider."

"But basically, so far I am personally concerned, I am opposed to accepting the British proposals," Mr. Hashim said.

Replying to a question, the League Secretary observed:

ANXIOUS FOR COALITION

"An all-party Ministry in Bengal — League-Congress Ministry in particular — is the most desirable thing."

"We are anxious to have a coalition in Bengal, but we cannot have it unless the all-India question is settled" or the Congress-League High Commands "leave alone Bengal in the hands of provincial League and Congress to decide their own fate."

"But," he added, "a provincial settlement, without a settlement at Centre, will not correspond to realities."

Coming to August 16 Calcutta carnage, Mr. Abdul Hashim held, "British imperialism and agents of British imperialism, moving with us like shadows," responsible for it, adding agents of British imperialism among Hindus and Muslims were "very active" in spreading rumours and inciting people.

"The Viceroy, by words, acts and gesture, definitely tried to create ill-feeling amongst the two communities, thinking that there is possibility of handing over power to this or that community alone.

"The riot is the result of this policy."

"The Cabinet Mission came in India to create sufficient justification for the continuation of their domination. They needed the backing of world opinion to prove that Indians are incapable of ruling themselves," the League Secretary observed.

Meanwhile, a top-ranking Congress Parliamentarian, preferring to remain unidentified, told the A. P. A. that there was no sign of a coalition Ministry in Bengal, adding "the start should come from Mr. Suhrawardy, the Chief Minister."—(A. P. of America).

"HINDUS WANTED RIOTS AND HERE THEY ARE"

Gazdar Gloats Over Calcutta Carnage

Tribune 28.8.46

(From Our Own Correspondent)

KARACHI, August 25.—Mr. H. M. Gazdar, President, Sind Provincial Muslim League at a Press conference stated that their "Direct Action" would take the form of 1942 upheaval organized by the Congress. He frankly declared that their actions could not be non-violent, but he affirmed that the Congress had no reason to complain against violent actions of the League as they themselves were party to violent deeds in 1942. Referring to Ashti and Chimur incidents, he said that the Congress had released all those persons who had committed arson and murders and had characterised their activities as brave deeds. He went on to say that the League would also extol the activities of such persons and will release them on coming to office.

He concluded by giving threat to the Congress provinces that, if any Muslim was touched for any of his activities, Hindus in the Muslim majority provinces would have to pay double penalty.

Referring to the Calcutta riots, he said that the Hindus wanted riots and they have got them.

Commenting on the Sind situation, "Sind Observer" writes: "Lives of Coalition party members have to be protected on account of threats of murder they are receiving and there are gangs of men with their pockets full of money, with under ground organization, to create mischief on the day, when the no-confidence motion is due to be discussed. Calcutta is a warning—a grim and terrible warning. Local authorities ought not to allow themselves to be caught napping, nor should the citizens release their vigilance. They must immediately send representation to the Governor and hold public meetings calling on him to keep undisturbed peace of the city and the province, in view of the underground activities that are going on to create "Black Friday" in Karachi.

U.S. PAPERS FEATURE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

NEW YORK, Aug 24.—The announcement of the new Indian Government was front-page news in American newspapers today.

Dr Taraknath Das, visiting Professor of Public Affairs, University of New York, and one of the leading authorities on India in the United States, said: "I congratulate the leadership of the Congress for its moderation and steadfastness in promoting Indian independence. I hope that in no distant future there will be established a federated republic of the United States of India."

Dr Das hoped that the foreign policy of the new nationalist government would be based not upon sentimental and anti-British feeling but on a real desire for the preservation of national security through world co-operation and would thus help to promote world peace.

The announcement was greeted with satisfaction by Mr Sol Bloom, Chairman of the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee, who said: "I hope that from the present government will develop that which will give peace and security to all the peoples of India. I see no reason why people of all religious creeds cannot live together in peace and harmony as we do over here."—Reuter.

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"League Should Enter Interim Government"

Nawab Abdul Aziz, a prominent member of the Muslim League and a retired financial commissioner of the Punjab, in a statement on Sunday, urged that the Muslim should enter the Interim Government at any rate to give it a trial.

"It is always open to the League," he said, "to give up office if Lord Wavell's expliicit assurances are not fully honoured in word and spirit. Therefore, to fight shy of joining a trial to the Interim Government is to put the Muslim nation altogether out of court. The Muslim League cannot be eclipsed except by its own actions, and it is better to try life before embracing death."

Muslim Seats Should Have Been Kept Vacant

The view that Muslim seats in the Interim Government should have been left unfilled was expressed by Malik Firoz Khan Noon, former member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in an interview on the formation of the Interim Government.

Referring to the present state of restlessness in the country, Mr Noon said: "My strong plea with the whole of Muslim India is that at this juncture there should be no communal riots or violence against the Hindus, because this will only strengthen the hold of the foreigners in this country.

"We must all combine together and put the present Labour Government to the test and find out if they really mean to quit India. I don't think they do. They are only interested in having an Indian Executive Council for the next 20 years. If they really mean business let them put the Cabinet Mission's proposals into an Act of Parliament and put that constitution into action in India. Otherwise, people would feel that the Constituent Assembly has only been devised to keep the people in suspense and continue the present communal tension."

Ranga Welcomes New Government

Welcoming the announcement of the personnel of the Interim Government, Prof. N. G. Ranga, President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, and Mr Satyanarain Sinha, Chief Whip of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, said: "At long last a National Government is coming in. We are confident that under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr Rajendra Prasad and other leaders and with the wholehearted co-operation of the patriotic masses of India it may be possible for us to transform this Government into a cent per cent National Government of free India. We trust that very soon better counsels will prevail in Muslim League circles and that League leadership will also decide in favour of joining the Government."—A.P.I.

"MUSLIM LEAGUE SHOULD REVISE ITS ATTITUDE"

KARACHI, Aug. 24.—Khan Bahadur Haji Maula Bux, leader of the Nationalist Muslims in Sind, who had gone to Delhi on an invitation from Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, returned here yesterday.

In a statement, Haji Maula Bux says that so far as the Congress is concerned, the door of negotiations with the Muslim League is open. The Muslim League should revise its attitude and come to a reasonable settlement with the Congress.

He adds that the present political situation in Sind does not permit him to join the Government at the centre.—A.P.I.

"SPIRIT OF DEFIANT PROVOCATION"

Statesman 26.8.46

Muslim seats in the new Government should have been kept vacant, said Malik Firoz Khan Noon, former member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in an interview. "Congress nominees are hardly the persons who can assuage Muslim discontent. These appointments are definitely made in a spirit of defiant provocation."

Referring to the state of restlessness in the country, Mr Noon said that his plea to Muslim India was that "at this juncture there should be no communal riots or violence against the Hindus, because this will only strengthen the hold of foreigners in the land and throw the present Congress High Command into the lap of the British Power and thus make the dawn of our freedom recede into the dark future. We must all combine together and put the present Labour Government to the test and find out if they really mean to quit india. I don't think they do. They are only interested in having an Indian Executive Council for the next 20 years.

"If they really mean business let them put the Cabinet Mission's proposals into an Act of Parliament and put that constitution into force in India. Otherwise people would feel that the Constituent Assembly has only been devised to keep the people in suspense and continue the present communal tension."

Asked if there was still any chance of the League changing its decision to boycott the long and short-term arrangements, Mr Noon said that in view of the uncompromising attitude of the Congress High Command there was no prospect of that. "In my opinion, within the next six months either the Congress Ministers and the British authorities will fall out, or else the Congress leaders will have drifted into a position of insignificance and dependency. They seem to be more keen on holding jobs in the Centre than making the country free."—API.

FRONT-PAGE NEWS IN U.S. PRESS

N. Times 26.8.46

NEW YORK, Aug. 25.—The announcement of the new Indian Government was front-page news in American newspapers on Saturday.

"The New York Times" says in an editorial "whether or not India can now take the straight road to independence or must lose her way in civil strife between Muslim and Hindu depends not alone upon the wisdom of the new leadership, but on the basic struggle, apparently not yet ended, between two hostile religions. If Mr Jinnah had hoped to win the support of third parties, he has lost it and that of many of his own followers, repelled by the fratricidal slaughter in Calcutta."

Mr Sol Bloom, Chairman of the House of Representatives' Foreign Affairs Committee, said: "I hope that from the present Government will develop that which will give peace and security to all the peoples of India. I see no reason why people of all religious creeds cannot live together in peace and harmony as we do over here."

Dr Tarakhnath Das, visiting Professor of Public Affairs, New York University, said: "I congratulate the leadership of the All-Indian National Congress for its moderation and steadfastness in promoting Indian independence. I hope that in no distant future there will be established a federated republic of United States of India. I hope the foreign policy of the new nationalist Government will be based not upon sentimentalism and anti-Britishism but on realism of preservation of national security through world co-operation and thus promotion of world peace."

Sir Samuel Runganadhan, leader of India's delegation to the Peace Conference, said at Paris: "I am rejoiced that the efforts of the Viceroy to form a Government as representative as possible of the people has met with success."—Reuter and A.P.A.

'STATEMENT MADE BY VICEROY MISLEADING'

Stalemate ...

Wavell-Jinnah Letters Released

BOMBAY, Aug. 25.—Following the announcement of the formation of the Interim Government and the Viceroy's broadcast Mr Jinnah has released the correspondence that passed between him and the Viceroy between July 22 and August 8.

IN a statement releasing the correspondence Mr Jinnah says: "It is to be regretted that the Viceroy, in his broadcast last night, should have made a misleading statement, contrary to facts, that 'though five seats out of 14 were offered to the Muslim League, though assurances were given that the scheme of constitution-making would be worked in accordance with the procedure laid down, and though the new Interim Government is to operate under the existing constitution, it has not been possible to secure a coalition.'

The truth is that the Viceroy wrote to me on July 22 making certain proposals which were vitally and substantially different from the Interim Government proposals embodied in the statement of June 16 and the assurances given to the Muslim League enclosing a copy of a similar letter addressed by him to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

"This was on the eve of the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League and the Viceroy knew full well that a grave situation had been created and that there were serious apprehensions and misgivings about the policy of His Majesty's Government and his attitude in the matter. Nevertheless he did not a single word in his letter of July 22 with regard to our position vis-a-vis the Constituent Assembly in the light of the decision of the Congress, the pronouncements of the Congress leaders and the directive given by the Assam Assembly to Assam's representatives on the Constituent Assembly to have nothing to do with the A, B, C Group.

"I replied to the Viceroy on July 31 clearly stating our position with regard to his new move, which was obviously uniten 'ed to meet Congress wishes, for else what justification was there for him to depart even from the five proposals embodied in the statement of June 16? Will the Viceroy explain why there should be any departure from those proposals and the assurances that were given to us and for whose advantage this new move is being made by him?

PANDIT NEHRU'S OFFER

"I received a reply from him dated August 8 acknowledging my letter of July 31, it is amazing that he should have stated therein that in suggestion in his letter of July 22 was the 'same as the one the Muslim League Working Committee decided at the end of June, namely 6-5-3.' This is entirely incorrect as has been already pointed out by me in my letter of July 31. He further says: 'In view of the League resolution of July 29, I have now decided to invite the Congress to make proposals for an Interim Government, and I am sure that, if they make a reasonable offer to you of a coalition, I can rely on you for a ready response'.

"I had, and have no knowledge or information as to what actually transpired between the Congress and the Viceroy; but Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, I suppose as arranged, came to see me, on August 15. It was merely a formality and he made his offer: that the Congress were willing to give five out of 14 seats to the Muslim League and the remaining nine were to be nominated by them, including one Muslim of their choice; that he was not forming an Executive Council under the present constitution but a provisional national Government responsible to the present Legislative Assembly, and he made it clear in his letter of August 15, in reply to mine of the same date, that, while he was willing to discuss the larger question with me, he had no new suggestion to make and added, 'Perhaps you may be able to make a new approach', and when I did make a suggestion he turned it down saying that the Congress stand was the same as laid down in their Delhi resolution passed on June 26 and the Wardha resolution of August 10 and only reaffirmed that stand, and this was repeated by him at the Press conference on August 16 before his departure for Delhi to meet the Viceroy. I informed Pandit Nehru that in these circumstances there was no chance of my Working Committee or the Council of the All-India Muslim League accepting his proposals.

"Thereafter the Viceroy, Pandit Nehru and the Congress leaders have now for nearly a week carried on discussions and negotiations behind my back and without any information being furnished to me, except the communiqué that was issued last night announcing the formation of the Interim Government and the Viceroy's broadcast. As the Viceroy has already disclosed the alleged offer without stating what reply he had received from me I am herewith releasing the correspondence:—

VICEROY-JINNAH CORRESPONDENCE

Letter from Lord Wavell dated July 22, 1946, to Mr Jinnah

(Personal and confidential)

Dear Mr Jinnah,—I declare my intention of replacing the present Caretaker Government of officials by an Interim Coalition Government as soon as possible; and am now putting to you as President of the Muslim

(Continued on page 5 column 6)

VICEROY-JINNAH LETTERS

(Continued from page 1, column 7.)

League and to the President of the Congress the proposals set out below.

2. I think you will probably agree with me that our negotiations both this summer and last year were hampered by the attendant publicity. I am therefore seeking your co-operation in conducting at any rate the preliminary stages of the negotiations on a strictly personal and secret basis between myself and the two Presidents. I very much hope that you will prevent this correspondence being known to or discussed in the Press until we have seen whether we can find some basis of agreement. I realise of course that you will have at some stage to secure the approval of your Working Committee but I believe it will be best to try and reach some basis of agreement between ourselves as a first step. I propose the following for your consideration:

(a) The Interim Government will consist of 14 members (b) six members (to include one Scheduled Caste representative) will be nominated by the Congress; five members will be nominated by the Muslim League.

Three representatives of minorities will be nominated by the Viceroy. One of these places will be kept for a Sikh.

It will not be open to either Congress or the Muslim League to object to the names submitted by the other party, provided they are accepted by the Viceroy.

(c) Distribution of portfolios will be decided after they have agreed to enter the Government and have submitted their names. The Congress and the Muslim League will each have an equitable share of the most important portfolios.

(d) The assurance about the status of the Interim Government which I gave in my letter dated May 30 to Maulana Azad will still stand.

3. I would welcome a convention, if freely offered by the Congress, that major communal issues can only be decided by the assent of both the major parties. I myself have always thought that it was essential to make this a formal condition since in fact a coalition Government could work on no other basis.

4. I sincerely trust that your party will agree to co-operate in the administration of India on the above basis, while the work of constitution-making proceeds. I am confident that this will be of the greatest possible benefit to India. I suggest that we should not stand further on points of negotiation; but should try out at once a government on the basis proposed above. If it does not work, and you find the conditions unsatisfactory, it will be open to you to withdraw, but I am confident that you will not.

5. Would you be good enough to let me know very soon whether the Muslim League will enter in the Interim Government on this basis? I have written in similar terms to Pandit Nehru and enclose a copy of my letter to him.—Yours sincerely, (Sd) Wavell.

P.S.—I am seeing Pandit Nehru this afternoon on other matters and will hand him his letter then.

Mr. Jinnah's reply dated July 31, 1946.

Dear Lord Wavell,—I am in receipt of your letter of July 22 and I notice that you have now stated that you are suggesting for the formation of your Interim Government from the proposals contained in paragraph 8(iv) as embodied in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself dated the 16th May, which was announced by you as final. Now you are making this fourth proposal in 8(d).

Every time the Congress turned down the proposals you proceeded as you were unable to appease them or propitiate them and every time the departure was prejudicial to the League and in favour of the Congress.

And now you have put your fourth proposal for our consideration. It gives a go by to all the important terms which were in favour of the Muslim League. The Congress will have six members out of 14 as against five members of the Muslim League, which breaks asunder away the principle of parity and you are letting down the Scheduled Castes, as one of them is proposed to be nominated by the Congress and not by the real spokesmen of the Scheduled Castes. I note that you say that five members will be nominated by the Muslim League but the other members of the minorities will be nominated by the Viceroy without reference to the Constituent from the Muslim League. The only indication that you have given is that one of these places will be kept for a Sikh.

Then you proceed on to say that "it will not be open either to the Congress or the Muslim League to object to names submitted by the other party, provided they are accepted by the Viceroy." From this I gather that it will be open to the Congress to nominate a quisling Muslim.

As to the distribution of portfolios, I note that the "parties" Congress and the Muslim League will have an equitable share of the most important portfolios but not equal as it was originally proposed.

As to the assurance about safeguards that the major communal issue could only be decided by the consent of both the major parties you say that "it is only considered if freely offered by the Congress" but you do not attach much importance to it as you obviously intended to appease the Congress and devised primarily to meet their wishes.

Taking the final proposal of June 16, 1946, in your letter of June 29 you informed me that 14 members were invited by you on the basis of parity between Hindu caste Hindus and community-wise and that it will not be changed without the agreement of the major parties. Apart from the secret talks you had with the Congress you clearly conveyed to us that the invitation was issued to join, specifically on the basis of five Hindus, five Muslims one Sikh and Scheduled Caste, one Parsi and one Parsi. Your present proposal clearly destroys the principle of parity as well as representation according to communities and gives a clear majority to the Congress as against the Muslim League to start with. Further the Scheduled Caste

(Continued in next column.)

(Continued from previous column.)

member will be nominated by the Congress which, in my opinion, is most unjust to a community of 60 million people who are groaning under the social and economic tyranny of the high caste Hindus, whom alone the Congress really represents.

As regards representatives of other minorities, they will be nominated by you without reference to or any consultation with the Muslim League. This again is a departure from what you stated in your letter of June 20, that "in any vacancy occurs among the seats at present allotted to the representatives of the minorities, I shall naturally consult both the major parties before filling it." I think you will appreciate that when you start with six Congress and five Muslim League with a Congress majority, the minority representatives will hold a very strong position as a balancing element, who would be nominated by you without even consultation with the Muslim League, and this is a serious departure from what we were assured of in your letter of June 20.

You categorically state in your letter of June 20 paragraph 5 that "no decision on a major communal issue would be taken by the Interim Government if a majority of the representatives of either of the two major parties were opposed to it," whereas now in the present proposals you inform me that you will welcome a convention if freely offered by the Congress!

As you have written this letter to me and as strictly personal and secret I can only say that in my opinion there is no chance of my Working Committee accepting this proposal.—Yours sincerely,

(Sd) Jinnah.

Letter from the Viceroy dated August 8.

(Personal and secret)

Dear Mr. Jinnah,—I have received your letter of July 31 about my proposal for an Interim Government.

2. I am sorry that things have gone the way they have, but I do not think it would be profitable now to enter into a detailed discussion of the points you raise in your letter. I will only remind you that the basis of representation which I suggested in the letter to which you now reply is the same as the one the Muslim League Working Committee accepted at the end of June, namely 8-5-3.

3. In view of the League resolutions of July 29 I have now decided to invite the Congress to make proposals. I hope we may have an opportunity of meeting soon.—Yours sincerely

(Sd) Wavell.

Mr Jinnah adds: "As regards the rest of the broadcast, I shall deal with it as soon as possible after the full text of it is available to me."—API.

OFFER MADE TO LEAGUE STILL OPEN

ASSURANCE BY VICEROY

"I shall implement fully HMG's policy of giving the new Government the maximum freedom in the day-to-day administration of the country," said the Viceroy broadcasting on Saturday night. His Excellency made it clear that the offer made to the Muslim League was still open. The League could propose to him five names for places in a Government of 14, of whom six would be nominees of Congress and three would be representatives of the minorities. "Provided these names are acceptable to me and approved by His Majesty, they will be included in the Government, which will at once be re-formed."

His Excellency assured the League that the most important portfolios would be equitably shared and appealed to the League to reconsider their policy and decide to participate in the Government.

Following is the full text of the broadcast:—

"You will have heard the announcement of the names of the members of the new Interim Government which will come into office very shortly. You will, I am sure, all realize that a very momentous step forward has been taken on India's road to freedom. Some of you, who listen to me may feel, however, that the step should not have been taken in this way or at this time. It is to these that I want principally to address myself tonight.

"You who are opposed to the formation of the new Government are not, I assume, opposed to the main policy of His Majesty's Government, namely, to fulfil their pledges by making India free to follow her own destiny. You will also, I think, all agree that we need at once a Government of Indians as representative as possible of political opinion in the country. This is what I set out to secure; but though five seats out of 14 were offered to the Muslim League, though assurances were given that the scheme of constitution-making would be worked in accordance with the procedure laid down, and though the new Interim Government would operate under the existing constitution, it has not been possible at present to secure a coalition.

COALITION NEEDED

"No one could be sorrier about the failure than I am. No one could be more sure that it is a coalition Government in which both the main parties are represented that is needed at this moment in the interests of all parties and communities in India. This is a view which I know that the President of the Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and his colleagues hold as strongly as I do. His efforts, like mine, will still be directed to persuading the League to join the Government.

"There is clearly the issue which has been made and is still open to the Muslim League. They can propose to me five names for places in a Government of 14, of which six will be nominees of Congress and three will be representatives of the minorities. Provided these names are acceptable to me and approved by His Majesty, they will be included in the Government, which will at once be re-formed. The Muslim League need have no fear of being outvoted on any essential issue; a coalition Government cannot exist and functions on the condition that both main parties to it are satisfied. I will see that the most important portfolios are equitably shared. I sincerely trust that the League will reconsider their policy and decide to participate in the Government.

"Meanwhile, however, the administration of India has to go on, and there are large issues which must be decided. I am glad that the representatives of a very large body of political opinion in the country will be my colleagues in carrying on the Government. I welcome them to my Council. I am also glad that the Sikhs have now decided to participate in the Constituent Assembly and in the Interim Government. I have no doubt that their decision is a wise one.

MAXIMUM FREEDOM

"As I have already made clear, I shall implement fully His Majesty's Government's policy of giving the new Government the maximum freedom in the day-to-day administration of the country. In the field of provincial autonomy, of course, the provincial Governments have a very wide sphere of authority in which the Central Government cannot intervene. My new Government will not have any power, or indeed any desire, to trespass on the field of provincial administration.

"The recent terrible occurrences in Calcutta have been a sobering reminder that a much greater measure of toleration is essential if India is to survive the transition to freedom. I appeal most earnestly to all citizens but to the young and to the discontented to recognize that no conceivable good either to themselves, or to their community, or to India, can come either from violent words or from violent deeds. It is essential that in all provinces law and order is maintained, that the protection of the ordinary peaceable citizen is assured with a firm but impartial hand and that no community is oppressed.

"The Army had to be called in at Calcutta to restore order, and rightly so. But I must remind you that to suppress civil disturbances is not the normal duty of the Army but that of the Provincial Govern-

VICEROY TALKS ON INTERIM GOVERNMENT

(Continued from page 1 column 1.)

ment. The use of the Army is a last resort. The general recognition of this basic principle is essential both from the point of view of the proper employment of the Army itself.

"I have heard much praise of the discipline and efficiency of the troops employed in Calcutta; and will add here my own tribute of admiration to my account for their behaviour in a duty which is the most exacting and unpleasant on which troops can be employed.

INDIAN WAR MEMBER

"The War Member in the new Government will be an Indian, and this is a change which both the Commander-in-Chief and I warmly welcome. But the constitutional position of the armed forces is in no way changed. They still owe allegiance, in accordance with their oath, to the King-Emperor, to whom and to Parliament I am still responsible.

"In spite of all immediate appearances I believe there is yet a chance of agreement between the two principal parties. I am quite sure that there is a very large body of opinion in both parties and of non-party men who would welcome such an agreement, and I hope they will all work for it. I would appeal also to the Press to use its very great influence on the side of moderation and compromise. The Interim Government can be re-formed to-morrow if the League decide to come in. Meanwhile, it will administer in the interests of the country as a whole and not of any one party or creed.

ASSURANCES TO LEAGUE

"It is desirable also that the work of the Constituent Assembly should begin as early as possible. I can assure the Muslim League that the procedure laid down in the statement of May 16 regarding the framing of provincial and group constitutions will be faithfully adhered to; that there can be no question of any change in the fundamental principles proposed for the Constituent Assembly in Paragraph 15 of the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16 or of any decision on a main communal issue without a majority of both major communities; and that Congress are ready to agree that any dispute of interpretation may be referred to the Federal Court. I sincerely trust that the Muslim League will reconsider their decision not to take part in the main speech, promises to give them so wide a field in which to protect the interests and to secure the future of the Muslims of India.

"We have come to another critical and solemn issue in the affairs of India. Never were tolerance and soberness in thought and action more necessary. Never were the wild speaking and rash deeds of a few fraught with greater danger for so many millions. Now is the time for all Indians in any authority, with any influence, to show by their good sense and restraint that they are worthy of their country, and that their country is worthy of the freedom it is to receive."

SUHRAWARDY'S DEFENCE

CONGRESS AND BRITISH BLAMED FOR RIOTS!

CALCUTTA, Aug. 24.—The Bengal Premier, Mr H. S. Suhrawardy, in an interview declared that the Hindus started last week's communal warfare.

He said that the Hindus began the fighting at the instigation of the British Government, which, he said, was finally responsible for setting "one Indian community against another."

He added: "This trouble obviously was started by the Hindu Congress, which wanted to fight, wanted to create a situation, wanted disturbances, and wanted to use them as a platform for discrediting the Bengal Ministry."

He accused the British Government of "playing with the Muslims and Hindus in a deliberate manner" during the negotiations for Indian independence. The British, he said, "have aroused such temper and hatred between Muslims and Hindus that they must stay in India for a new approach. There is no intention on the part of the British to quit India now."—A.P.A.

Hindustan Times
26/8/46

APPEAL FOR MUSLIM UNITY

Statesman 24.8.46

KARACHI, Aug 23.—"If all sections of Muslims are united and solidly behind the Muslim League, we can resist successfully any onslaught from our enemies and under the able leadership of our Qaide-e-Azam, we can even defy the Government at the Centre and make Sind and adjacent Muslim provinces autonomous and free from any kind of foreign authority," says Mr Yusuf Abdoolla Haroon, MLA (Central), in a statement today appealing to Muslims "not to play into the hands of the Congress at this critical period in the history of Indian Muslims."

Mr Yusuf denied that leaders of the League Assembly Party in Sind had approached Mr G. M. Syed or other Muslims in the Opposition for the formation of an all party Government in Sind.—API

JINNAH CAN PREVENT CIVIL WAR IN INDIA

MANCHESTER, Aug 23.—Perhaps no man has ever found himself in a position to exert so far-reaching an influence on India's future as Mr M. A. Jinnah by his will and action must do in the next few months, writes the Manchester Guardian.

"Most liberal-minded non-Muslims, both here and in India, have inclined to regard his insistence on recognition of two separate nations in India as a disaster of the first magnitude," the paper adds.

"Some have rashly classed him as a mischief-monger or a politician concerned chiefly to raise and secure his personal position and power. Yet, when the Cabinet Delegation came to India, Mr Jinnah surprised his critics by accepting in a constructive spirit, at some risk of opposition from his own party, a compromise suggested by the British negotiators. Different views may be taken of his subsequent quarrel with them. But he certainly had received much provocation from Congress leaders who showed hostility or indiscretion in their forecasts of the next steps to be taken towards the establishment of Indian independence.

"He can therefore hardly be blamed for declining to assist Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the formation of the Interim Government, but will he nevertheless, from within or without the Constituent Assembly, promote the establishment of an Indian Federation or bodies similar to those earlier accepted by him? He has the power, for his followers know that they can find no other leader capable of holding his own against Congress leaders at the game of politics and their tempers have not yet been exasperated so far as to prefer war to a peaceful and honourable settlement.

CAUTION AGAINST CIVIL WAR

"But if Mr Jinnah will not lead them on the way to such a settlement, there is no one else who can, and no doubt there is a whole crop of ambitious and spirited young men ready to urge their co-religionists to seek decision by battle.

"There is reason to fear too that many of the young Hindus would welcome such a trial by ordeal, not reflecting that civil wars are more easily begun than ended and that their outcome may easily be foreign intervention and control in a form hardly more tolerable than British Raj.

"The Calcutta riots may have brought home to some of them what terrible and senseless destruction may be wrought by leaving the constitutional path. They would certainly have left Mr Jinnah in no further doubt about his responsibility before mankind. He has not yet burnt his boats. We may still hope that he desires to be remembered in history as the man who dragged India back from the brink of a civil war."—Reuter.

BRITISH PERIODICALS BLAME LEAGUE

Statesman 24-8-46

LONDON, Aug 22.—"Some of the difficulties that await Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when his Government is formed can be measured by the riots that turned Calcutta into a battlefield for three days," says the current issue of the Socialist weekly periodical New Statesman and Nation.

The paper adds: "It is clear that Muslim rioters, who had lorries at their disposal and were armed with knives, were organized and they invaded Hindu quarters of the city in obedience to plan. In spite of the fact that Mr Jinnah himself and some of the local Muslim Leaguers did eventually call for peace, it is reasonable to fix the major responsibility on the League and its Ministers.

"What political measures will have to be taken to avert anarchy and bloodshed in future is the first question that will face the new Indian Government when it assumes office.

"Mr Jinnah's refusal to accept the five seats that Pandit Nehru offered him during their talk in Bombay disposes of any hope that the League will co-operate with the Congress during the first cruicial stage in the shaping of independence.

"On the other hand, everything possible is being done to give the Interim Government the status of Dominion Cabinet, though in law it will still be the Viceroy's Council."

'NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION'

The Left-wing Labour weekly, Tribune, commenting on the Calcutta riots says: "It is impossible to dissociate this outbreak of mob fury from the Muslim League's 'Direct Action' Day which started it. Mr Jinnah has condemned violence, but it is not easy to give a precise definition of non-violent direct action.

"The mortal enmity between the two communities seems all the more tragic as the very misfortune of Calcutta during the recent days has proved its artificiality when Muslims and Hindus co-operated and spontaneously assisted each other as human beings do everywhere in the world when faced with common danger."

The independent Time and Time under the heading "Predicament of Mr Jinnah" says: "Mr Jinnah has not risen to the occasion. No doubt he has his reasons and no doubt they are good, but his refusal of co-operation in the Interim Ministry under Pandit Nehru has done little more than strengthen his opponents' hand."

Referring to the Calcutta disturbances Time and Tide says: "Mr Jinnah certainly had no direct personal responsibility for the fact that the outburst was an immediate sequel there to his declaration of opposition and it is equally true that Calcutta and its mob are not representative of Indian cities.

"Yet, he is assuredly open to the charge of either secretly approving vicious hooliganism or having no control over his rank and file.

"It has, therefore, been a bad week for Mr Jinnah, who is revealed as a mere politician, just at the moment when Pandit Nehru is beginning to reveal himself as something approaching a statesman."—Reuter.

DIRECT ACTION DECISION ENDORSED

CAPETOWN, Aug 23.—The Capetown Muslim League today adopted a resolution endorsing the decision of the All-India Muslim League to resort to direct action, and pledged all possible help.

The meeting congratulated Indian Muslims, including Syed Raza Ali, former Agent-General in South Africa, who have renounced their titles.—Reuter.

"UNDERTAKER CABINET FOISTED ON INDIA"

Statesman 25.8.46

LAHORE, Aug. 24.—Most of the time of the new Interim Government "will be devoted to the disposition of the army, shooting and repression and construction of new jails for Muslims," said Raja Ghazanfarali Khan, member of the Punjab Muslim League, in a statement.

He said: "I returned from Calcutta today and was an eye-witness to the hell through which that city has passed. When reliable figures come to light regarding the number of casualties among Hindus and Muslims, the world will be astounded to know the real truth.

"I, however, do not wish to dilate on these details or apportion blame at this stage. I am more concerned about giving a sincere warning to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Congress leaders who are racing against time to form what I may call an 'undertaker' Government in place of a caretaker Government, regardless of the price which the country may have to pay for the gratification of their personal vanity. The present situation in a nutshell is that the Viceroy and the Congress leaders are trying to set up what the Caste Hindus now regard as a Hindu Government which would enable them to dominate over Muslims in this country.

"NEW JAILS FOR MUSLIMS"

"Pandit Jawaharlal and the Congress Press are daily advertising that it will be practically analogous to a Dominion Government with full and unfettered powers. The way in which the Congress leadership is making the Hindu mind work has produced natural, inevitable and intense reactions among Muslims. The meanest intelligence should realize that the type of government Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with the help of the Viceroy is trying to foist on India can neither bring India's independence nearer nor properly tackle the economic problems of the country. Most of its time will be devoted to the disposition of the army, shooting and repression and construction of new jails for Muslims because Muslims will never submit to the proposed substitution of a subordinate Hindu imperialism for British imperialism. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru may indulge in his favourite dream of making contributions to international peace and progress but he must realize that in international councils he will be the embarrassed representative of a country divided against itself.

"ONLY ONE COURSE"

"What is to be done? There is only one course. Lord Wavell, Pandit Jawaharlal and Mr Jinnah should sit together and settle the question of how political progress can be secured with the support of both major nations of the country. As soon as the Congress President honestly decides to face facts, to abandon party manoeuvring and to secure co-operation between the Congress and the Muslim League, I am quite sure that the Muslim League and its President will be generous and prompt in their response. If the so-called Viceroy finds the currents and cross-currents of Indian politics too much for him, the British Government should send out someone who can assist him to deal with them competently before it is too late."—APL.

Jinnah's Invitation To Tara Singh

H.T. 24/8/46

BOMBAY, Aug. 23. — An invitation to Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, to come and have a heart-to-heart talk with him, has been made by Mr M. A. Jinnah. Mr Jinnah in a statement assures the Akali leader that the League would meet the Sikh community reasonably and fairly.

Mr Jinnah says: "I have read the report of the statement of Master Tara Singh issued by him from Amritsar on August 21 and I am glad that Master Tara Singh has said that the Sikhs are anxious to be friendly towards everyone and subservient to nobody. I can assure him that the Muslim League and I are always ready and willing to meet the Sikh community reasonably and fairly and I invite them to come and have a heart-to-heart talk with me. Personally, I may say here, that I have got great regard for Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, and our relations have always been most cordial and friendly.

Denies He Has Changed

"As regards his saying that we have changed also, I am afraid Master Tara Singh has not appreciated the position. The Congress wrecked the final proposals of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy of June 16 regarding the Interim Government, by rejecting them. The Congress acceptance of the long-term plan was only sham as it is clear from the Congress President's letter of June 25 and the Congress Working Committee's resolution of June 26, and the Wardha resolution of August 10 has once more affirmed their original stand.

"In these circumstances, the Muslim League had only one course open and that was to formally withdraw its acceptance, as it was the only one of the two major parties which had definitely accepted both the long-term and the short-term plans together. It is not fair to characterize this as a change."—A.P.I.

H. Times 24.8.46

BHOPAL'S SECRET CIRCULAR TO PRINCES DENIED

A Press note issued from the office of the Chamber of Princes, New Delhi, on Thursday denies the report published in a section of the Press on August 20 and 21 that the Rulers of Indian States have been advised not to fill by popular representatives more than half of their respective State's representation in the Constituent Assembly.

According to the report, the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes is stated to have issued a 17-page typed secret circular advising, 'inter alia,' the member Rulers of the Princes Chamber (a) to increase their Privy Purses before the setting up of an Interim Government, (b) warning the Princes not to enter into any commitments on the question of representation of Indian States in the Constituent Assembly, (c) emphasizing that Princes should not grant more than 50 per cent of seats in the Constituent Assembly to popular representatives, (d) exhorting the Rulers to go to the Constituent Assembly themselves and suggesting the possibility of a revision of Princes' decision to participate in the Constituent Assembly in view of the withdrawal of the Muslim League.

The Press note says: "No such circular has been issued to the Princes by the Chancellor. The attitude of the Princes to the current political problems in the country was once again clearly defined on August 19 in a speech delivered by the Chancellor to a conference of Rulers and Ministers of Central India States held at Indore.

PRINCES—LEAGUE ALLIANCE AGAINST NEW CENTRAL GOVT.

NAWAB OF BHOPAL'S CONFIDENTIAL CIRCULAR TO RULERS

Hindustan Standard 24.8.46.

From Our Own Correspondent

ALLAHABAD, AUG. 23.—Will the Princes join hands with the Muslim League in fighting the proposed Interim Govt. at the Centre, if it tries to liquidate their sovereignty? This appears to be the intention of some Princes at any rate, according to a confidential circular issued by the Nawab of Bhopal the contents of which have been published by a local daily newspaper.

The circular discloses the possibility of revision of the Princes' decision to participate in the Constituent Assembly in view of the present attitude of the Muslim League with whom the Princes might ally in fighting the new Central Govt. under Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, if it tries to liquidate their sovereignty. The circular also advises the Princes to enhance their Privy purse before the new Govt. comes into power.

Statesman 19.8.46

BHOPAL RULER'S PLEA FOR REFORMS

BHOPAL Aug 17.—"The Princes have rendered conspicuous service to their country in the past. There is no reason why they should not do the same in the future." said the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, addressing a conference of Rulers and Ministers of Central India States at Indore.

His Highness added: "It is of the utmost importance and urgency that we should proceed with internal reforms without any further delay. The earliest possible steps should be taken to bring that measure of association of the people with our administration which will conform to the spirit and the letter of the declaration made by the Princes at the last session of the Chamber.

"It is not necessary that Your Highnesses should copy the Westminster model or the Soviet form of government or that of the United States of America. We must and should, have our own model best suited to our people and to local conditions. Models do not matter so long as a ruler decides to act through constitutional channels and the administration is conducted in accordance with the wishes of his people. Their needs and requirements should be fulfilled to the best of our ability, consistently with the resources at our disposal."—API

SIND PREMIER TO DECLARE PROVINCE INDEPENDENT

FROM OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

KARACHI, Aug 23.—Sind will be declared independent on the day the Interim Government is formed by Congress, according to Mr Gazdar, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League.

A formal declaration to this effect will be made in a statement by the Sind Premier, he said. Bengal will also simultaneously dissociate itself from the Centre, Mr Gazdar added.

INDIA NEEDS STRONG CENTRE

Close Association Between States And Provinces Urged

BOMBAY, Aug. 23.—The Congress had not acted wisely in having content itself with a limited Centre in the proposed constitution for India, said Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan of Travancore, while inaugurating the Indian Institute for Educational and Cultural Co-operation sponsored by Sir Rustom Masani at the Royal Asiatic Society.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami referred to demonstrations outside the building by some Kerala youths and said that the demonstrators wanted the British province of Kerala, that is, Malabar, and the Indian States of Cochin and Travancore, to be administratively united into one province.

"These three units," he said, "enjoy different systems of Government. They are under different sets of rules, their resources are of a different character, they have reached different stages of political and educational evolution. There is a great deal, a preponderatingly great deal, to be said for collaboration, for conjunction of effort, for co-ordination of enterprise and consultation and daily discussion even in administrative matters."

Unity Essential

"Some of us," he added, "have taken the view that in the whole of India there is need for provinces and States to come together, and in regard to that matter no one has been more enthusiastic and more interested than those with whom I have worked for several months. There is no getting away from the fact that, in order to secure and maintain the independence of India when it is gained, there has to be the closest association between the Indian States and the rest of India in all fields, not only social but political and administrative also.

"Therefore, methods and means have been contemplated and devised for the purpose of bringing together these separate units, the Indian States and the British Indian provinces, so that they may periodically take counsel with one another and solve their problems in unity. The system of mutual consultation and conjoint action extending over the administrative field depends upon a strong and effective Centre."

Limited Centre Powerless

He said that for many years he and Dr Jayakar had been "ploughing a lonely furrow" in this direction, namely, that there should be a Centre very strong and well able to put its will throughout the whole continent of India. "We have not contented ourselves with defence, foreign affairs and communications alone, leaving planning, food and many other problems which are of common concern for the whole of India. A limited Centre would be impotent.

"Therefore, it seems to me that the Congress has not acted wisely in having contented itself for the sake of compromise or otherwise with a limited Centre. The Centre should be strong and should have more powers so that the Indian States and the provinces would be guided together in common problems which are vexing us today."

"In this effort the States are willing to co-operate so that India may be welded into one unit," he added.

He referred to the view held by some people that India should be divided into linguistic areas—a question which he thought had come up to the surface only very recently—and that these areas should also have administrative jurisdiction.

"Live And Let Live"

In the context of the demonstrations outside, he thought that "there is a growing intolerance of opposite opinions, a disinclination to follow the principle of live and let live.

"That is a characteristic, a quality that is fatal to popular institutions and democratic and constitutional progress. It is bound to result in the tyranny of the majority or the tyranny of the minority.

"Unless these opinions can be freely ventilated without having to close one's doors, there can be no real progress towards democracy.

"As we, or are we not heading for real democracy—the evolution of human personality and precepts, the evolution of human values, the distinction between what is transient and what is permanent—all our arguments and disputations are in regard to that evolution, that judgment, tolerance, and patience to understand the other man's point of view? If this is attained, self-government will be attained and democracy will be realized.

Hindu Culture

"In the light of what is happening and in the light of Mr Jinnah's statement and what is taking place elsewhere, it is not wrong or inappropriate to think of the essence of Hindu culture. It is perfectly elementary to say that Indian culture cannot rightly be comprehended except as an amalgam, except as a synthesis, except as a chemical combination. Elements have come together and shaped separate characteristics and have conjointly produced one thing out of the two old things. In India, we have to learn the advantage of contact and have to give encouragement to it."

The work of the Indian Institute for Educational and Cultural Co-operation, he said, was to bring to the forefront the values of this cultural unity of India.

Mutual Understanding

"Why is there all this trouble today—so much race hatred, so much hatred between man and man? It is because of the misreading of history and religion." It was necessary for people to come together and bring into existence a new ideal in the world, and that ideal would be that man should be proud of his personal heritage, proud of his cultural background, proud of his country, and proud that he was a person who was not ashamed to borrow from or to lend to fellow men. Nothing that is human should be alien to us.

"An association is being formed today," he concluded, "in the hope that it will begin something and help a little towards advancing this ideal and in removing the misconceptions, those barriers, those antagonisms, those hostilities and those unfounded apprehensions the neighbour."

The institute has been formed for the promotion of intellectual fellowship and collaboration and international harmony and understanding, and the development of human culture, particularly the culture and cultural interaction of provincial units of India and of its different communities.—A.P.I.

AKALI LEADER INVITED TO MEET JINNAH

Statesman — 24.8.46.

BOMBAY, Aug 23.—Mr Jinnah, in a statement, invites Master Tara Singh, Akali leader, to have a "heart-to-heart talk" with him.

Mr Jinnah refers to the statement issued by Master Tara Singh from Amritsar on August 21 and says: "I am glad that Master Tara Singh has said that the Sikhs are anxious to be friendly towards everyone and sub servient to nobody. I can assure him that the Muslim League and I are always ready and willing to meet the wishes of the Sikh community reasonably and fairly and I invite them to come and have a heart-to-heart talk with me. Personally, I may say here that I have great regard for Master Tara Singh the Akali leader, and our relations have always been most cordial and friendly.

"As regards his saying that we have changed, I am afraid Master Tara Singh has not appreciated the position. The Congress wrecked the final proposals of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy of June 16 regarding the Interim Government by rejecting them. Congress acceptance of the long-term plan was only a sham as it is clear from the letter of the Congress President dated June 25 and the resolution of the Working Committee of June 26: and the Wardha resolution of August 1 has once more affirmed their original stand. In these circumstances the Muslim League had only one course open and that was to formally withdraw its acceptance, as it was the only one of the two major parties which had definitely accepted both the long-term and short-term plans. It is not fair to characterize this as a 'change'."—API.

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"Are we, or are we not heading for real democracy—the evolution of human personality and precepts, the evolution of human values, the distinction between what is transient and what is permanent—all our arguments and disputations are in regard to that evolution, that judgment, tolerance, and patience to understand the other man's point of view? If this is attained, self-government will be attained and democracy will be realized.

Hindu Culture

"In the light of what is happening and in the light of Mr Jinnah's statement and what is taking place elsewhere, it is not wrong or inappropriate to think of the essence of Hindu culture. It is perfectly elementary for us that Indian culture cannot rightly be comprehended except as an amalgam, except as a tapestry, except as a chemical combination. Elements have come together and shaped separate characteristics and have conjointly produced one thing out of the two old things. In India, we can learn the advantage of contact and have to give encouragement to it."

The work of the Indian Institute for Educational and Cultural Co-operation, he said, was to bring to the forefront the values of this cultural unity of India.

Mutual Understanding

"Why is there all this trouble today—so much race hatred, so much hatred between man and man? It is because of the misreading of history and religion." It was necessary for people to come together and bring into existence a new ideal in the world, and that ideal would be that man should be proud of his personal heritage, proud of his cultural background, proud of his country, and proud that he was a person who was not ashmed to borrow from or to lend to fellow men. Nothing that is human should be alien to us.

"An association is being formed today," he concluded, "in the hope that it will attain something and help a little towards advancing this ideal and overcoming those conditions, those barriers, those antagonisms, those hostilities and those unfounded apprehensions of the neighbour."

The institute has been formed for the promotion of intellectual fellowship and collaboration and international harmony and understanding and the development of human culture, particularly the culture and cultural interaction of previous units of India and of its different communities.—A.P.I.

AKALI LEADER INVITED TO MEET JINNAH

Statesman — 24.8.46.

BOMBAY, Aug 23.—Mr Jinnah, in a statement, invites Master Tara Singh, Akali leader, to have a "heart-to-heart talk" with him.

Mr Jinnah refers to the statement issued by Master Tara Singh from Amritsar on August 21 and says: "I am glad that Master Tara Singh has said that the Sikhs are anxious to be friendly towards everyone and subservient to nobody. I can assure him that the Muslim League and I are always ready and willing to meet the wishes of the Sikh community reasonably and fairly and I invite them to come and have a heart-to-heart talk with me. Personally, I may say here that I have great regard for Master Tara Singh the Akali leader, and our relations have always been most cordial and friendly.

"As regards his saying that we have changed, I am afraid Master Tara Singh has not appreciated the position. The Congress wrecked the final proposals of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy of June 16 regarding the Interim Government by rejecting them. Congress acceptance of the long-term plan was only a sham as it is clear from the letter of the Congress President dated June 25 and the resolution of the Working Committee of June 26: and the Wardha resolution of August 10 has once more affirmed their original stand. In these circumstances the Muslim League had only one course open and that was to formally withdraw its acceptance, as it was the only one of the two major parties which had definitely accepted both the long-term and short-term plans. It is not fair to characterize this as a 'change'."—API.

H. Times – 22-8-46

Free India To Remove Untouchability By Law

LAHORE, Aug. 21.—Bhagat Amin Chand, General Secretary of the All-India Harijan League, declared last night at a public meeting: "I have been assured by the Congress High Command that in free India there would be no place for untouchability which would be removed by law."

"We have full faith in the Congress leadership," he said.

Bhagat Amin Chand attacked Dr Ambedkar and the Scheduled Castes Federation as "misrepresenting the Harijans" and added: "Harijans are with the Congress which represents the whole country. They are an integral part of the Hindu community and to barter them away for any temporary political gain or to ask them to embrace any other religion is to stab them in the back."

Counter-Agitation Threat

"The Harijans are true to their religion and are not a commodity to be sold away by any leader like Dr Ambedkar who has no following among them, as was amply proved by the last election results.

"I warn Dr Ambedkar that if he does not stop the agitation against the Congress and its Ministries, the All-India Harijan League will have to arrange a counter-agitation against Ambedkarites who are proving themselves dreadful tools in the hands of British imperialism and the Muslim League."

The meeting adopted a resolution expressing "full confidence and faith in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress."

By another resolution the gathering demanded inclusion of a Harijan Minister in the Punjab Coalition Cabinet.—A.P.A.

TARA SINGH'S REJOINDER TO JINNAH

H. Times 23.8.46

LAHORE, Aug. 21.—If Mr Jinnah is unable to admit that injustice has been done to the Sikhs he cannot blame the Sikhs for "refusing to walk into the Muslim League trap," says the Akali leader, Master Tara Singh, in a statement, replying to Mr Jinnah's recent reference to the Sikhs.

Master Tara Singh says: "Mr Jinnah accuses the Sikhs of changing four times. The accusation coming from the mouth of a gentleman who has just changed looks funny. The Sikhs, of course, changed once, and so did both the Muslim League and the Congress. The Sikhs boycotted the new constitutional plan and they have now withdrawn the boycott for the present. The Muslim League accepted the Constituent Assembly plan in its entirety. And it has now boycotted the said plan.

"The Congress had partly boycotted the said plan and it has now accepted it in its entirety. The Sikhs did not change more than once. Efforts were made to create a cleavage among them more than once, and they managed successfully to keep together.

"Mr Jinnah expects the Sikhs to be his friends. The Sikhs are anxious to be friendly towards everybody and subservient to nobody. Is it not a fact that Mr Jinnah wishes to establish Pakistan over the heads of the Sikhs? How can he then win the confidence of the Sikhs? The Congress and its leaders have declared in unequivocal terms that injustice was done to the Sikhs. Even responsible British statesmen have expressed sympathy with the Sikh cause and it appears that the responsibility over their shoulders alone stands in their way of admitting in clear words that injustice was done to the Sikh cause in the British Cabinet Mission's proposals. But Mr Jinnah and the Muslim League have remained completely silent. Let Mr Jinnah admit that injustice was done to the Sikhs and that they need the same safeguards, both at the Centre and in the province, as are given both to the Hindus and the Muslims at the Centre, where the Muslims needed it and the door of friendship between the Sikhs and the Muslims opens. If he cannot do it, he cannot blame the Sikhs for refusing to walk into the Muslim League trap."—A.P.I.

Hindustan Times 23-8-41

SIR CURRIMBHOY IBRAHIM RESIGNS FROM LEAGUE

BOMBAY, Aug. 22. — Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim has resigned his membership of the Muslim League and also the membership of the Legislative Council (Upper Chamber) to which he was elected on the League ticket.

Sir Currimbhoy announces this decision in a letter addressed to the General Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League in which he stated that he has not approved the move adopted by the All-India Muslim League Council in Bombay and that the "Direct Action of the Muslim League has been started in Bengal so badly that the poor Muslims have been the victims and Mr Jinnah has been taking a complete rest for the best reasons known to himself."

Sir Ibrahim criticizes Mr Jinnah's recent statement on Calcutta disturbances and adds: "All the speeches I made were in favour of Pakistan, in order to bring the solution. But unfortunately Mr Jinnah's mind does not work at the present moment to drive at the third party and to act wisely."—A.P.I.

Chief Minister Appeals To Citizens and Leaders For "Peace" In Calcutta

CALCUTTA, Aug 21.—Broadcasting from Calcutta tonight, Mr H. S. Suhrawardy, Chief Minister of Bengal, said that there was no intention of withdrawing the Army until law and order had been fully restored. The severity of the Government's measures, he added, would increase in the event of fresh incidents in any area.

Mr Suhrawardy said: "I have just returned from a fairly strenuous peace mission with Mr Sarat Bose, Sardar Niranjan Singh and other Hindu, Muslim and Sikh leaders. I have addressed a large number of meetings, and my voice is a little hoarse and unrecognizable. I shall address you today on a few important matters only, as more urgent and pressing tasks await me in connexion with the tragic events of the past few days.

Mr H. S. Suhrawardy, trained in this great city of Calcutta. No single individual especially amongst those outside the Government, is yet in possession of all the facts of this tragic episode to be able to judge or pass an opinion as to how and why the riots took place.

"I may say at once that it is not my time for apportioning blame for the horrible suffering perpe-

GOODWILL AND CONFIDENCE

"For the present both the Government and the citizens are concerned with the restoration of goodwill and confidence, and I am labouring hard in this behalf. As all of you must have noticed, there are indications to show that confidence is returning.

"ORDERS TO SHOOT"

"Military and police patrols have orders to shoot anybody found on the streets during the curfew hours without lawful authority. I also want to make it clear that there is no intention of withdrawing the Army until law and order are fully restored to the satisfaction of the Government. In fact, the military contingent operating in the city is being increased.

"Side by side with the maintenance of law and order, the Government is being called upon to organize measures for the evacuation of families in danger zones and for their relief. Without fear of contradiction, I can say that this has been done with zeal and energy under varying difficulties. To date, between 20,000 and 30,000 persons have been evacuated.

"I am anxious to see that goodwill and confidence are restored in the shortest possible time. I earnestly appeal to leaders of all communities in each ward and mohalla to assert themselves and use their influence in this behalf and even to assume responsibility for assuring that there is no violence, loot or arson.

"Lastly, I appeal to you to determine, with all the firmness at your command, that there shall be no repetition of any act of cowardly assault in your area. Each one of you should assure members of other communities that their lives are safe in your charge and that you will shed your blood to defend them against hooligans. I fervently hope that this will be done ungrudgingly and that this terrible strife, which has blackened the face of Calcutta, will cease at once.—API

INDIA OFFICE CONCERN OVER RIOTS

LONDON, Aug 21.—Reports that the British Cabinet will meet tomorrow and again on Friday and discuss the Calcutta disturbances were described as "completely without foundation" by authoritative sources here today.

An India Office spokesman said that events in India had been watched with deep concern and Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, had been in constant touch with the situation. Maintenance of law and order, it was pointed out, was primarily a matter for the Bengal Government.—Reuter.

...CAST BETWEEN HINDU WEALTH & MUSLIM POVERTY CAUSE OF RIOTS

LONDON, Aug 20—One principal lesson of the Calcutta tragedy lies in its illustration of the perilously narrow margin which today divides anarchy in India, says The Times commenting on the disturbances.

"It is not difficult to conjecture why Calcutta alone became the scene of so serious an outbreak when similar demonstrations in other places passed off in a relatively orderly fashion. Nowhere else in India is the contrast between Hindu wealth and Muslim poverty so difficult or obvious as in the capital of Bengal, a Muslim majority province where the principal city has become a great Hindu centre of business.

"In this province, a Muslim League Government is in control of law and order. Doubtless anxious to ensure the success of the demonstrations arranged for Direct Action Day, this Government was not willing to admit sufficiently quickly that good Muslim Leaguers could degenerate into a dangerous mob.

PRECAUTIONS NOT TAKEN

"Adequate precautions were not taken to protect Hindu life and property in due time and when Hindus, driven to desperation, began to hit back, the situation passed entirely beyond the control of the civil authorities. In the absence of proper action by the administration, disciplined solidarity, upon which Muslims pride themselves, served only to make the disturbances more serious and more oppressive. Frightful casualty lists have shown clearly the price that citizens must pay for any failure in the capacity on the part of the authorities.

"The Calcutta outbreak has a lesson that should be learned by Indian statesmen of both communities. On the Muslim side, Mr Jinnah must now appreciate, as never before, the dangers of the course he has marked out.

"From his own account of his recent interview with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, it is clear that he cannot easily abandon his decision to embark upon extra-constitutional activities. He cannot now claim that the Congress Party has refused to accept the long-term plan in its entirety with its careful safeguards for Muslim interests and he is basing his uncooperative attitude more and more upon his dissatisfaction with the share in the Interim Government which the Congress President has offered to him.

OLD DIFFICULTY REAPPEARS

"It appears from the statements of other Congress Party leaders that the League has been offered five places in a Cabinet of 14, the remaining seats being filled by six Congress representatives (of whom only five are likely to be Hindus) and one by three representatives of minorities. But the old difficulty caused by the Congress Party's insistence on the right to choose a Muslim from its own ranks has again supervened.

"Mr Jinnah also objects to the idea that an Interim Government, when it is formed, is to be treated by His Majesty's Government as being in close constitutional association as a Dominion Government, for this will make it difficult for the Viceroy and his colleagues to function in a new administration without much formal British authority, except in the Central Legislature where the Muslim majority

But with five League seats at his disposal, Mr Jinnah could have no real grounds for apprehension lest Muslim interests should suffer and as in the case of the Constituent Assembly, he would have been better advised to take his political opponents at their word, associate himself with the machinery for framing a constitution and establish the position of his community upon the sure foundation of active participation in political power.

"Until he feels able to do these things, he must hold his hand and retain his full powers. Persistence in his present course will unloose the forces of anarchy, which neither he nor his associates—the experiments of Calcutta show—are able to control and he will find himself challenging the whole structure of ordered administration in India.

LESSON FOR NEHRU

"For Pandit Nehru also the Calcutta tragedy holds a grim lesson. If he looks back upon some of his own ill-judged speeches, he will be unable to acquit himself of some share at least in precipitating Mr Jinnah's disastrous decision to remain aloof from the first Government of India by Indians.

"No Indian Cabinet in which the Muslim League does not figure can be truly representative of the country, as the last elections showed, and it is the plain duty of the Congress Party to disregard the failure of its present perfectly reasonable offer to Mr Jinnah and pursue every path of generous statesmanship which offers a hope of Muslim support. Pandit Nehru, however, cannot wait any longer to form his Government, but he must count that Government incomplete until the League joins it and must choose his personalities as his policies in a way that will prepare for the necessary coalition.

"In his discussions both with Lord Wavell and his colleagues he is doubtless now weighing the advisability of having League places unfilled or of inviting Muslims without political affiliations to join the Government to watch over Muslim interests until such time as the League is ready to appoint representatives.

"In either case, the responsibility of the new Government will be unenviable enough. Upon its handling of questions of a communal nature the peace of India will hang. Nor, as the breakdown of order in Calcutta has shown, can the new Government, when it is formed, afford to make experiments in connexion with the police or defence forces which may protect the structure of public security. The new Government will do well to recognize that progress along the path of urgent national reconstruction is impossible unless the existing public servants are sustained by the support and confidence of their political superiors.

...ment amnesties to political prisoners have restored freedom of action to many persons in whose eyes patriotism is equated with attacks on the administration and order. These are firmly handled by their own leaders, their influence may be disastrous. The first duty of the new Government will be to lay the spectre of mob rule which today rises form the smoking ruins of humble homes, Muslim as well as Hindu, in Calcutta."

The Manchester Guardian putting the blame on Muslims, says: "To the ordinary people in this country, it seems beyond doubt that Mr Jinnah's call to 'direct action' was the cause of what happened in Calcutta, because people with stirred up religious or racial emotions will not easily stop to listen to subtle distinctions between violent and non-violent action. The Congress found that out on previous occasions and it seems to have learned the lesson. Will the Muslim League take a warning from the mass violence at Calcutta? Local authorities, both Indian and British, have no doubt regretted by now that they allowed things to come to this pass."

The Daily Worker sees in the riots a fresh reason for withdrawing British troops from India.

"This sad and depressing story of internal differences by no way constitutes a picture of the Indian scene.

"Despite communal differences, the Indian people, Muslim and Hindu alike, are united in demanding independence for their country and the ending of the hated rule of the foreigner.

"The Indian deadlock which is bringing strife and starvation in its train must be ended. There is no future for India except by the granting of self-government and the withdrawal of British troops. After months of dreary and fruitless negotiations, the time has come for decisive action."—Reuter.

Hindustan Times 22.8.46

BRITISH PAPERS HOLD JINNAH RESPONSIBLE FOR RIOTS

LONDON, Aug. 21.—The Calcutta riots continue to provide front-page news in the London and Provincial morning papers and are the subject of editorial comment in several provincial dailies.

In a long leader dealing with the "Lessons of Calcutta," *The Times* says: "One principal lesson of the tragedy lies in its illustration of the perilously narrow margin which to-day divides order from anarchy in India.

..."**In Bengal, the Muslim League Government is in control of law and order. Doubtless anxious to ensure the success of the demonstration arranged for 'Direct Action Day' this Government was not willing to admit sufficiently quickly that good Muslim Leaguers could degenerate into a dangerous mob. Adequate precautions were not taken to protect Hindu life and property in due time and when Hindus, driven to desperation, began to hit back, the situation passed entirely beyond the control of the civil authorities.**

Lesson For Jinnah

"The outbreak has a lesson that should be learned by Indian statesmen of all communities. Jinnah must realise as never before, the dangers of the course he has marked out. He cannot now claim that the Congress party has refused to accept the long-term plan in its entirety with its careful safeguards for Muslim interests. It appears that the League has been offered five places in a Cabinet of 14, but the old difficulty caused by the Congress Party's insistence on its right to choose a Muslim from its own ranks has again appeared.

"But with 5 seats at his disposal, Jinnah could have no real grounds for apprehension lest Muslim interests should suffer and as in the case of the Constituent Assembly, he would have been better advised to take his political opponents at their word, associate himself with the machinery for framing the constitution and establish the position of his community upon the sure foundation of active participation in political power."

Incredible Folly

The *Daily Telegraph* remarks: "Opportunity for the outbreak was provided by the incredible folly of the Muslim Government in Bengal in proclaiming 'Direct Action' Day as a public holiday. Before there are worse consequences in other areas in India, what has occurred in its principal city should furnish sufficient incentive to communal leaders to come to terms about the future Government."

Congress Determined To Go Ahead

The *Western Mail*, the leading Welsh national daily, says: "The only satisfactory feature in the ghastly situation is that the Congress is determined to persevere with its plans. It would like, of course, to have the co-operation of the Muslims, to whom it offered a fair and even magnanimous representation, but it refuses to be frustrated by the rejection of that offer. There is, in fact, no alternative but to go on without the Muslims if they will not come in, though this may mean, for a time, extension of the riots and disorders little short of civil war."—Globe and Reuter.

FRONT-PAGE NEWS IN AMERICAN PRESS

NEW YORK, Aug. 21.—India, and Calcutta rioting in particular, dominated the American newspapers yesterday with splash headlines. News of the Paris conference and Palestine was thus subsidiary to the main news from India

Calcutta incidents were featured as a "lead" in the *New York Sun* while the *New York Times* devoted three columns to this story.

A despatch from *Reuter*, saying that Congress Party leaders were putting finishing touches to the new provisional Government, was also featured.

Jinnah's Responsibility

The *New York Times* described the incidents as a "sorry and forbidding prelude" to the independence of India.

It asserted that it was inconceivable that Mr Jinnah could have foreseen the harrowing events which followed his "Direct Action" Day.

"He has since deplored them, but his own phrase 'Direct Action' was definitely a provocation, and it seems evident that he hopes now that Mr Attlee will be forced to mediate in the Hindu-Muslim dispute directly.

"At best, Jinnah's rousing of the Muslim extremists reveals a callous indifference to human life."—Reuter and A.P.A.

Sarat Bose Demands Governor's Recall

H. Times, 22.8.46

CALCUTTA, Aug. 20.—Mr Sarat Chandra Bose, leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, said here today that the Bengal Governor, Sir Frederick Burrows, should be recalled, the present Muslim Ministry dismissed and Calcutta placed under military control for at least a fortnight.

"I shall say most emphatically that the Governor has proved himself unfit to discharge the duties of his high office.

"What has happened in Calcutta will be very useful to British imperialists and reactionaries in carrying on their propaganda that India is not fit to govern itself.

"British officialdom in Bengal is known to be thoroughly reactionary and it is quite apparent that they have not taken responsible steps to put down lawlessness.

"Clive Street (centre of British commercial interests) has ruled Bengal all these years and the last few days have convinced me that they intend to perpetuate their rule with the help of the present Ministry."

Mr Bose said he was asking for military control for a fortnight particularly because *Bakr-Id*, an important Muslim festival, will be celebrated on August 28 and 29. It is a day when Muslims sacrifice cows which are sacred to Hindus, sheep, goats and other animals.

"I am afraid that if steps are not taken from now on to prevent further outbreaks of lawlessness, the position may become even more serious."

Mr Bose said he had met the Governor several times "to impress on him the seriousness of the situation" but added, "apparently I have failed to do so."—A.P.A.

British Papers hold Jinnah responsible for the riots: Page 3)

JINNAH'S STATEMENT "INACCURATE"

Statesman 21.8.46

Replying to Mr Jinnah's reference to the Sikh decision in his statement of August 18 Sardar Niranjan Singh Gill, Dictator of the Sikh Council of Action, says: "It is so inaccurate that, had it not come from the head of the Muslim League and at a critical time, I would have preferred to keep silent. Sikhs have consistently made it clear beyond a shadow of doubt that they will never accept domination by any community in the Punjab, and that Pakistan is nothing but a cry of Muslim rule. While this cry lasts, to think that Sikhs may become the Muslim League's friends is purely wishful thinking. It prevents realization of facts and therefore a just settlement.

"Mr Jinnah must also know that all Sikhs stand for united India and that the Panthic Board, representing all parties among Sikhs, consider the Indian National Congress their representatives in all national matters."—API.

JINNAH'S CHARGE DENIED

Statesman — 21.8.46

NEHRU "SURPRISED AT STATEMENT"

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a Press statement denies that he declined to discuss the long-term settlement with Mr Jinnah during his recent meeting with the League President and added: I said nothing about crushing the Muslim League or any one else. Our policy has not been and will not be to threaten or crush any one but rather to win him over if we can."

Pandit Nehru says: "In the course of a statement to the Press, Mr Jinnah has referred to my interview with him and to my subsequent Press conference in Bombay. I am reluctant to enter into any controversy and I would rather have not said anything further on this subject. But some misapprehension has arisen because of certain remarks made by Mr Jinnah and I feel that I should say something to clear it. Mr Jinnah is perfectly entitled to draw his inferences from what I may have said though I think some of his inferences are not justified. It is possible also that subsequent recollection of a long talk may not be strictly accurate even as to facts. The Congress position has been fully clarified in the Working Committee's recent resolution and I cannot add to it or vary it in any way. The brief correspondence that Mr Jinnah and I exchanged with each other in Bombay soon after the Working Committee resolution is also there explaining both our respective positions. I would suggest to any one interested to refer to the language of these documents for clarification if that is needed.

LONG-TERM SETTLEMENT

"Mr Jinnah says that I declined to discuss with him the long-term settlement. This statement has surprised me and I can only say that Mr Jinnah's memory is at fault. I could not and would not decline to discuss anything with him. As a matter of fact I remember to have discussed the long-term settlement and the Constituent Assembly with him during our talk. This inevitably followed with reference to the Working Committee resolution.

"As for the interim Government being responsible to the Central Legislative Assembly I stated that in effect it could not go against the wishes of that Assembly. I was asked a question in the Press conference about certification. I replied that I could not imagine that such a contingency could arise because the Government would have to function in harmony with the Central Assembly.

"I said nothing about crushing the Muslim League or any one else. Our policy has not been and will not be to threaten or crush any one but rather to win him over if we can. I was asked what would happen if there was direct action against the Government. I replied that wherever there is such direct action there can be only two results: either the success or partial success of that action which means the Government being swept away or coming to terms with it, or the direct action fails.

"Mr Jinnah refers to the use of British bayonets. May I repeat again what we have said frequently that we want the British armed forces to be removed from India as soon as possible. The sooner they go the happier we shall be because we do not wish to think in terms of bayonets and certainly not in terms of British bayonets. I am sure that when British armed might is removed from India, it will be easier for all of us to face the realities in India and arrive at mutually advantageous agreements. Whatever conflict or discord there might unfortunately be today, it is certain that it will end some time or other and all the Indian people will together to our destined goal of a free, independent and prosperous India."

20-8-46 Statesman

AZAD BLAMES BENGAL MINISTRY

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad interviewed on Monday by the Associated Press of India on the Calcutta disturbances, said that responsibility "for all that has happened" must be borne by the Ministry of Bengal.

He said that full reports were not yet available about the extent of death and damage caused by the riots in Calcutta: all reports, however, agreed that over 2,000 persons had been murdered and countless men, women and children injured. The damage to property was immeasurable and large stocks of food grains in a province faced with the threat of famine had been wantonly destroyed. What was most deplorable was that all this was due to acts for which responsibility must be shared by the Government.

"The Bengal Ministry," he said, "had given definite assurances to the Legislative Council that no compulsion would be exercised on anybody to observe hartal on August 16. Unimpeachable reports indicate that this assurance was not honoured. From the morning of the 16th, shops that had not closed were attacked by organized bands shouting League slogans and the Government made no attempts whatever to check their activities or prevent clashes that were taking place. Things reached a climax after the meeting on the Maidan and mobs returning from the meeting started indiscriminate loot and murder. Strange to say that even at this stage Section 144 was not promulgated nor the military called out.

NO PROPER PRECAUTIONS

"There can be no doubt that responsibility for all that has happened must be borne by the Ministry of Bengal. They proclaimed a Direct Action Day without taking proper steps to maintain order and discipline among their followers. Nor did they take the necessary precautions against any outbreak of disorder and violence by arranging for requisite police and military pickets. To make matters worse, by declaring August 16, a public holiday, they gave Government sanction for observance of the League's Direct Action Day.

"If Section 144 had been declared on the morning of August 16 the riots would perhaps have not started at all. If Section 144 and a total curfew had been declared even on the evening of the 16th, thousands of lives would have been spared and valuable property saved. I learnt from the Viceroy at 3 p.m. today that the situation is now somewhat under control."—API

PLANS FOR RELIEF OF VICTIMS

PUBLIC HELP SOUGHT TO REMOVE BODIES

20-8-46

CALCUTTA, Aug 19.—An appreciation of the Calcutta riots situation was given by a Government spokesman at a Press conference held this afternoon.

He said: "The position as it now stands is that the situation is definitely under control in North Calcutta and that the general sense of apprehension at present felt in certain areas of South Calcutta is unjustified. There are first signs of returning confidence, though occasional incidents are still taking place. But it must be recognized that some days will elapse before the normal life of the city is likely to be resumed."

Two judges of the Calcutta High Court were waiting to assist in the work of disposal of bodies still lying in the streets. A large number of military personnel and vehicles had been drafted for assistance in the work. If they could get enough carriers to remove the bodies, the task could be performed much more quickly. The Governor, the Army Commander, the Fortress Commander and other authorities had all inspected the areas concerned, and appreciated the necessity for the quickest possible removal. What was wanted was to supplement the well-organized Hindu and Muslim organizations carrying out this work with the help of volunteers.

Relief centres capable of accommodating about 15,000 persons had been brought into existence. The rescue station opened by the Army had been functioning since yesterday, with about 45 lorries. About 5,000 people had probably been shifted yesterday, another 5,000 by lunch time today and the figure might reach a total of 15,000 by tonight.

Trams would begin running in the less disturbed areas of the city this evening, and it was hoped that there would be an extended service tomorrow.

USE OF MILITARY

Replying to the criticism that more military pickets should be posted, the Government spokesman said that the matter had been discussed with the military authorities, whose position was that they were using the personnel and material in such a way as to produce the best results. There was very close liaison between the police and the military.

The spokesman said that the position arising from the disturbances was that the life of Calcutta had been completely disorganized and it had become necessary (a) to provide for the treatment of the injured wounded persons (b) to remove and dispose of a large number of corpses, (c) to preserve persons of one community who had found shelter in the houses of members of the other community, or isolated groups who were panic-stricken in their own locality, (d) to organize relief centres for the shelter and feeding of fugitives now estimated to number several thousands and (e) to restore normal food distribution. Steps were being taken to cope with the situation on these lines by the departments of Government concerned.

MULTITUDE OF PROBLEMS FACES CALCUTTA

GOVERNOR'S APPEAL TO TRADE UNIONS

CALCUTTA, Aug 20.—The Governor of Bengal said today that Calcutta was slowly relapsing to normal. He had made extensive tours round the city since the disturbances started and today there was a different atmosphere in the streets. Shops were reopening, people were going about their lawful avocations and private cars and buses were on the roads again. However, the Governor stated that there was as yet no intention to relax any of the measures taken by the Government to restore peace.

He was broadcasting from A.I.R. on the present situation.

He said that it was a disappointment to him that trams were not yet running and he would ask the Tramway Trade Union leaders to put the needs of the public first and to see that the workers resumed their duties without more delay.

ARMY'S GOOD WORK

As a man of some standing in the trade union world himself, he would like to appeal to all trade union leaders to use their influence among every type of worker to help in the rapid restoration of normal conditions.

He continued that the curfew order from 9 p.m. till 4 a.m. would continue for the time being. The protective military forces, which had been employed in considerable strength, would not be withdrawn from Calcutta while any substantial threat of disorder remained. He said he believed he was voicing the real feeling of the great majority of the citizens of Calcutta when he expressed his deep thanks for the help which the Army had given, and would continue to give, to the civil power in this grave emergency.

GREAT WORK OF VOLUNTEERS

There was a multitude of problems facing them—the reopening and stocking of ration shops and markets, the giving of relief to the victims of looting and arson, the removal of families from areas in which they felt apprehensive of attack, the cleaning of the streets—these were only a few of them. They were being tackled as vigorously as possible and he would ask them to be patient and to appreciate the fact that first things must come first.

He welcomed the readiness with which volunteers had come forward to help in relief and evacuation measures. The Governor said that he would also like to express his appreciation of the splendid work that had been done by doctors and nurses since the trouble started. He also thanked the police, on whom the main brunt of dealing with the disorders had fallen.

Concluding, he said that it was a great mercy that the evil example set by lawless elements in Calcutta had not been followed in the rest of Bengal. He asked all people of influence in the districts to see that this satisfactory condition continued to prevail. —API.

"STRONG ACTION ONCE" Statesman, 7/8/46

The Words Never Reached New Delhi

(From Our Special Correspondent)

BOMBAY, Aug. 19.—An outspoken editorial comment demanding immediate dismissal of the Muslim League Ministry in Bengal was made by the *Statesman* yesterday morning, according to a report from Calcutta published in *Free Press Journal*.

Considerable interest has been roused by the comment because the Anglo-Indian journal has been so friendly to the Muslim League that it recently took Mr Jinnah's side by insinuating that the Cabinet delegation had gone back on their word. The editorial comment was made when the dead numbered 400; now they have reached ten times that total.

The *Statesman* wrote: "The Muslim League Ministry in Bengal must be immediately dismissed by action of the Governor, Sir Frederick Burrows. Which kind of Government should take its place is immaterial, but the present Ministry must go.

"What has happened in Calcutta since Friday morning beginning with the League's 'Direct Action' Day has convicted the Ministry at the bar of public opinion on the double charge of incapacity to administer law and order and complicity in breaking peace.

The *Statesman* asked: "What further testimony does the Governor need the Viceroy to dismiss the Ministry? Again, one may inquire, why was the Police Commissioner not asked to take deterrent action in the primary stage of the affair which he would certainly have done if left to himself, which would have brought the situation to a tolerable state of controllability? The blood of nearly four hundred innocent dead persons and over two thousand injured shed with methods and under conditions of utmost savagery calls out for judgment."

Bombay Cut Off

Prominent Indian leaders, when I interviewed them, unreservedly condemned the wanton destruction of life and property that is now going on in Calcutta for the fourth day today. Business houses in Bombay with branches in Calcutta are now completely cut off from them.

The Congress is on the eve of forming the interim Government. Its opinions can hardly be set aside by the Viceroy. The Government of India Act, 1935, provides for the Centre taking over the control when the provincial administration proves incompetent. What the Bengal Governor hesitates to do can be achieved from New Delhi. And it should be done without any hesitation.

The *Free Press Journal* in an editorial entitled, "Suhrawardy Must Go," says the Suhrawardy Cabinet could not to have stayed in office if its personnel felt it had to lead one community against the whole province. It did not have the ordinary political sense to realise it should have been removed. Governor Burrows cannot take comfort in calling the military.

"The lawlessness in Calcutta must be put down with the strongest hand," said Mahomed Husein Hasham, President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, in an interview. "The situation as it has arisen in Calcutta is a matter for deep regret for the country and to be deplored particularly at this stage when delicate negotiations are going on with regard to the country's future constitutional development. Leaders of both political parties of the country have appeals to the people of Calcutta to calm and are informed to bring about peace and order in that city where Hindus and Muslims there. Under the circumstances it can only be surmised that unlawful elements in the city taking advantage of the situation have run wild to their own benefit."

AZAD HOLDS MINISTRY RESPONSIBLE Hindustan Times, 20/8/46

The responsibility "for all that has happened" must be borne by the Ministry of Bengal, said Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in a statement issued on Monday on the Calcutta disturbances.

Maulana Azad said that full reports were not as yet available about the extent of death and damage caused by the riots. All reports, however, agreed that over 2,000 persons had been murdered and countless men, women and children injured. The damage to property was immeasurable and large stocks of food grains in a province faced with the threat of famine had been wantonly destroyed. What was most deplorable was that all this was due to acts for which responsibility must be shared by the Government.

Assurances Disregarded

"The Bengal Ministry," he said, "had given definite assurances to the Legislative Council that no compulsion would be exercised on anybody for observing hartal on the 16th instant. Unimpeachable reports indicate that this was not honoured. From the morning of the 16th shops that had not closed were attacked by organized bands shouting League slogans and Government made no attempts whatever to check their activities or prevent the outrages that were taking place. Things reached a climax after the meeting in the *maidan* and mobs returning from the meeting started indiscriminate loot and murder. Strange to say, even at this stage, Section 144 was not promulgated nor the military called out.

"*There can be no doubt that responsibility for all that has happened must be borne by the Ministry of Bengal. They proclaimed a 'Direct Action' Day without taking proper steps to maintain order and discipline among their followers. Nor did they take the necessary precautions against any outbreak of disorder and violence by arranging for a quick police and military picket. To make matters worse, by declaring August 16 as a public holiday, they gave Government sanction to the observance of the League's 'Direct Action' Day. This was interpreted by hooligans and ruffians that the Government was behind them in whatever they do.*"

Sec. 144 Came Too Late

"If Section 144 had been declared on the morning of August 16, the riots would perhaps have not started at all. If Section 144 and total curfew had been declared even on the evening of the 16th, thousands of lives would have been spared and valuable property saved. I learnt from H.E. the Viceroy at 3 p.m. this (Monday) afternoon that the situation is now somewhat under control. Though one cannot be fully assured by a temporary lull, we all fervently hope that the situation has taken a turn for the better."—A.P.I.

Statesman 19.8.47

LEAGUE URGED TO RECONSIDER DECISION

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in an interview on Sunday appealed to the leaders of the Muslim League "to survey the situation" dispassionately and come to a decision which will be of benefit to the country and the community alike.

Maulana Azad said:

"In spite of the acceptance of the long-term plan of the Cabinet Mission by the Congress, the Muslim League was swayed by apprehension and doubts. To remove its apprehensions and leave no room for doubt, the Congress Working Committee in its Wardha session reiterated its acceptance and clarified its position.

"All impartial observers agree that the Congress attitude is so clear, conciliatory and reasonable that no party can hereafter have any excuse for misunderstanding. In the meantime, after the League's rejection of the long as well as the short-term plan, the Viceroy invited the Congress, as in the terms of the Cabinet Mission's proposals he was bound to, to form the interim Government.

"It is well known that the Congress rejected the short-term plan as the invitation to it was hedged with conditions the Congress could not accept, but the new invitation by the Viceroy was unconditional and the Congress was free to make any proposals it liked. In its attempt to conciliate the League and other minorities, the Congress has however refrained from such a course and is prepared to form the Government on the same basis as before, namely a Cabinet of 14 with six representatives of the Congress, five of the League, and three of the other minorities. The League had definitely accepted this structure of the Cabinet and in fact insisted on it even after the Congress rejection of it was known.

"Thus, the Congress is making to the League an offer which the League had accepted from the British. The only difference is that now the Cabinet will be formed, not by the British but by the Congress and the League. Unfortunately Mr Jinnah has refused to respond to the Congress appeal for co-operation.

"The times are critical and momentous, and nothing should be done in haste or anger. Now that the British have agreed to let Indians settle the question without interference by them, the responsibility on the League leaders is the greater as to whether they will accept or reject the hand of friendship and co-operation extended by the Congress. I would again appeal to all leaders of the League to survey the situation dispassionately and come to a decision which will be of benefit to the country and the community alike."
—API.

PREPARED TO SURRENDER — MR. JINNAH

BOMBAY, May 18.—"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would have been nearer the truth if, instead of saying that there was no co-operation from the Muslim League, he had said that the Muslim League was not prepared to surrender. It would have been still more true if, instead of saying that the Congress doors of co-operation were open, he had said that the Congress door was open to the Muslim League for abject surrender," says Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in a statement.

"It has been admitted by Pandit Nehru in his recent Press conference that the Congress has not accepted the long-term plan of May 16 and there is no doubt that they rejected the short-term proposals of the Cabinet delegation and the Viceroy of June 16 whereupon that part of the scheme was scrapped by the Viceroy.

"In his Press conference, Mr. Jinnah adds, Pandit Nehru has admitted that there was no difference between the decision of the Congress Working Committee at Wardha on August 15 and the AICC resolution passed at Bombay on July 7 ratifying the earlier decision of the Working Committee taken in Delhi on June 25 and 26. So the matter stands as it was after the original decision of the Congress Working Committee at Delhi.

"Therefore now admittedly, the Congress has not accepted the long-term plan nor the short-term proposals whereas the Muslim League did accept both and had finally to withdraw their acceptance at the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League on July 29.

CONGRESS PROPOSALS

Mr Jinnah says: "What remains now is the new situation created by the communiqué issued on the Viceroy inviting the Congress to make their proposals for the Interim Government. Our position, from the very beginning, has been that the long-term settlement and the Interim Government must go together and that they constitute one whole indivisible scheme and the one cannot be separated from the other."

Saying that the Muslim League were not satisfied with all the proposals of the Cabinet Mission and that "they were more against the League stand than against the Congress," he adds: "Nevertheless we accepted them but the Congress rejected them. But now, as I have already said, I don't know as to what is going on between Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Congress. In the course of our interview on August 12, I, again, Nehru declined to discuss the long-term settlement. He made it clear to me that they were invited by the Viceroy to make their proposals for the Interim Government and he thought that he would like to see me before the Congress submitted their proposals to the Viceroy.

"The proposals which he made were that the Congress would form the Cabinet and they were prepared to give five seats out of 14 to the Muslim League and the remaining nine would be filled by Congress nominees, including one Muslim of their choice, that this Cabinet would be responsible only to the present Central Legislative Assembly, where the Congress has a big majority, "and further that the Viceroy would be the constitutional Governor-General and must not exercise veto, nor should any other external authority interfere with this Executive Council of the Governor-General under the framework of the present constitution, but that the Government so formed would be a 'provisional national Government.' This was the plan he disclosed to me and it was obvious that I could not possibly accept such a proposal," because it was against the interests of the Muslims and their goal of Pakistan.

"From what he has announced in his Press conference, I gather that his position is more less the same. In his Press conference he said many things, but I do not propose to controvert all the details and shall deal only with the main points.

SIKHS' DECISION

"He is reported to have said that almost all others were willing to cooperate with the Cr gress except the Muslim League. Who are th others?" The Sikhs have changed their minds four times already and their next decision may be in the League's favour and "they may become our friends. Even their last decision, as Master Tara Singh explained, was not unanimous and he, the leader of the Akali Party, was himself opposed to it. It was a compromise for the particular purpose of wrecking Group 'B' with the help of the Congress, which the latter has promised.

"The Scheduled Castes, who, I am sorry to say have been let down by the Viceroy, are further supported by the Congress and the Christians' organizations in the Congress nor are the Anglo-Indians or the Parsis. It is only the Caste Hindu Fascists Congress men and few individual henchmen of other communities who want to be installed in power to dominate and rule over the Muslims and other minority communities of India with the aid of British bayonets."

Mr Jinnah adds that, asked what the attitude of the Congress would be when power was handed over to them and the Muslim League resorted to direct action, "Pandit Nehru replied making it clear that they would crush the Muslim League or if they failed, the Government would go down. When he says that the League will be crushed if we resort to direct action, he talks with confidence for he relies upon the support of the baton of F-M Wavell.

"It cannot be said that the minority has placed a veto on the advance of the majority community. For we had accepted the considered final proposals of the Mission and the Viceroy, their long-term and interim Government proposals "although they were not quite satisfactory to us. And it is the Congress that has rejected them both by their veto and intransigent attitude.

"Now the question is whether this majority is going to be installed in power on its own terms by the British Government to rule the Muslims and the minorities" with the help of the British? "It is inconceivable that Mr Attlee the Prime Minister could have ever agreed to this for the imposition of any such arrangement upon the Muslims and others which must and would result in unprecedented and the most dangerous and disastrous consequences.

"In his Press conference Pandit Nehru has not failed to make his oft-repeated threat—even while seeking our co-operation. He says: They (Congress) must do their utmost not only to keep the Congress organization going but must strengthen it, widen it and make it more disciplined and ready for action when action might be necessary. They would have to consider how the organization should adapt itself to the changing circumstances."

DECLARATION OF POLICY

"He has again repeated that they were going to the Constituent Assembly to achieve their objective, and that it was only a step in that direction and if anything came in their way they will abandon it. He considers that the swift limb of the Congress should not be shackled to the halt and the lame, by which latter expression I presume he means the Muslim League. Why then does the swift limb want to make alliance with British imperialism and depend upon British bayonets? Is it to enable them to crush the Muslim League? Why cannot they stand on their own?

"Having laid down the policy of his future Government of India as regards the Muslim League, Pandit Nehru indulges further in declarations of his policy and formulates principles as to how they will proceed with regard to Indian States and how they will be treated and the policy of his Government with regard to other countries without any reference to the Muslim League.

Saying that "this is the tenor, tone and 'temper' of Pandit Nehru's pronouncement at a Press conference "immediately after his interview with me when he came to seek my co-operation," Mr Jinnah concludes: "He says our talk did not bring the Congress and the Muslim League any nearer one another. How can it?"—API.

LEAGUE BOYCO. "I A DECLARATION OF WAR ON SIKHS

—BALDEV SINGH

SIMLA, Aug 17.—Sardar Baldev Singh, leader of the Panthic Board and Development Minister, Punjab, in a Press interview expressing satisfaction over the revocation of the Panthic Board's decision to boycott the Constituent Assembly made a pointed reference to the Muslim League's policy of boycott and direct action and characterized it as a "declaration of war against the Sikhs" and inconsistent with Mr Jinnah's former attitude towards direct action resorted to by Congress in recent years.

Sardar Baldev Singh said: "Whenever Congress decided on direct action for achieving the country's freedom, Mr Jinnah opposed it consistently and declared that direct action by Congress was, in fact, meant to dominate the Muslims. In 1942 when Congress raised the slogan of 'Quit India' Mr Jinnah repeated publicly that the move was not against the British but against the Muslims.

"Now it is the Muslim League that has set out on the path of direct action and its aim is to establish a sovereign State of Pakistan. May I ask Mr Jinnah if his move is, in fact, not a declaration of war against the Sikhs and whether, if he succeeds, it would not amount to dominating the Sikh community. Mr Jinnah declares that his fight is for self-preservation. Does he not yet realize what it means to the Sikhs. I hope he does, and also that Mr Jinnah with his acumen and statesmanship will not resort to a course which will prove disastrous to all."

Sardar Baldev Singh added: "His main contention is that Congress has not accepted the State Paper of May 16. But did not the League do so with its own interpretation, namely, that it had in it the seeds of Pakistan—affront enough to the Sikhs. But will the contention take us anywhere. The new developments, if not the British proposals, offer an opportunity to all parties to come together and apply their minds to the problem that faces us all. There is at least one common factor. We all want to be rid of foreign domination. Why not we sit together and find a way out."

SPIRIT OF ACCOMMODATION

The Panthic Board's decision to lift the boycott on the Constituent Assembly, Sardar Baldev Singh said, was due to the great-heartedness and spirit of accommodation shown by Master Tara Singh and Sardar Sardul Singh President of Shiromani Akali Dal. They entertained grave doubts as to the wisdom of the step but fell in line with the new policy in order to maintain the solidarity of the community and also to try all available avenues before launching on direct action.

There were strong differences of opinion he said among members of the Panthic Board and eminent "The proposals of the British Mission had greatly perturbed the Sikhs and it is no exaggeration to say that not one Sikh accepted the State Paper of May 16. Many of us, however, felt that the proposals offered an opportunity to the country to gain its independence. At best it would be unwise at this time to adopt an attitude which might stand in the way of achieving India's goal. We also felt that with the united strength of the Panth and the assurances of Congress, the Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy the Sikhs should gain their objective without resorting to direct action and that to any case it was hardly fair to commit the community to extreme measures without first exploring all other avenues.

ULTIMATE SOVEREIGNTY MUST REST WITH PEOPLE

Hindustan Times 18/8/46

NEHRU CONDEMNS DENIAL OF FREEDOM IN STATES

BOMBAY, Aug. 17.—"The fundamental basis of a constitution for a State or for the whole of India can only be one: that power and responsibility and ultimate sovereignty must rest with the people," says Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a statement.

Pandit Nehru says: "Some days ago I read a declaration made by the Maharaja of Cochin on responsible government in his State. The whole outlook and approach of this declaration was in pleasant contrast to what one usually gets from the rulers and authorities in the States, and I should like to congratulate the Maharaja on it. I hope that he will give full effect to it as early as possible and thus give Cochin the pride of place in the Indian States. In that work, I am sure, he will have the full co-operation of the States people's organization. Cochin is eminently suited for this change-over to a democratic form of Government because of the high standard of education there

Warning Of Coming Events

"It surprises me that even in these dynamic times so many rulers of States are still probing about cautiously and wondering what they should do. Events are marching to their pre-destined end and no one can stop that march. We may put ourselves in line with it or try to hinder it for a while. It is time that the rulers of Indian States realized fully this situation and the pace of events, both from the point of view of their State and the country and also from their own point of view.

"Details of constitutions are for lawyers to make, but the fundamental basis of a constitution for a State or for the whole of India can only be one: that power and responsibility and ultimate sovereignty must rest with the people. If this is recognized the rest offers little difficulty. There is no half-way house to this recognition.

Hyderabad Reforms

"In sharp contrast to this declaration of the Cochin Maharaja is the recent announcement of what are called reforms in Hyderabad State. The Congress Working Committee has passed a resolution on this subject and approved of the rejection of this scheme, which is a denial of freedom and a perpetuation of the autocratic Government. Hyderabad State unfortunately still lives in a world of make-believe, cut off from the reality of today. It was right, therefore, that the Working Committee gave forcible utterance to its views on this subject.

"The whole of India is our home and India is on the eve of freedom. Indian freedom is indivisible. We cannot have freedom in one part and lack of freedom in another."

It is understood that Pandit Nehru received a sealed cover yesterday morning from the Viceroy. The communication was delivered by a high police official to Pandit Nehru at Sardar Patel's residence where Pandit Nehru was engaged in the Experts Committee meeting. A.P.I. and U.P.I.

GOVERNOR WARNS HOOLIGANS

Determination To End Mob Rule

CALCUTTA, Aug. 17.—"It is discreditable that, on the eve of self-government, the largest city in India should be the victim of mob rule; I am determined that this state of affairs shall not continue. Lawlessness shall not prevail," observed the Governor of Bengal, Sir Frederick Burrows, broadcasting tonight from the Calcutta station of All India Radio, on the Calcutta disturbances.

Governor said the military had been called in to aid the police, a curfew from 9 p.m. till 4 a.m. imposed and an order under Section 144 of the Cr.P.C. passed. He requested all law-abiding citizens and especially those in positions of authority to render utmost assistance to forces of law and order. He appealed to the Press to give restrained accounts of the situation.

Senseless Destruction

The Governor said: "For the third time in less than a year Calcutta has become the scene of grave disturbances.

"I have myself gone round the troubled areas both yesterday and today, and seen with my own eyes some of the havoc created by riotous mobs. The political leaders of all parties are unanimous in condemning this senseless destruction of life and property by lawless hooligans.

"From reports so far received, Calcutta is the only place of importance in India where the occasion has given rise to a major disturbance of the peace. It is discreditable that, on the eve of self-government, the largest city in India should be the victim of mob rule. I am determined that this state of affairs shall not continue. Lawlessness shall not prevail.

"With the full approval of my Ministry, the military have been called in to aid the police. They have already undertaken an extensive operation to restore peace in the area which lies between Vivekananda Road and Bow Bazar Street. They will continue to operate until order is restored.

Rigid Enforcement Of Curfew

"An order under Section 144 of the Cr.P.C. has been passed prohibiting throughout Calcutta assemblies of public of five or more persons and the carrying of any kind of weapon. A curfew order has been imposed tonight from 9 p.m. till 4 a.m. and will be rigidly enforced. These orders will in no way harm law-abiding citizens.

"Let me repeat what my predecessor told you last February—the police and the army will not interfere with any peaceful citizens in any way whatsoever—but they will take all necessary steps against malefactors and those who refuse to obey their orders. Keep off the streets and keep out of trouble. Let me repeat that last sentence—keep off the streets and keep out of trouble.

Appeal To Citizens

"I request all law-abiding citizens, especially those in positions of authority to render the utmost assistance to the forces of law and order.

"I wish to make a special appeal to the Press to give restrained accounts of the situation. Otherwise, feelings may be roused in the districts, which are at present undisturbed.

"It is my earnest hope and desire that normal conditions will be speedily restored in this city. I am sure that the actions of my Government to this end will have the full support of all of you, who have at heart the well-being and good reputation of Calcutta, Bengal and India."—A.P.I.

Organized Effort Behind Calcutta Riots

Hindustan Times 18.8.46

NEHRU.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a statement on the Calcutta disturbances says: "I should not like to say much about the Calcutta occurrences before full facts are available. But this is obvious that what has happened there can only take place when there is an organized effort to do so.

"The provincial Government has no high reputation for competence or anything. Now one is inclined to doubt if it is any government at all. The kind of speeches which have been delivered by provincial Ministers in Bengal and Sind exhibit a sense of irresponsibility which is amazing. Obviously such events as have taken place in Calcutta, deplorable as they are, do not make any major difference to the course of events. What they do is to degrade our public life completely.

"The future of India or that of any community is not going to be decided by gangster methods. Unfortunately even a small number of persons can for a while upset the life of a city if proper precautions are not taken. I am sure the vast majority of Hindus and Muslims in Calcutta must deplore what has happened and must have kept away from it."—U.P.I.

JINNAH CONDEMNS ACTS OF VIOLENCE

BOMBAY, Aug. 17.—"I unreservedly condemn the acts of violence and deeply sympathise with those who have suffered," said Mr M. A. Jinnah in a statement. "At present, I do not know who is responsible for the resultant loss of life and property which has been reported in the Press.

"I have no official reports from any quarter—either the Provincial Muslim League Executive or the Government of Bengal.

"Those who are guilty of resorting to indefensible conduct and hooliganism must be dealt with according to law, as their actions were (so far as the Muslim League is concerned) contrary to expressed instructions and they have only played into the hands of the enemies of the Muslim League.

"It may be the action of *agents provocateur*. I do not believe that any Muslim Leaguer would have taken part in using any violence, but if any have broken the strict and solemn instructions to conduct themselves peacefully, I have no doubt in my mind that the Provincial Muslim League will not fail to take immediate action against them.

"I await the authoritative reports before I can say anything further."—A.P.I.

COMPOSITION OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Statesman 18-8-46

THE Constituent Assembly, which is in accordance with the Cabinet Mission's proposals of May 16 is to frame a new constitution for India, consists of 296 members from British India and a maximum of 93 from the Indian States.

Provincial Legislative Assemblies have elected 288 members for British India: the four Sikhs from the Punjab have not so far been elected, as nominations were withdrawn at the last minute. To the British Indian quota have been added the representatives of Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara in the Central Legislative Assembly, a member elected by the Coorg Legislative Council, and a representative of Baluchistan. The States have not yet chosen their representatives.

Total number of seats in the Constituent Assembly, assuming that the maximum of 93 are filled by the States is 389.

Congress holds 175 seats or 44.98 per cent of the total number. British Indian and States; of British Indian seats alone its percentage is 59.12. In addition, 30 non-Congress members have secured election as a result of being nominated by Congress and supported by Congress votes. Congressmen and their nominees therefore sum up to 205 members, 52.69 per cent of the total membership of the Assembly and 69.26 of the British Indian representation.

The Muslim League with 73 members has 18.76 per cent of all the seats and 24.66 of the British Indian seats.

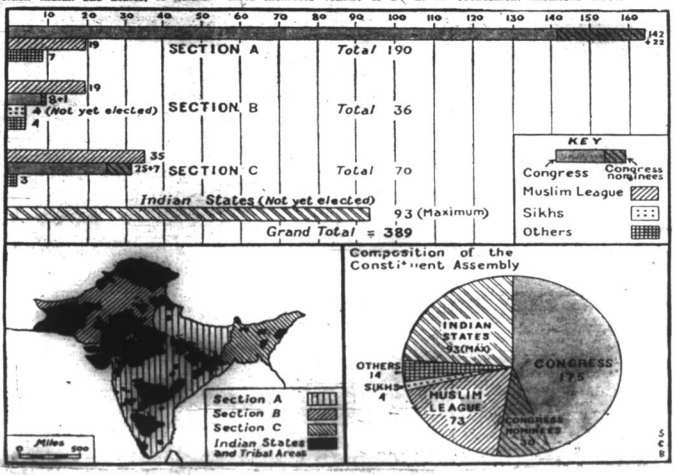
While Congress has a large majority in Section A of the Assembly (Madras, Bombay, U.P., Bihar, C.P., Orissa, Coorg, Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara), the Muslim League has a clear majority of two—assuming that the Sikh seats are eventually filled—in Section B (Punjab, N-W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan). In Section C (Bengal and Assam) the League has 50 per cent of the seats. Congress and its nominees total 32, and the other three members consist of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Mr Fazlul Huq and a Communist.

The political experience on which the Constituent Assembly can draw is illustrated by the fact that the British Indian members include eight leaders of parties or semi-political organizations, among them the Presidents of Congress and Muslim League; the Premiers of eight provinces; 10 other provincial Ministers; six ex-Premiers; 17 ex-Ministers or ex-members of Governors' Executive Councils; four ex-members of the Vicerov's Executive Council; a Speaker of a provincial legislature, and also an ex-Speaker; a former High Court Judge; a former Prime Minister of Kashmir State; 191 members of Indian legislatures, and several former members.

Fifteen of the British Indian members are women, 12 from Congress and three from the Muslim League.

Analysis of the communal composition of the British Indian quota shows that there are 163 Hindus, 31 members of Scheduled Castes, 80 Muslims, three Anglo-Indians, six Indian Christians, three Parsees, and six representatives of backward tribes. Vacancies exist for four Sikhs.

Commerce and industry have two spokesmen, landlords three.



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Statesman
16/8/46

WHY SIKHS DEFERRED DIRECT ACTION

AMRITSAR, Aug 15.—Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader in a statement to the Press says: 'The Panthic Board has decided to lift the boycott of the Constituent Assembly. The Press report that the decision was unanimous is incorrect. Baba Labh Singh, President, Shromani Akali Dal, myself and certain other members were not in its favour but we have promised to put no obstacle in the way of a fair trial being given to this method and have also promised our full support. Thus, we have tried to maintain Panthic solidarity. The other side has also assured us that when in the opinion of the Panthic Board this method fails to achieve the desired object they will lend their full support in the coming morcha direct action.

"I appeal to the Sikh public that those friends who wish to achieve the Panthic objective by going into the Constituent Assembly should have our full support because if they will not get our full support they can have a legitimate cause of complaint and, in turn, they may not be enthusiastic to render help in the next struggle. It is necessary that for the welfare and unity of the Panth Sikhs should stand united for work in the Constituent Assembly. Similarly they should stand united for starting the next struggle if necessary. By this decision morcha or direct action has undoubtedly been postponed for a month or so, but it will get added strength if they start it after satisfying all friends. By so doing we get more moral support.

"For the sake of maintaining Panthic solidarity, we have been accommodating our friends even at sacrifice in the past on certain questions and we should do the same in this matter also."—API.

MUSLIM PLEA TO HARIJANS TO EMBRACE ISLAM

Times 17.8.46

Quiet "Direct Action Day" In Bombay

SIND MINISTER'S THREAT: HUGE MEETING IN LAHORE

British troops stood by at police headquarters and armed police pickets occupied strategic points as a precautionary measure in Bombay, on Friday, which was observed as "Direct Action Day" by Muslims in the city in response to the call of the All-India Muslim League.

The main demonstrations of the day, a series of meetings, processions and flag salutation ceremonies, passed off without incident, and to ensure communal harmony Muslim League volunteers moved about persuading Muslims not to gather in streets.

There was total voluntary suspension of business in all Muslim localities over which hundreds of League flags fluttered. Neither trams nor buses plied through the Muslim areas in the centre of the city, and as there were hostile demonstrations in the morning against other vehicular traffic in those areas, they were by-passed for the rest of the day. Transport services and vehicular traffic north of Victoria Gardens and south of Pydhonie was not affected.

It was a meatless day for the city and the supplies of poultry and eggs also was restricted. The Cooria and Swadeshi Mills in Kuria and the Indian Manufacturing Mills in Byculla and a number of small factories manned by Muslims shut down for the day.

Official Muslim League demonstrations of the day centred around a number of flag salutation ceremonies during the morning. Mr. Feroze Khan Noon unfuried the League flag near Null Bazar. Addressing the large gathering present he appealed for discipline and order. The object of the celebrations, he explained, was to prepare Muslims for participation in a programme which the All-India Muslim League would chalk out to achieve its goal of Pakistan. League slogans were repeatedly raised during addresses delivered by members of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League at other flag salutation ceremonies.

Though a procession did not form part of the Provincial League's programme, the Bombay Provincial Muslim Students' Federation organised one during the morning. Two police lorries trailed the demonstrators, who loudly and continuously shouted League slogans. The police barred their way when the processionists emerging from Chakla Street tried to move towards Crawford Market. The demonstrators were persuaded to turn back by League leaders and the processions eventually terminated at Mastan Talao.

APPEAL TO DR. AMBEDKAR

A direct appeal to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and his Harijan followers to embrace Islam, as such a merger of the communities would make it impossible for any force to oppose them and resist Pakistan was made by Mr. Firoz Khan Noon at a mammoth meeting held at Mastan Talao, Bombay, as part of the "Direct Action" day.

He further suggested a sympathetic approach by the Muslim League to labour, which at present was being exploited by the Congress for its political ends. He promised that industry in Pakistan would be nationalised.

A resolution giving unqualified support to the Muslim League Council's decision and promising full support in any campaign of direct action that might be launched was passed at the meeting. The network of bye-lanes around the playground in which the meeting was held was crammed with Muslims, to whom the speeches were conveyed through loudspeakers.

CONGRESS ATTACKED

Mr. Noon attacked the Congress for its patent desire to secure office rather than to attain the immediate freedom of the country. He accused the Congress of servility and the British Labour Government of seeking to foist on India a Fascist-capitalist Government of Congressmen.

Speaking of the League's threat of direct action, Mr. Noon said once the campaign was launched it would transcend anything similar done by the Congress in the past, or proposed by that organisation for the future.

Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, President of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League, presided, gave a resume of the events which led to the League Council's decision. He said the Muslims realised that it could no longer trust the Congress or the British Government. Muslims must, therefore, rely on their own strength, remembering that they had ruled this country for 1,000 years before the advent of the British.

Mr. Hassan Sheikh, General Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League, who moved the resolution, said Pandit Nehru's statement at a press conference that morning implied a threat that any direct action campaign would be crushed by the provincial Government. The Muslims were prepared to accept that challenge and to make the maximum sacrifice.

Other speakers also addressed the meeting, which lasted over two hours.

"SIND WILL BECOME INDEPENDENT" Minister's Avowal

Karachi: All markets, banks, business houses, Government and municipal offices and schools remained closed, while most of the vegetable vendors and hawkers drew their shutters for the day. The city's tramway services, taxis and victorias also observed *hartal*. A number of ships are lying idle alongside as the dockworkers have absented themselves.

The observance began with a large procession of Muslim students, who held a meeting later at the Leslie Wilson Hostel, where the Premier, Minister for Local Self-Government, Mr. H. Gazdar Addressed them on the Muslim League's resolution on direct action. The meeting ratified the resolution.

The Premier addressing the gathering said: It was equitable and fair on the part of the British Government of Muslim students to form the Interim Government, while they had also allowed the Muslim League to do so when the Congress had turned down the Muslim League accepted the Interim Plan. He asked Sind Muslims to unite and follow the example of the Hindus who had returned all the H Congressmen to the Sind Assembly. He said that the Congress had been able to decoy seven of the misguided Muslims and wreck the unity of the Muslim community.

Pir Illahi Baksh said that the Bengal Premier had declared that on the day the Congress formed an Interim Government at the Centre he would raise the flag of independent Bengal, Sind, he added, would follow Bengal's example.

"JOIN LEAGUE" Qasi Isa's Warning To Muslims

New Delhi: Muslim shops in Chandel Chowk and other places are closed today. A large number of Muslim students are staying away from schools and colleges.

"The Bombay resolution of the Muslim League means good-bye to constitutionalism, said Qasi Isa, member of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee, addressing a meeting of Muslim students of Delhi. Invitation, which is described as a call to arms, was extended to non-League Muslims to join the only representative organisation of the Muslims—the Muslim League. "If they do not join now, they will have to be punished for their treachery to the nation according to the Islamic laws. We have declared Independence and are prepared to wage war for it. We promise you nothing but blood, trial, tears and sweat. Let us from today say that the Independent Pakistan Republic exists".

After the meeting Muslim League workers marched in procession from the Arabic College to the Juma Mosque.

"UNHOLY ALLIANCE" Lahore Leader Wants Russo-British Clash

Lahore: A mammoth meeting attended by over 100,000 Muslims, at which the Nawab of Mamdot, the biggest landowner in the Punjab and President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, announced the resolution of his hereditary title, of Nawab, was the highlight of the "Direct Action Day" observed here today. There was a complete *hartal* among all circles of Muslim activity. The observance of the day was peaceful and without incident.

Addressing the meeting, the Nawab of Mamdot said: "Today the Congress has joined hands with the British to crush the freedom urge among 100,000,000 Muslims of India, but I assure you that so long as we remain firm and united no unholy alliance between the British Imperialist forces and the Hindu capitalist classes can suppress our upsurge for emancipation".

The Nawab said that as a result of the last war the British had been reduced to the position of a third-rate Power. They thought they needed the support of the Hindu capitalist classes to retain their hold on India. He also think, the Nawab said, that the poverty stricken Muslim masses—who supported them in the last war—could again be "purchased" in the next war. The Hindus being a capitalist class could not be purchased and the British want the help of the Hindu capitalist classes for an outlet for their trade and commerce.

The Nawab said: "What we want now is a clash between British Imperialism and Russian Communism. The British will then demand the help of the Indian Muslims who will demonstrate at that time their power and importance."

Ahmedabad: Muslim shops are closed in the city today in observance of the "Direct Action Day" Muslim workers abstained from the mills while the city's public bus service stopped for want of drivers.—A.P.I.

"Congress To Go On Undeterred"

MR. NEHRU ON EARLY INTERIM CABINET

Times — 17/5/46

Door Still Open For League

The "unfortunate lack of co-operation from the Muslim League would not deter the Congress from framing proposals for the formation of an Interim Government, declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at a press conference in Bombay, on Friday.

The Congress President emphasized that the doors of co-operation were still open. The situation in the country demanded swift action with the largest measure of co-operation. But the necessity for that degree of co-operation did not mean that the straight and swift of limb should be shackled to the lame, the halt and the blind.

Pandit Nehru added that all the implications of the offer made by the Viceroy were not obvious and would be discussed by him when he met the Viceroy.

Pandit Nehru, who looked tired and confessed that he was feeling aleepy after the strenuous time he had had during the last ten days, said that he wanted to state the present position, without hiding anything, in view of the considerable scare-mongering and rumours that had been circulated. He could not, however, go into the various details.

The Congress President went on to refer to the communication he had received from the Viceroy stating that in concurrence with the British Government he (the Viceroy) proposed to ask him as President of the Congress to make proposals for the formation of an Interim Government. There was nothing more or nothing less than that.

The Congress Working Committee decided to inform the Viceroy that he would be prepared to make the proposals. Thereupon the Viceroy issued a statement. He had no other communication from the Viceroy, apart from two or three short messages.

Though the announcement made by the Viceroy and on behalf of the Congress made a considerable difference, the position, Pandit Nehru observed, was somewhat vague. When he saw the Viceroy last at Delhi there was no talk or mention of the offer, as it was wrong to think that there was any secret understanding as had been hinted in a section of the Press.

NEW KIND OF APPROACH

Proceeding Pandit Nehru remarked that the "new kind of approach" that the Viceroy had made did make a difference. Some of the implications of that approach were obvious—others were not. Therefore, when he and the Viceroy met at Delhi they would have to consider those implications. Meanwhile, it was thought desirable by the Working Committee that they should do their utmost to gain the co-operation of all elements, and more especially of the Muslim League.

There were obviously, Pandit Nehru confessed, considerable differences in outlook, approach and objective between the Congress and the Muslim League and it would have been rather futile to imagine that all these differences would suddenly vanish. Nevertheless, the Working Committee did hope that more or less, keeping their differences or irreparting viewpoints, it might still be able to appreciate and that possibly that co-operation would be forthcoming.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE

Pandit Nehru then referred to his Bombay conversations with the Working Committee meeting with the League leaders on Thursday. He said: "We had a very friendly talk, but I am sorry it did not bring us politically nearer to one another."

That was the present position. The fact that the Congress had agreed to make proposals put certain responsibilities on their shoulders. It took the Congress many steps further. The Working Committee had decided to make proposals with a full sense of responsibility and not in a light hearted manner, because all manner of consequences would follow. Possibly there were still many hurdles to be cleared. The Interim Government might well be formed, but they might still be some obstruction or difficulty.

The consequences in regard to the Government of the whole country were obvious. It was obvious also that the Working Committee did not think of accepting office to function as a kind of Viceroy's Executive Council. But then there were other consequences. It was a vital decision for the Congress, and yet perhaps it was an inevitable decision in the sense that it followed a certain change of decisions, a change of happenings. Normally, they would have consulted the A. I. C.-C. before taking "the grave step," but circumstances did not permit it. It was not right for them to postpone action in view of the various developments and happenings in the country. That decision of course would be subject to the decision of the A. I. C.

Pandit Nehru stated that—at the meeting of the Working Committee details of the proposals that had to make to the Viceroy were not finally decided. Naturally, they had something in mind, but they wanted to be clear about the general circumstances round the offer before they went go much further. "We are prepared to go further, of course, because we have gone thus far," he added.

NEW STEP FOR CONGRESS

Discussing the consequences of the Congress forming a Provisional Government, Pandit Nehru said that such a step was entirely new for the Congress as for the country, and they had to consider what relations the Congress Executive should bear to that Government; whether any member of the Working Committee should belong to that Government or not and various other matters that would arise would be for the decision of the A. I. C. C.

The question of the internal organisation of the Congress, to which the Working Committee attached the greatest importance would also have to be decided. Working to their utmost not only to keep the Congress organisation going, but much stronger than it was and make it more disciplined and ready for action when action might be necessary. They would have to consider how the organisation should adapt itself to the changing circumstances so that it might not come to conflict, and yet at the same time, retain its revolutionary outlook.

The relations between the and the Constituent Assembly, the Congress President said, were only vague. In certain processes they thought that those steps led them in the right direction they would have to take. They thought that they might come in the way of their going in the direction of their choice then, of course, they would avoid them.

It was because they felt that going into the Constituent Assembly and accepting responsibility of forming an Interim Government, "if other things are satisfactory" after his interview with the Viceroy, were steps in the right direction which would lead to fundamental changes in India that the Working Committee had decided to accept the Viceroy's offer.

Naturally, when one took such steps one must seek the largest measure of co-operation possible. Therefore, despite the many developments of the last few days there was room for the door to be left open for the Muslim League. The Congress President added that he would make a earnest effort to seek co-operation from the Muslim League but from others also. He added: "Co-operation is being offered to us by almost every group, excepting, for the moment, the Muslim League. In the present circumstances, however, it is obvious that we cannot, and still less cause of this unfortunate lack of co-operation from the Muslim League. So far as we are concerned the door of co-operation will always be open and the whatever we shall keep in view the larger viewpoint and proceed with the largest measure of co-operation.

TREMENDOUS MALADJUSTMENTS

Tremendous maladjustments, Pandit Nehru proceeding observed, were leading to strikes and various other consequences. There were also many other matters which showed that they must move swiftly, or they might have to face greater disasters. That is why the Working Committee spent the greater part of its week-long session in the discussion of the developments in the country and in considering steps to meet the situation. That the revolutionary upsurge might not go into wrong channels, but might be taken advantage of. There was also the international situation to be considered.

Therefore, considering all the contexts, the Working Committee had thought it desirable, subject to further clarifications, to accept the Viceroy's offer and to make proposals for the formation of a Provisional Government. "We shall do that: what happens subsequently I do not know," Pandit Nehru concluded.

Replying to a question as to what the Interim Government, if and when it was formed by the Congress, would do to meet the Muslim League threat of direct action, the Congress President said if the movement was directed against the Government and if the Government was weak it (the Government) would go down; on the other hand, if the Government was strong the movement would go down.

When the Interim Government was formed, people in this country would inevitably think that the British Empire in India would have actually ended, but it would not be just in that way. The effect of the Congress forming the Interim Government would result that it would be a constitutional Government.

So far as the League was concerned, the present position was that Mr. Jinnah was unable to offer his co-operation to the formation of an Interim Government, but Pandit Nehru could not say what the future would bring. In his talks with Mr Jinnah, they covered the old ground again.

Asked what the position of the Interim Government would be in relation to the veto powers of the Viceroy, Pandit Nehru remarked that the question of certification would arise only if there was a conflict between the Government and the Central Legislature. The Government would function as if it was responsible to the Central Legislature. But in any case the Viceroy would not be able to exercise his veto powers without major consequences.

INDIAN STATES

Referring to Indian States, Pandit Nehru said technically they would not come within the scope of the Provisional Government except in regard to common problems. But such Government would be interested in the introduction of democratic forms of Government in the States and would try to further that end.

Replying to a question whether there was any possibility of meeting Mr. Jinnah again, Pandit Nehru said neither he nor Mr. Jinnah had any idea of what might happen in the future. That would depend upon developments.

During his talks with Mr. Jinnah on Thursday, Mr. Nehru said, the League leader criticised both the long term and the Interim Government proposals and expressed his feeling that there was no difference between the resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. in Bombay and the Working Committee's decision at Wardha. "And perhaps Mr. Nehru commented, he was right."

CONGRESS TO GO AHEAD WITH FORMING GOVT.

Free Press 14.8.46

PROGRESS SHAN'T BE HELD UP FOR SAKE OF MUSLIM LEAGUE

NEHRU DISCUSSES SITUATION AT PRESS CONFERENCE

BOMBAY, Friday.

THE CONGRESS would now go ahead with the formation of the Provisional Government, Pandit Nehru will fly to Delhi on Saturday for that purpose and after having sought clarification from the Viceroy on certain aspects of the new Government, he would present the Working Committee proposals for a National Government.

The Congress had sought and succeeded in winning the co-operation of all parties except the Muslim League in forming the provisional Government. This present position of the Indian political situation was placed before pressmen by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru at a conference at Congress House this morning.

Pandit Nehru announced that Mr. Jinnah had declined to cooperate in the formation of an Interim Government at the centre. Mr. Jinnah, he said, criticised both the long-term and the short-term plans of the Cabinet Mission and did not think that the Working Committee resolution was an improvement over the previous resolutions of the Congress. Pandit Nehru regretted this, but said, "It is obvious that we cannot stand still because of this unfortunate lack of cooperation from the Muslim League so far so we are concerned the door of cooperation will always be open and we shall always look for the largest measure of cooperation."

Speaking about the Muslim League's intransigence, Nehru said: "You cannot expect the quick and the swift to be tied up with the halt and the lame."

NO BALANCING

Asked what steps the "Provisional Government would take in case direct action was launched, Pandit Nehru said, "It either comes to terms with it or fight it. It either knocks over the Government or the Government knocks it down. If the Government is not strong enough it will go under. But in any case there can be no balancing between the two."

There was nothing mysterious about the letters that passed between him and Viceroy when he was in Wardha, Pandit Nehru said. While at this stage it was not possible for him to divulge the full details of the communications, he was holding anything back. "The Viceroy with the concurrence of the British Government asked me as President of the Congress to make proposals for the formation of the Interim Government. There was nothing more than that and nothing less than that. What it might imply is for me to draw conclusions from. We decided to inform the Viceroy that I was prepared to make those proposals. I had no other communication with the Viceroy apart from those two or three messages."

The telegram that he later sent to the Viceroy had nothing to do with the subject, Pandit Nehru added.

The present state of affairs was, therefore, somewhat vague and nebulous, Pandit Nehru continued.

(Continued on Page 4)

"though undoubtedly the negotiations that have been made on behalf of the Viceroy and on our behalf do make a considerable difference." He reiterated that when he saw the Viceroy last in Delhi there was no talk or mention of the Provisional Government.

> "If people imagine that there has been some kind of secret understanding they are wrong. Of course, this new kind of approach the Viceroy has made does make a difference. Some of the implications of that approach are obvious, others are not so obvious, and when we next meet we shall have to consider its merits."

In the meantime the Congress was going ahead trying to bring in the various other parties and especially the Muslim League, but it was obvious, Pandit Nehru said, that it would be rather futile to imagine that all those differences between the Congress and the League would suddenly vanish. "Nevertheless, we did hope that by going to them and keeping our respective viewpoints we might still be able to co-operate with the League and in the process of that co-operation help to resolve those differences."

Acting on this basis Pandit Nehru wrote to Mr. Jinnah and very ultimately also to meet him. "We had as usual a friendly talk, but I am sorry to say we did not bring ourselves politically nearer to each other. So far as the present position and their is nothing more to be said about it at present except that I am going to Delhi tomorrow and presumably I shall meet the Viceroy when we will discuss this matter further."

MANY STEPS FORWARD

Stressing the grave issues and responsibilities that would arise as a result of the Wardha decision of the Working Committee Pandit Nehru said, "The fact that we have agreed to make proposals does obviously put a certain responsibility on us. It takes us many steps further. We have done that with a full sense of responsibility and in no light-hearted manner because obviously all kinds of consequences follow."

"However, I should like you and others to realise that there are possibly many hurdles still, and not to imagine, as some people seem to imagine, that there is no further difficulty about the formation of the Provisional Government. It may well be formed or there may still be some obstruction or difficulty."

The Congress President asserted that the proposed Government would certainly not be just another Executive Council. The experience with regard to the whole Government of the country are obvious. It is also obvious that we are not going there to function as a kind of Viceroy's Executive Council. Our decision was a vital one and inevitable in the sense that it followed a certain change of decision and happenings. That step could not be taken by us without previous reference to the A.I.C.C. and in any event that reference will have to be made and the final decision will rest with it."

Pt. Nehru explained that the Working Committee had to take a snap decision without prior consultation with the A.I.C.C. in view of various developments and happenings. "That decision, however, will have to be taken later on and will guide us."

MANY CONSEQUENCES

The acceptance of the Viceroy's offer, Pandit Nehru went on, would result in certain internal consequences within the Congress itself. "We have already given some thought to that, but not enough perhaps. At any rate, we have not decided on any definite line of action because we were not sure what the developments may be—whether this offer of acceptance leads to something final or not. In fact we have not finally decided about the details of the proposals. We wanted to be clear about the general circumstances surrounding the whole business before we went much further."

"Obviously the Congress forming a provisional government is something entirely new both for the Congress and the country. We will have to consider how far the new Working Committee will bear to that Government, or whether a member of the Executive can belong to that Government, or not. However, as soon as things shape themselves we shall have to take decisions with regard to the internal organisation of the Congress."

"I want you to realise," Pandit Nehru emphasised, "that the Working Committee attach greater importance to the reorganisation of the Congress than the formation of the provisional Government because that, whatever the future may hold for us, the real sanction behind us is the Congress organisation and therefore we must do our utmost not only to keep it going but to strengthen and widen and bring it discipline and whatever action may be necessary."

CHANGES IN CONGRESS

The Congress organisation would have to undergo some sort of change in view of the new governmental set-up," he said. "Yet the important of all would be that the Congress must retain its revolutionary outlook."

"Obviously some kind of change at the top by itself does not mean much. It may be the precursor of other changes, big and small, and it is because we have looked upon it from that point of view that we thought of accepting the Viceroy's offer. This by itself is only an additional step in a certain process. If we think that the course of events leads us in a wrong direction or bind us down, it will have to be avoided.

"As we have come to the conclusion that these various steps will help us to proceed in the right direction and will bring about fundamental changes in India that we have decided to go into the Constituent Assembly and if other things are satisfactory into the provisional government."

Answering a question Pandit Nehru

said that the question of certification of any bill by the Viceroy would not arise inasmuch as there cannot be a conflict between Government and the Assembly. "I cannot conceive of such a conflict," he said, "because any provisional Government must carry the Central Assembly with it. If it does not, that Government must go," adds the Associated Press of India

Pandit Nehru continued, "In fact, the Provisional Government should function as though it was responsible to the Central Assembly, such as it is. It is obvious that the whole provisional Government will be a different setup, psychologically and will approach both domestic and international problems from a different point of view. While so doing, it is concelvable that it may come into conflict with British authority in England or elsewhere. At present, one cannot say anything specific in regard to this matter."

ATTITUDE TO STATES

Pandit Nehru was asked what would be the attitude of the provisional Government towards Indian States. He said, "The States as such do not come within the scope of the provisional Government except in regard to many common problems between the States and the rest of India. But obviously, such a Government, apart from the common problems will be intensely interested in the formation of democratic Governments in the States and it will try to further that end."

STRIKES IN THE COUNTRY

Dealing with the the countrywide strikes Pandit Nehru said that they signified a new kind of upheaval in India's economic life. He added, "There were other matters too which go to show that we must move swiftly or we may have to face greater disasters."

He then dealt with the various developments in the international field and the sending of Indian troops to Iran which, he said "was ostensibly for the protection of oil interests here."

"Considering all this, we have for the present come to the conclusion that it is desirable for us, subject to further clarification," to accept the Viceroy's offer and make proposals for the formation of the provisional Government. We shall do that and what will happen subsequently I do not know."

NO FOREIGN TRIP

Replying to questions Pandit Nehru said that there was no possibility of his going anywhere outside India in the near future in view of important developments in the country necessitating his presence here.

Asked whether he was aware that the Government of India had not recognised the Indonesian Republic in their negotiations for obtaining rice for India, Pandit Nehru said, "The present Government of India mean the British Government on the international plane. If they are to recognise the Indonesian Republic, it means the British Government will have to break with the Dutch Government. With the incoming provisional Government, it will be a different matter."

Free Press 17.8.46

Jinnah's Refusal To Join Interim Govt.

NO SURPRISE IN LONDON

LONDON, Aug. 16.

The refusal of Mr. Jinnah to participate in the formation of an interim Indian government has caused little surprise in well-informed circles in London, where the view is expressed, that the invitation from Pandit Nehru followed too soon after the Muslim League's dramatic rejection of the British Cabinet Mission's proposals to allow Mr. Jinnah to accept Pandit Nehru's offer out of hand.

The formation of a Congress Government headed by Pandit Nehru is now regarded as certain and the hope is expressed in London political quarters, that if the five seats for Muslims are left vacant, Mr. Jinnah, may even now, change his mind and join the interim government.

There is still no official reaction to the latest developments.

NO FEAR OF CIVIL WAR

Major Woodrow Wyatt, member of Parliament, who accompanied the Cabinet Mission to India, writing in today's "Daily Herald," the official Labour daily, says: "There is no question yet of anything like a civil war and there is no reason why it should come to that. Although the defection of the Muslim League is a serious blow to the work of the Cabinet Mission, it does not cancel it out.'

At this moment the initiative rests with the Congress. If it is generous and tactful and recognises its own mistakes, as it has already shown signs of doing, it may be able to solve the communal tangle altogether."—Reuter.

...A... WITH THE FORMING GOVT.

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Pandit Nehru announced that Mr. Jinnah had declined to cooperate in the formation of an Interim Government at the centre. Mr. Jinnah, he said, criticised both the long-term and the short-term plans of the Cabinet Mission and did not think that the Working Committee resolution was an improvement over the previous resolutions of the Congress. Pandit Nehru expressed that, but said, "It is obvious that we cannot stand still because of this unfortunate lack of cooperation from the Muslim League, for in the meanwhile the door of cooperation will always be open and we shall always look for the largest measure of cooperation."

Speaking about the Muslim League's intransigence, Pt. Nehru said, "You cannot expect the quick and the swift to be tied up with the halt and the lame."

NO BALANCING

Asked what steps the Provisional Government would take in case direct action was launched, Pandit Nehru said, "It either comes to terms with it or fight it. It either knocks over the Government or the Government knocks it down. If the Government is not strong enough it will go under. But in any case there can be no balancing between the two."

There was nothing mysterious about the letters that passed between him and Viceroy when he was at Wardha, Pandit Nehru said. While at that stage it was not possible for him to divulge the full details of the communications, he was not holding anything back. "The Viceroy with the concurrence of the British Government asked me as President of the Congress to make proposals for the formation of the Interim Government. There was nothing more than that and nothing less than that. What it might imply is for you to draw conclusions from. We discussed with the Viceroy that I was prepared to make these proposals. I had no other communication with the Congress apart from those two or three messages."

The telegram that he later sent to the Viceroy had nothing to do with the subject, Pandit Nehru added.

The formula which, he said, was thereafter somewhat vague and nebulous, Pandit Nehru continued,

(Continued on Page 4)

"though undoubtedly the negotiations that have been made on behalf of the Viceroy and on our behalf do make a considerable difference." He reiterated that when he saw the Viceroy last in Delhi there was no talk or mention of the Provisional Government.

"If people imagine that there has been some kind of secret understanding they are wrong. Of course, this new kind of approach the Viceroy has made does make a difference. Some of the implications of that approach are obvious and others are not so obvious, and when we next meet we shall have to consider its merits."

In the meantime the Congress was going ahead trying to bring in the various other parties and especially the Muslim League, but it was obvious, Pandit Nehru said, that it would be rather futile to imagine that all those differences between the Congress and the League would suddenly vanish. "Nevertheless, we did hope that by going to them and keeping our respective viewpoints we might still be able to co-operate with the League and in the process of that co-operation help to resolve those differences."

Acting on this basis Pandit Nehru wrote to Mr. Jinnah and was ultimately able to meet him. "We had as usual a friendly talk, but I am sorry to say it did not bring us politically nearer to each other. So this is the present position and there is nothing more to be said about it present, except that I am going to Delhi tomorrow and presumably I shall meet the Viceroy when we will discuss this matter further."

MANY STEPS FORWARD

Stressing the grave issues and responsibility that would arise as a result of the Wardha decision of the Working Committee Pandit Nehru said, "The fact that we have agreed to make proposals does obviously put a certain responsibility on us. It takes so many steps further. We have done that with a full sense of responsibility and in no light-hearted manner because obviously all kinds of consequences follow."

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The Congress President asserted that the proposed Government would certainly not be just another Executive Council. "The consequences with regard to the whole Government of the country are obvious. It is also obvious that we are not going there to function as a kind of Viceroy's Executive Council. Our decision was a vital one and inevitable in the sense that it followed a certain change of decision and happenings. That step could not be taken by us without previous reference to the A.I.C.C. and in any event the reference will have to be made and the final decision will rest with it."

Pt. Nehru explained that the Working Committee had to take a decision without prior consultation with the A.I.C.C. in view of various developments and happenings. "That decision, however, will have to be taken later on and will guide us."

MANY CONSEQUENCES

The acceptance of the Viceroy's offer, Pandit Nehru went on, would result in certain internal consequences within the Congress itself. "We have already given some thought to that, but not enough perhaps. At any rate, we have not decided on any definite line of action because we were not sure what the developments may be—whether this offer of acceptance leads to something final or not. In fact we have not finally decided about the details of the proposals and we will be clear about the general circumstances surrounding this whole business before we decide further."

"Obviously the Congress forming a provisional Government is something entirely new for the Congress and the country. We will have to consider the relation our Working Committee will bear to that Government, or whether a member of the Executive can belong to that Government or not. However, as soon as things shape themselves we shall have to take decisions with regard to the internal organisation of the Congress."

"I want you to realise," Pandit Nehru emphasised, "that the Working Committee attach greater importance to this reorganisation of the Congress than to the formation of the provisional Government because we feel that whatever the future may hold in store, the real sanction behind us is the Congress organisation, and, therefore, we must do our utmost to keep it going but to strengthen and widen and keep it disciplined for whatever purpose may be necessary."

CHANGES IN CONGRESS

The Congress organisation would have to undergo some sort of change in view of the new governmental developments. "Yet the most important of these would be that the Congress must retain its revolutionary outlook.

"Obviously some kind of change at the top [illegible] itself does not mean much. It may be the precursor of other changes, big and small, and it is because we have looked upon it from that point of view that we thought of accepting the Viceroy's offer. This is the first definite additional step in a certain process. If we think that the course will lead us in a wrong direction we can go down, it will have to be avoided.

"As we have come to the conclusion that these various steps will help us to proceed in the right direction and will bring about fundamental changes in India that we have decided to go into the Constituent Assembly and if other things are added to that into the provisional government."

Answering a question Pandit Nehru

said that the question of certification of any bill by the Viceroy would not arise inasmuch as there cannot be a conflict between Government and the Assembly. "I cannot conceive of such a conflict," he said, "because any provisional Government must carry the Central Assembly with it. If it does not, that Government must go," adds the Associated Press of India.

Pandit Nehru continued, "In fact, the Provisional Government should function as though it was responsible to the Central Assembly, such as it is. It is obvious that the whole provisional Government will be a different setup, psychologically and will approach both domestic and international problems from a different point of view. While so doing, it is conceivable that it may come into conflict with British authority in England or elsewhere. At present, one cannot say anything specific in regard to this matter."

ATTITUDE TO STATES

Pandit Nehru was asked what would be the attitude of the provisional Government towards Indian States. He said, "The States as such do not come within the scope of the provisional Government except in regard to many common problems between the States and the rest of India. But obviously, such a Government, apart from the common problems will be intensely interested in the formation of democratic Governments in the States and it will try to further that end."

STRIKES IN THE COUNTRY

Dealing with the the countrywide strikes Pandit Nehru said that they signified a new kind of upheaval in India's economic life. He added, "There were other matters too which go to show that we must move swiftly or we may have to face greater disasters."

He then dealt with the various developments in the international field and the sending of Indian troops to Iran which, he said "was ostensibly for the protection of oil interests there."

"Considering all this, we have for the present come to the conclusion that it is desirable for us, subject to further clarification," to accept the Viceroy's offer and make proposals for the formation of the provisional Government. We shall do that and what will happen subsequently I do not know."

NO FOREIGN TRIP

Replying to questions Pandit Nehru said that there was no possibility of his going anywhere outside India in the near future in view of important developments in the country necessitating his presence here.

Asked whether he was aware that the Government of India had not recognised the Indonesian Republic in their negotiations for obtaining rice for India, Pandit Nehru said, "The present Government of India mean the British Government on the international plane. If they are to recognise the Indonesian Republic, it means the British Government will have to break with the Dutch Government. With the incoming provisional Government it will be a different matter."

Free Press 17.8.46

Jinnah's Refusal To Join Interim Govt.

NO SURPRISE IN LONDON

LONDON, Aug. 16.

The refusal of Mr. Jinnah to participate in the formation of an interim Indian government has caused little surprise in well-informed circles in London, where the view is expressed, that the invitation from Pandit Nehru followed too soon after the Muslim League's dramatic rejection of the British Cabinet Mission's proposals to allow Mr. Jinnah to accept Pandit Nehru's offer out of hand.

The formation of a Congress Government headed by Pandit Nehru is now regarded as certain and the hope is expressed in London political quarters, that if the five seats for Muslims are left vacant, Mr. Jinnah, may even now, change his mind and join the interim government.

There is still no official reaction to the latest developments.

NO FEAR OF CIVIL WAR

Major Woodrow Wyatt, member of Parliament, who accompanied the Cabinet Mission to India, writing in today's "Daily Herald," the official Labour daily, says: "There is no question yet of anything like a civil war and there is no reason why it should come to that. Although the defection of the Muslim League is a serious blow to the work of the Cabinet Mission, it does not cancel it out.

At this moment the initiative rests with the Congress. If it is generous and tactful and recognises its own mistakes, as it has already shown signs of doing, it may be able to solve the communal tangle altogether."—Reuter.

"Best News For A Century From India"

H. Times 16.8.

LONDON, Aug. 15.—"Best news which has come out of India for a century" was Prof. George Catlin's comment on Pandit Nehru's acceptance of the Viceroy's invitation to make proposals for the immediate formation of the Interim Government.

Meanwhile, British papers continued to comment on the Indian situation. A *Daily Mail* headline says: 'Jinnah is Facing a Dilemma.'

The *Daily Telegraph* in an editorial takes much the same view. It says: "In declaring its acceptance of the long-term plan of the Cabinet Mission the Congress has made its first full step in constructive statesmanship and has opened the way to reconsideration by the Muslim League of its decision to remain outside both the Constituent Assembly and the Interim Government. It now lies with Pandit Nehru to convince the Muslims of the good faith behind the Wardha Resolution."

"Any attempt on the part of the Congress to establish a purely Congress Government at the Centre," the paper continues, "could not be considered by any Viceroy responsible for the peace of India. It would be a direct invitation to a civil war. Pandit Nehru has made the right approach in first seeking an interview with Mr Jinnah."—Globe.

SCHEDULED CASTES AND CABINET PLAN

Hindu 16/8/46

CRITICISM AT CITY MEETING

MADRAS, Aug. 16.

Resolutions protesting against the "betrayal of the Scheduled Classes by the British Cabinet Delegation", demanding separate electorates for Scheduled Classes and reiterating the decisions taken at the Nagpur Conference of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation held in July 1942, and congratulating the Poona Satyagrahis, were adopted at a meeting of the Madras District Scheduled Castes Federation, held in People's Park last evening. Dewan Bahadur N. Sivaraj presided.

The meeting was marked by interruptions and demonstrations by a section of the audience. It is stated that those who raised slogans and made demonstrations wanted Mr. Sivaraj to lead a procession of the gathering to Tilak Ghat, and have the meeting there and not at the People's Park. Mr. Sivaraj refused to comply with this suggestion, and expressed the opinion that there was no need for such a kind of demonstration. A section of the gathering did not approve of this attitude of Mr. Sivaraj and kept interrupting the proceedings of the meeting continuously. The meeting was, however carried on.

Mr. Sivaraj appealed to the members of the Scheduled Castes to remain united and disciplined. He contended that the British Cabinet Delegation, which visited India recently was out to please the Congress and had not proved fair enough to the minorities in this country, particularly the Scheduled Castes. The time had now come when members of the Scheduled Castes had to ponder deeply over their future. They had either to identify themselves with the Hindus, or join hands with the Muslim League or go 'underground'. These issues were of great importance to the community.

In conclusion, Mr. Sivaraj appealed to the gathering to keep demonstrating against the British Cabinet Delegation's proposals in a peaceful manner and to act according to the instructions which would be issued from time to time by their Council of Action.

Mr. S. C. Subramanyam also spoke.

INTERIM GOVT.

LEAGUE UNLIKELY TO PARTICIPATE

Hindu 16/8/46

NEHRU—JINNAH TALKS FAIL

NO AGREEMENT REACHED

BOMBAY, Aug. 15.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru met Mr. M. A. Jinnah at 6 p.m. Pandit Nehru arrived at Mr. Jinnah's residence shortly before six and he was received by Mr. Jinnah's Secretary.

Mr. Jinnah writing to Pandit Nehru to-day had said that if Mr. Nehru's proposal meant that the Viceroy had commissioned him, (Pandit Nehru) to "form the Executive Council of the Governor-General and he had already agreed to accept and act upon Mr. Nehru's advice and proceed to constitute his executive accordingly, it was not possible for him (Mr. Jinnah) to accept such a position on that basis.

Mr. Jinnah, however, added: "If you care to meet me on behalf of the Congress to settle the Hindu-Muslim question and resolve the serious deadlock, I shall be glad to see you to-day at 6 p.m.

Pandit Nehru accordingly met Mr. Jinnah at 6 p.m.

The Nehru-Jinnah meeting lasted eighty minutes. Pandit Nehru left Mr Jinnah's residence at 7-20 p.m.

Asked by Pressmen if he was meeting Mr. Jinnah to-morrow, Pandit Nehru said he was not and that he was proceeding to Delhi on Saturday morning by air according to plan.

Pandit Nehru told Pressmen that he would answer questions on his meeting with Mr. Jinnah at his Press conference to-morrow morning.

Immediately after his meeting with Pandit Nehru, Mr. Jinnah, in an interview to the Associated Press of India, said, "Nothing has happened beyond the fact that we had a general talk. I have nothing more to say." To a further question whether he would be meeting Pandit Nehru again, Mr. Jinnah said: "There will be no more meeting between me and Pandit Nehru."

NEHRU—JINNAH LETTERS

INVITATION TO LEAGUE LEADER

BOMBAY, Aug. 15.

The following is the text of the correspondence passing between Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress President, and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League:

Letter from Pandit Nehru dated Wardha, August 13:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As you know the Viceroy has invited me, in my capacity as President of the Congress, to make proposals for the immediate formation of an Interim Government. I have accepted that invitation. I feel that my first step should be to approach you and seek your co-operation in the formation of a Coalition Provisional Government. It is naturally our desire to make it as representative a Government as possible. Should you wish to discuss this matter further with me, before coming to a decision, I shall gladly see you in Bombay whenever you may be. I am leaving Wardha on the 14th and reaching Bombay in the afternoon of the fourteenth. Probably I shall leave Bombay for Delhi on the morning of August 17.

MR. JINNAH'S REPLY

Reply from Mr. Jinnah, dated Bombay, August 15:

Dear Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,

I have received your letter dated the 13th, yesterday delivered to me by hand.

I know nothing so far as what has transpired between the Viceroy and you; nor have I any idea of what arrangement has been arrived at between you two, except what you say in your letter that the Viceroy has invited you, in your capacity as the President of the Congress, to make proposals for the immediate formation of the Interim Government and that you have accepted the invitation.

If this means that the Viceroy has commissioned you to form the Executive Council of the Governor-General and has already agreed to accept and act upon your advice and proceed to constitute his Executive accordingly, it is not possible for me to accept such a position on that basis.

However, if you care to meet me on behalf of the Congress to settle the Hindu-Muslim question and resolve the serious deadlock, I shall be glad to see you to-day at 6 p.m.

The substance of your letter, unfortunately, has already appeared in the Press even before I received it. I, therefore, request you to release this letter of mine also to the Press.

"NO ARRANGEMENT WITH VICEROY"

MR. NEHRU ON CONGRESS STAND

Letter from Pandit Nehru dated August 15 to Mr. Jinnah:

Dear Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of to-day's date which was delivered to me at about 1 p.m.

Nothing has transpired between me and the Viceroy except what has already been published. There is no arrangement other than what is contained in his brief offer and our acceptance. That offer, made by the Viceroy with the concurrence of the His Majesty's Government, is for us to make proposals for the formation immediately of an Interim Government. The Executive Council of the Governor-General has not been mentioned as such. It is understood, as stated in the published correspondence between the Congress President and the Viceroy, that the Interim Government will have the greatest possible freedom in the exercise of the day-to-day administration of this country.

Since this brief offer was made and we accepted it, I have had no opportunity to meet the Viceroy or discuss the matter with him more fully. I hope to do so within the next two or three days. It was our wish, however, that I might approach you first and invite your co-operation. We are naturally anxious to form a Government which will be as representative as possible in order to deal with the urgent problems facing this country.

In your letter you state that you are unable to accept the position as it appears to you. I regret this. Perhaps, on fuller consideration of the position you would be agreeable to reconsider your decision. If so we would welcome it. For this purpose I shall gladly see you, if you so desire.

As regards the general Hindu-Muslim question, we are always prepared to discuss this and try to find a way out. Just at present we are immediately concerned with the formation of the Provisional Government and circumstances demand that early steps should be taken in regard to it. We hope that a Coalition Provisional Government will itself help in the consideration and solution of our problems. While I am willing to discuss the larger question with you, I have no new suggestions to make. Perhaps you may be able to suggest a new approach.

I am prepared to come to your place at 6 p.m. this evening, or if it is more convenient to you, some time to-morrow. I am leaving Bombay on the 17th morning.

My letter to you was not sent to the Press I made a brief statement to the Press, however, in view of repeated questions put to me by newspapermen and in order to prevent misconceptions. If you so desire you can release all this correspondence to the Press.

MR. JINNAH'S REPLY

Letter from Mr. Jinnah dated August 15 to Pandit Nehru:

Dear Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,

I am in receipt of your letter of August 15, delivered to me at about 3-30 p.m. and I thank you for it.

I have already made my position clear in my letter dated the 15th of August sent to you this morning. But as you have given certain explanations, with some of which I must not be taken to agree, and as you desire to meet, I shall be glad to see you to-day at 6 p.m.

I agree with you that in order to prevent misconception in the mind of the public, our correspondence should be published and accordingly I am releasing it to the Press.

SIKHS DECIDE TO CO-OPERATE

Times 15/8/46

Entering Constituent Assembly & Cabinet

DIRECT ACTION ONLY IF RIGHTS ARE DENIED

AMRITSAR, August 14.

THE Sikhs, through their supreme body, the Panthic Board, today unanimously reversed their earlier decision to boycott the Constituent Assembly and decided to seek election to it "when the opportunity comes" and to enter the Interim Government.

The decision was reached after two days' deliberations lasting altogether 12 hours and with the authority of 50 of the foremost leaders of the community.

At the end of the meeting, Mr. Niranjan Singh Gill, the Dictator of the Board, who presided, told the press: "We are going to the Constituent Assembly with the specific purpose of removing the injustice to the Sikhs at the earliest opportunity."

"We will come out of the Constituent Assembly and resort to direct action, if, at the first sitting of that body, we fail to get the safeguards we want", he added.

Mr. Gill continued: "We are going to the Constituent Assembly in the larger interests of the country. The Sikhs do not want to stand aside. They have suspended direct action temporarily."

"If the Sikhs fail to obtain the necessary safeguards in the Constituent Assembly, they expect that the Congress will also support them in their battles," he said.

There was some opposition to the lifting of the ban on the Constituent Assembly, but the decision eventually taken was unanimous. With the removal of the boycott of the Constituent Assembly, the boycott of the Interim Government was also raised.

There was a demonstration by pro-boycott Sikhs outside the Golden Temple after the meeting.—A.P.I.

(Text of *Resolution* on page 3)

PANTHIC BOARD'S DECISION

Times 15/8/46

Text Of Resolution

AMRITSAR, August 14: The resolution passed by the Panthic Board deciding to enter the Constituent Assembly reads:

"The Panthic Pratinidhi Board met on August 13 and 14 to consider the situation created by events and the developments that have taken place since July 5, when the Board reiterated its decision to boycott the Constituent Assembly. During this period, the Secretary of State for India, during the debate in the House of Commons on July 15, made an appeal to the Sikhs to reconsider their boycott decision, and H. E. the Viceroy has also in his replies to communications from certain Sikh gentlemen expressed his willingness for the accommodation of the Sikh viewpoint. The main factor is, however, the resolution of the Congress Working Committee of August 9, in which the Congress has recognised that injustice has been done to the Sikhs by the Cabinet Mission's proposals and has declared that it will give all possible support to the Sikhs in redressing their legitimate grievances and in securing for the Sikhs adequate safeguards for protecting their interests.

CONGRESS ASSURANCE

"The Congress Working Committee has further appealed to the Sikhs to reconsider their resolution of boycotting the Constituent Assembly. This resolution of the Working Committee must be read along with the Lahore Congress Resolution of 1929 that no solution of the communal problem in any future constitution would be acceptable to the Congress that did not give full satisfaction to the Sikhs as well as with the recent speeches and statements of eminent Congress leaders to the effect that the Sikhs must be given similar safeguards as are provided to the two major communities in paragraphs 15 and 19 of the Cabinet Mission's proposals.

"Though the grave apprehensions of the Sikh community concerning their future under the Cabinet Mission scheme continue to exist, yet the appeal and the assurances of the Indian National Congress carry weight with the Board.

"In these circumstances, after careful deliberations, the Board is of the view that the situation calls for an earnest effort by the Sikhs to give the Constituent Assembly method a fair trial to secure for the Sikhs adequate safeguards in the Union and the provincial spheres as are provided for the two major communities in the long-term proposals.

APPEAL TO COMMUNITY

"The Panthic Board is further of the view that, like the boycott method, this method in order to be effective and successful requires the united, disciplined and determined support of the Panth, and the Board earnestly appeals to all Sikhs for all support.

"If unfortunately such methods fail, then the Panth will be doubly justified in going back to its previous resolve of boycott and direct action and in recalling the Sikh members of the Constituent Assembly. The Board, therefore, advises the Sikh M.L.A.'s to return their representatives to the Constituent Assembly and those Sikh representatives will raise the question of the safeguards mentioned above in the preliminary meeting of the Constituent Assembly and the Board expects that all the parties in the Assembly will support the Sikh demand in this behalf."—A.P.I.

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"DIRECT ACTION DAY"

JINNAH URGES PEACEFUL OBSERVANCE

Hindu 15/8/46

BOMBAY, Aug. 14.

Mr. M. A Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, has issued the following statement:—

"The Muslim League has fixed August 16 for the purpose of explaining to the Muslim public all over India the resolutions that were passed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League on July 29 at Bombay. The object and purpose of this is to make the Muslims understand fully the situation that is facing Muslim India and that they should prepare themselves for any eventuality that we may have to face. It will be noted that there has been a revolutionary change in our policy and that we have declared that we shall resort to direct action as and when necessary and prepare ourselves for the struggle that we may have to launch for the achievement of our goal of Pakistan. But August 16 is not for the purpose of resorting to direct action in any form or shape and, therefore, I enjoin the Mussalmans to carry out the instructions and abide by them strictly and conduct themselves peacefully and in a disciplined manner and not to play into the hands of our enemies."—A.P.I.

COMMUNISTS TO BACK LEAGUE

Free Press 15/8/46

BOMBAY, Wednesday.

P. C. Joshi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, has issued the following statement:

"The All India Muslim League has called upon its followers to observe August 16 as a day of protest in pursuance of its resolution of July 29, rejecting the Cabinet Mission's Plan. The Communist Party stands for the total rejection of the Imperialist Plan, and welcomes every genuine manifestation against it.

"The Communist Party realises that the leadership of the Muslim League does not stand for the total rejection of the Plan, but on the other hand, wants that the declaration of May 16, which imposes arbitrary limitations upon the Constitution Making Body and prescribes that unjust groupings be all the more strictly adhered to.

"None the less the Communist Party realises that the Muslim masses who will be demonstrating on that day will be moved by deep anti-imperialist anger against the Imperialist Plan.

"The Communist Party therefore calls upon other citizens to show their fraternal solidarity with their League brothers and demonstrate their will to launch a united struggle against Imperialism and for freedom."

"Self-Determination By Whom?"

Hindu — 15/8/46.

SIR C. SETALVAD ON MISUSE OF WORD

Mr. Jinnah, in his statement published on Tuesday morning, contends that his claim of Pakistan is based on the principle of self-determination. One is entitled to ask: "Whose self-determination?", says Sir Chimanlal Setalvad commenting on Mr. Jinnah's observation that the demand for Pakistan could not be a justiciable issue.

Sir Chimanlal says: In the Punjab, the Muslims are roughly 52 per cent. of the population and the non-Muslims are about 48 per cent. In Bengal, the Muslims are 58 per cent. and the non-Muslims are about 42 per cent. In Assam, the non-Muslims are in a majority and a Congress ministry is functioning there. In the North West Frontier Province, the Muslims are in a large majority but a Congress ministry is put in power there and an appreciable number of Muslims voters have voted for the Congress. In Sind, the Muslims are also in an appreciable majority. But even there, the position of the Muslim League ministry is highly precarious.

Evidently, according to Mr. Jinnah, the 52 per cent. Muslims in the Punjab and the 58 per cent. in Bengal and the Muslim minority in Assam are to exercise self-determination in favour of Pakistan overriding the wishes of the substantial minorities in the Punjab and Bengal and of the majority in Assam. The further difficulty of the United Provinces and Behar intervening between Bengal and the Punjab is also there.

The expression "Self-determination" was first used by President Wilson at the Paris Peace Conference after the first World War. But it has been very much misused in order to make it applicable to conditions in which it is, on the face of it, wholly inapplicable. One can well conceive the application of the principle of self-determination when there is in a compact area a homogeneous population belonging to a particular nationality or professing a particular religion. With regard to what are claimed as Pakistan provinces, the principle is wholly misapplied in view of the hard facts which cannot, by any manipulation, be altered.

At one time an attempt was made to show that if the population of the Punjab, Bengal, Assam, the North-West Frontier Provinces, Sind and Baluchistan were lumped together, the Muslim and non-Muslim population would be in the proportion of 70 and 30 respectively. By this manipulation, the 48 per cent. non-Muslims in the Punjab and the 42 per cent. in Bengal are reduced to 30 per cent. and the non-Muslim majority in Assam is reduced to a minority.

Moreover, the division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan will make both these parts very vulnerable. What is wanted is only to secure in the Constitution perfect protection to Muslims and other minorities for their religious, cultural and economic interests. The whole system of parties based on religion and not on programmes is vicious and democracy can never flourish under such conditions. Some method should be adopted whereby ultimately watertight compartments based on religion may disappear.

At the Second Round Table Conference, I suggested that any member of a community for which separate electorates are provided should have the liberty by a proper declaration to go on the general register. It is inequitable that Muslims who conscientously disbelieve in separate electorates should be denied the right to exercise self-determination and go on the general register.

The Interim Plan
SIR C. SETALVAD ON RECENT EVENTS

"Mr. Jayakar and myself had in our recent statements which were issued independently of each other, had pointed out that the Muslim League had a legitimate grievance regarding the utterances of some responsible leaders of the Congress that the Congress had agreed to nothing except to go into the constituent Assembly," says Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in a statement to the press.

He adds: "We further said that it behoved the Congress authoritatively to dispel all suspicions by reiterating unequivocally that they accepted the Cabinet Mission's plan in its entirety. The Congress Working Committee by its resolution has done this.

"It is unfortunate that Mr. Jinnah is not prepared to accept this at its face value and says that the situation remains the same as it was before the Wardha resolution. He argues that though the Congress says it accepts the Cabinet Mission's plan they may also, the constituent assembly go outside it and there is no machinery provided to prevent it from doing so. He refers to the utterances of Congress leaders that the constituent assembly is a sovereign body and suspects that once the constituent assembly begins to function, the Congress might carry everything as they want by their majority. This apprehension is unwarranted.

"The constituent assembly is a sovereign body only when it acts within the ambit of its powers and functions as circumscribed in the Cabinet Mission's scheme. It cannot upset for instance the grouping of provinces or the system of voting laid down for constituting which raise a major communal issue. If the constituent assembly tries to go beyond, the essentials and conditions laid down in the Cabinet Mission's plan, the Muslim League representatives can walk out at that stage and the conclusions of the constituent assembly which go beyond the terms of the reference to them will not be accepted by the British Government. One earnestly hopes that Mr. Jinnah and the League will reconsider the whole position.

INTERIM GOVERNMENT

"There is one matter in which, I believe, the League has reason to feel aggrieved. The Cabinet Mission in their statement of June 16 had said that in the event of either of the two major parties being unwilling to the setting up of a Coalition Government at the Centre, it was the intention of the Viceroy to proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which would be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of May 16.

"The Muslim League accepted both the Interim as well as the long term proposals. Thereafter, the Congress declined to enter the Interim Government but accepted the long term constituent assembly plan. In that state of things, according to the decision of the Mission above referred to, the Muslim League feels that it should have been invited to make proposals for the Interim Government. The Viceroy did not do that and deferred the making of the Interim Government.

"The Muslim League Council at its meeting in Bombay went back upon their original decision of acceptance and rejected both the interim as well as the long term plan. Among the reasons urged for their decision, one was that the Viceroy had failed to carry out what he had said about inviting the party who had agreed to form the Interim Government.

"Now, after the Muslim League had rejected the whole scheme, the Viceroy calls upon the Congress President to make proposals for the Interim Government and the Congress, which had originally rejected the Interim Government plan has now accepted the invitation of the Viceroy for that purpose. The resolution of the A.I.C.C. rejecting the interim plan still stands and has not been reversed. So far as the rejection of the interim plan is concerned, the Congress and the Muslim League are still officially in the same position. Under such circumstances, the Muslim League naturally feels aggrieved. Thus events have developed to create a most unfortunate situation which sets only the statement out by patient, frank and agonising reappraisals between all the three parties

"DAWN'S" ALLEGATION AGAINST VICEROY
OFFICIAL DENIAL

NEW DELHI, Aug. 14.

The Muslim League organ, *Dawn*, gave a little angel cake with its political cornet story" headed "Wavell Inspires Anti-League Propaganda".

This correspondent "on good authority" charges the Viceroy with "collaboration with a Government employee in the form of B. R. Sharma (Government's Deputy Principal Information Officer) for slanderline propaganda offensives against the League ... in order to create a favourable impression for the Congress and a hostile impression against the Muslim League."

The report alleged that Mr. Sharma visited the Viceroy's House thrice on the Viceroy calling him for producing "a secret hand-out to C. let the Congress attitude as right and the League attitude as wrong, and suitably brief him on this." The correspondent further alleged that "this confidential document was passed on to a limited number of safe pressmen in the darkness on Monday night" so that they can "colour" their despatches.

After nearly twelve hours' interval, a Government counter issue out this evening characterising the st ry as "entirely false and fabricated". It also explained that no officer of the Information Department "has seen the Viceroy for several weeks past and not at all on Monday."

The statement categorically denied giving out "any confidential document," adding, "nor is any such issue contemplated."

The Editor of the *Dawn* told the Associated Press of America this evening that "will not be left at this stage but will be followed up" with its "proof of the story."

JINNAH SHOULD ACCEPT CONGRESS OFFER

BOMBAY, Aug. 13.

"The invitation given by the Viceroy to Pandit Nehru to form the new Government is an event of great and far-reaching importance and indicates the bona fide intentions of the British Government so far as India is concerned," says Mr. K. M. Munshi.

"I have no doubt that the Congress will make a generous offer to the Muslim League. The boundless field now available for co-operation will enable Mr. Jinnah to appreciate that after the Congress Working Committee passed its latest unequivocal resolution, there is nothing for him left to complain of".—A.P.I.

REACTION IN SIND LEAGUE

Special to the Statesman

KARACHI, Aug. 13.

Reaction in Muslim League circles in Sind to the Viceroy's invitation to the Congress President for the formation of an Interim Government is summed up by Mr. M. H. Gazdar, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League. For the present, Mr. Gazdar said the attitude of the Muslim League would depend upon the immediate conduct of the Congress and the British Government.

Explaining his views further, Mr Gazdar remarked: "If the combination of British Imperialism and Hindu Capitalism does not behave properly towards the Mussalmans and other minorities and if it continues to show arrogance by relying on the Hindu majority, there will be no peace in this country. But if steps are taken by it to create confidence among the Mussalmans, the Muslim League would co-operate and the day of freedom would be brought nearer." He anticipated that the Muslim League might co-operate with the Congress if the latter accepted the formation of an Interim Government by dropping their demand for inclusion of a Nationalist Muslim on the proportion originally accepted by the League i.e. 5.5.2.

Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Premier, refused to comment on the latest development.—A.P.I.

LEAGUE PAPER'S RECKLESS CHARGE AGAINST VICEROY

Categoric Denial By Press "Communique"

With reference to a story published in the *Dawn* on Wednesday from its Political Correspondent, a Press note issued from the Viceroy's House says: "A story has appeared in the Press on Wednesday that Mr B. L. Sharma, Deputy Principal Information Officer, saw the Viceroy several times on Monday in connection with official propaganda against a particular political party."

The *Dawn* report said that "clandestine propaganda offensives are being hatched in the highest quarters to feed selected sections of the Indian and foreign Press in order to create a favourable impression for the Congress and a hostile impression against the Muslim League."

The paper charged the "soldier Viceroy" with having "suitably briefed" Mr B. L. Sharma, Deputy Principal Information Officer, and having asked him to prepare a secret hand-out depicting the Congress attitude as right and the League attitude as wrong.

This "confidential document," the *Dawn* alleged, after it was ready, was passed on to a limited number of "safe" Press correspondents.

Contradicting this report, the Press note continues:

"This story is entirely false and baseless. Neither Mr Sharma nor any other officer of the Principal Information Officer's staff, nor indeed any Publicity Officer, has seen the Viceroy for several weeks. No such officer visited the Viceroy's House at all on Monday. No 'confidential document' of any kind has been given out from the Viceroy's House or from any Government source to any correspondent nor is any such issue contemplated. On Monday nothing went out from the Viceroy's House to the Press or to the Principal Information Officer's office, except the short *communique* about the Interim Government."

Depressed Classes' Case

LONDON, August 12: A plea that greater representation in the projected interim Indian Government should be given to the Depressed Classes in India is made in a letter to *The Times* today by Mr. George S. Ingram of the Church Missionary Society.

"Since the Depressed Classes, who number 60,000,000, are given no greater representation", he says, than the Parsees, who number 100,000, Sikhs who number 5,000,000 and Christians who number 7,000,000—one representative each—it is obvious that their representation is far below what justice demands. Moreover, Muslims numbering 94,000,000 are given five seats and Depressed Classes only one. So on this count Depressed Classes should be given at least two representatives for anything like adequate representation."

Paying a tribute to Dr. Ambedkar, "the great leader and champion of the Depressed Classes, Mr. Ingram says that no representation of this section could be in any way adequate without Dr. Ambedkar's inclusion.—

Harijans & Poona Pact

MADRAS, August 13: The view that the scrapping of the Poona Pact altogether was against the interests of Harijans was expressed by Mr. J. Sivashanmugham Pillai, Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly, at a reception accorded to him yesterday. He said that if there were defects in the Pact, they could be rectified.

He added that separate electorates on a territorial basis would do incalculable harm to Harijans who lived scattered in the countryside.—A.P.I.

Wavell's Move Welcomed

LONDON, Aug. 14.—The news that the Viceroy has asked Pandit Nehru to form an interim Indian Government and that Pandit Nehru has accepted the invitation has caused lively interest in Indian circles in London.

A spokesman of the India League, the chief pro-Congress organization in Great Britain, said: "It is great news. We believe that this is a great step forward to India's attainment of independence."

Non-League Muslims are also enthusiastic at the news. Mr Surat Alley, founder member and former secretary of the Federation of Indian Associations in Great Britain, said: "We have been waiting for this news and now it has come. We are glad to hear it but we would like the Congress to take an honourable attitude towards the Muslim League, which, after all, cannot be regarded as a minority."

Mr H. S. Polak said: "I am very thankful and delighted and I only hope that leaders of parties other than the Congress will join in. India will now make rapid strides towards fulfilment of her destiny. The Muslim League, once in the Constituent Assembly, should be treated with the utmost respect."

Mr Subrat Ray Chowdhry, former President of the Cambridge Majlis, said that the members were particularly glad to think that Pandit Nehru, a life member of the Majlis, was to form the Interim Government.

Choudhry Akbare Khan, President of the Indian Workers' Association of London, stated that he was glad that "the ablest man of India has been entrusted with the task of shaping the destiny of the Indian Union."

The Working Committee of the London branch of the Muslim League has issued a statement saying: "The British have invited Pandit Nehru to form an Interim Government and handed over power to the Hindus. What has been done in India will merely strengthen Muslim determination to smash the Anglo-Hindu conspiracy once and for all. The British and Hindus are playing with fire and they will live to rue their action."

The appeal of the Congress Working Committee to the Muslim League for co-operation in the task of shaping the future of independent India is welcomed in all political circles here.

No Cause For Over-Optimism

Mr Reginald Sorensen said: "It is not for its immediate effect that I welcome this move. I believe it may symbolize at least the beginning of the era of purely party propaganda and the beginning of an approach to Indian problems by Indian leaders on the basis of what is best for India as a whole. While it may be difficult for the Muslim League once more to change its attitude, I hope they too will take a statesmanlike view and put the needs of India first."

Mr Sorensen added a warning against over-optimism, saying that there has been so many disappointments in the past that until a hard and fast agreement had been reached by all major parties, nothing should be taken for granted.

"This is certainly an improvement in the situation," said Mr L. S. Amery, former Secretary of State for India. "Nevertheless so much depends on the Muslim League," he added. "It is a very delicate situation and I think that perhaps further comments at this stage would be unwise."—Reuter.

LABOUR UNREST IN INDIA

Hindu 15/8/46

CONGRESS CONCERN AT STRIKE WAVE

APPEAL TO WORKERS AND GOVERNMENT

WARDHA, Aug. 13.

The Congress Working Committee concluded its six day session this evening after passing three resolutions, two pertaining to labour and the third on the constitutional reforms in Hyderabad State.

The Committee in a statement issued today expresses sympathy with the working class in its struggle to improve its economic condition and urge Governments and employers in the country to take early steps to satisfy the legitimate needs and aspirations of the working class.

The statement points out that avoidable strikes during the backing of public opinion in view of the dire need of the country for more goods and services. Refusal to take advantage of available means of settlement by negotiation, and arbitration constitute a distinct disservice to the community and the class itself. The Committee also regret the growing lack of discipline and disregard of obligations on the part of workers as evident in certain recent labour disputes.

The statement says: "The Working Committee view with deep concern the intense widespread labour unrest which in recent months involved numerous industries and services in the country in widespread and prolonged stoppages, thus entailing heavy material loss and serious hardships to the community as well as the working class. The committee are aware of the fact that labour upheaval through which the country has been passing is largely occasioned by serious privations to which the workers have been subjected in consequence of the tremendous economic mal-adjustments created by the war including by excessive rise in the cost of living that has prevailed throughout the country to a large extent. The Committee are further of the opinion that struggle and troubles in the country have been aggravated by the absence of a well-defined national plan or policy in dealing with claims of labour and by delay in redressing grievances by means of conciliation, arbitration and adjudication and by the confusion arising out of uncoordinated action taken by various bodies in different parts of the country.

"The sympathy of the Congress with the working class in its struggle to improve its economic position and the status is too well known to require reiteration and in furtherance of this, the Congress urges Government and employers in the country to take early steps to satisfy the legitimate needs and aspirations of the working class and remove every cause of grievance by prompt settlement by arranging for impartial examination of the conditions and complaints of employees and by prompt settlement of disagreements by a process of conciliation and arbitration.

"The Committee feel further it is necessary in general interest to point out that avoidable strikes calculated to have the backing of public opinion, in view of the dire need of the country for more goods and services. Hasty or ill-conceived stoppages or refusal to take advantage of available means of settlement by negotiations, conciliation and arbitration, constitute a distinct disservice to the community and the working class itself.

"The Committee in this connection emphasise that particular industries and services, which are essential for the existence of the community and on which the community and public administration depend, should be immune from dislocation by strikes and lockouts and disputes between employers and employees, (including Government) should be finally settled by arbitration and adjudication.

"The Committee have also with regret to take note of the growing lack of discipline and disregard of obligations on the part of workers which have become evident in some recent labour disputes and would stress the need for discipline and respect for rights and requirements of others and of the community as a whole as an indispensable foundation of a strong trade union movement and the basis of orderly social life. The Committee understand that the unbelievable features of the present labour situation are due in part to the efforts of certain individuals and sections to exploit the ignorance of workers and the need of the community for ulterior aims, political or other, and the strikes in all the more important centres in Congress now to develop further confusion with labour and serve its cause to the best of their ability and to disorganise Government, society and thereby labour action itself. They are dangerous and those which call for discussion.

INFLATION NOT CHECKED

"While the measures adopted by the Working Committee in regard to the relations between employer and employed in India and for promoting an amicable settlement of disputes between them are welcome, the Committee are constrained to point out that the fabled level of prices still persist in retarding the restoration of normal economic conditions. Unless a proper relationship between prices and wages accentuating the existing difficulties, no lasting solution of these difficulties will be available so long as a definite policy regarding future price structure does not take shape and an order placed which is not provided for the economic relations in the country. While these fundamental questions can be handled only by a Central Government, the Committee feels that such integration of policy and action in the matter as is possible in the provincial sphere should be attempted immediately."—A.P.I.

CONGRESSMEN AND LABOUR

Hindu 15/8/46

WORKING COMMITTEE'S ADVICE

WARDHA, Aug. 13.

The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution this evening recommending to Congressmen to utilise the Hindusthan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh for the service of the working class.

The resolution says: "Whereas the Congress has to play an increasingly active role in helping the working class to organise itself on sound and healthy lines to achieve its rightful place in industry and society and to make progressive contribution towards raising the economic and social standards in this country, the Committee have come to the conclusion that a central agency should be provided, by creation, support and co-ordination of the efforts and activities of Congressmen in the field of labour organisation and service of the working class. The Committee note with satisfaction that the Hindusthan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh has been functioning in this field for a number of years, and has built up a policy, tradition and machinery well calculated to advance and fulfil the aims, which the Congress has in view in relation to labour. The Committee recommend to Congressmen to make the fullest use of the facilities provided by the Sangh for the service of the working class and to accept its guidance in dealing with labour questions.

"In order to give effect to the above resolution, a Committee consisting of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda and Mr. P. H. Patwardhan, will be appointed to confer with the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh and report to the Working Committee."—A.P.I.

Mr. Gandhi On Strikes

To The Editor, "The Times Of India"

Sir,—Mr. Gandhi maintains, "Obviously there should be no strike which is not justifiable on merit. No unjust strike should succeed. All public sympathy must be withheld from such strikes."

As a member of the public I am puzzled by that statement. Who is to decide whether a strike is just or unjust? Gandhiji suggests an impartial and disinterested arbitrator or board of conciliation accepted by both parties. But if such decision is accepted by both the sides, the question of a strike does not arise. In India, as in other countries, Government is always on the side of employers—if it is not itself the employer.

When Gandhiji says, "There must be an arbitration accepted by the parties or a judicial adjudication" we wonder if he implies compulsory arbitration. If he does, then we are afraid that in spite of his better self he is unconsciously making himself an advocate of the Government, present or future, Congress or non-Congress, and committing himself in advance to the righteousness of a capitalist order.

In a capitalist society, with its inequalities of privileges and power based on wealth the strike is the inevitable weapon which the weak employ against the strong. In a country like our own where labour is not well organised, where labour is weak, where the poverty of the worker makes a prolonged strike difficult, if not impossible, and involves untold sufferings, to advise the working classes not to strike seems to us the height of folly. Pray what to the poor to reconcile themselves to poverty on earth, for they shall enter the Heaven will look after them hereafter. Such advice is a mere perpetuation of poverty for the working classes.

Mr. Gandhi tells us that the public has no means of judging the merits of a strike and that interested men cannot judge the merits of their own case. He adds that we have national Provincial Governments, and that the strikes should follow the advice of the leaders of these Provincial Governments. The parties to the dispute in the particular case were the Central Government and the Central employees. Whose advice will the strikers to follow? The advice of their Union leaders or the advice of the leaders of the Provincial Governments?

Tomorrow there may be a strike in the textile and other industries. The owners of these industrial organisations are in the good books of the Indian National Congress. Is it suggested that the workers should do what the vested interests, speaking through the mouth of our national leaders and Provincial Governments, advise them to do?

If the Indian National Congress is to be regarded as an oracular authority not only in the struggle for Independence, but in all matters and singular, in economic, social and religious questions, we are afraid that the attitude for the domination of the foreigner in the political field a totalitarian regime affecting the many-sided life of the people and proclaiming its monopoly in the name of a national government.

If those in power in the Provinces today turned their attention to calling upon the Central Government to stop inflation and to stabilise prices; if they resolutely turned their faces against the exploiters instead of advising the exploited classes, and telling the public they are not competent to judge, they will establish a more lasting claim on the esteem and affection of the people.

P. A. WADIA.

Bombay, August 10. 15.8.46

BRITISH PRESS ON WARDHA DECISION

14/8/46

(From Our London Correspondent)

National Standard

LONDON, August 13.

ALMOST without exception, London Press welcomes the Wardha resolution.

It is hoped that despite occasional discordant notes, the League will accept the Congress gesture for co-operation.

The Press here gives prominence to views of the Nawab of Mamdot, who is confident the League will revise its recent decision if the Congress offer on genuine collaboration. Also welcomed Mr. Ishaq Sowaidi's statement that Muslims are willing to postpone Pakistan indefinitely, if the League obtains satisfaction.

In an editorial comment the "Yorkshire Post" observes: "Mr. Jinnah who is nothing if not an adroit politician, will be wise at this moment to consider whether obstructiveness in the face of an accommodating gesture from the Congress, will not put him and his party in the wrong."

Pandit Nehru's acceptance of Viceroy Lord Wavell's invitation to form a Government is welcomed with sober optimism by two leading British newspapers—the independent London "Times" and the liberal "Provincial Manchester Guardian," says a Reuter message.

"This new move," says the "Times," gives the country which India has been looking and the Congress Party has thus taken first decisive steps along a difficult path that must be followed by every political group which abandons the irresponsibility of opposition to assume obligations of constructive statesmanship.

"The Working Committee did well to direct its efforts chiefly to what is for convenience called the long-term plan. The line adopted argues courage as well as vision for the recent intransigence of the Muslim League, though it may not have been caused entirely by misgivings about the Congress Party interpretations of the scheme of May 16, was certainly aggravated by irresponsible pronouncements from certain party leaders.

"Unless these pronouncements had been made, Mr. Jinnah, for all his exasperation at the refusal of the Viceroy to form an Interim Government with the League, but without the Congress, would have lacked even semblance of justification for departing from his solemn undertaking to accept the State Paper of May 16, as the basis of future action. The Working Committee, by its actions in the clearest fashion the decision of the Congress Party to accept the scheme in its entirety and has explicitly repudiated loose talking that did so much damage.

"The provocative attitude of the Muslim League provided the Congress Working Committee with a temptation to retort in kind. That temptation has been resisted, and party leaders have made a serious endeavour to allay as well as to understand Muslim anxieties. Criticisms levelled by the League against apparent ambiguity of Congress Party's attitude towards the Constituent Assembly are not brushed aside in last Sunday's resolution, but are honestly and sincerely met.

AN AWKWARD POSITION

"At the moment, Mr. Jinnah is placed in an awkward position as his latest statement shows, for he is not at once reverse his course of action, even though such justification as existed for his refusal to co-operate in carrying out the long-term plan has now been removed. The immediate need of the moment is resumption of direct dealings between Mr. Jinnah and the Congress Party leaders, so that he can be assured of the sincerity of their intention and can be supplied the opportunity of adapting his course of action to the new situation. The necessary occasion for these consultations has been provided by the Viceroy's invitation to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to formulate proposals for an Interim Government.

"The Congress Party stands now upon the threshold of power and holds the destiny of India in its hands. Upon the decisions which are made this day during the next few days, the immediate future of the country will depend.

"If it can face the sacrifice of purely party advantage which such a course entails, it may yet succeed in securing a peaceful evolution of an undivided India. But the process will demand infinite care, tact and patience. India is in no mood to accept a kind of compromise proposal that might, in other circumstances, have secured its ready assent. It has gone so far along the road of separation that nothing but real partnership, ungrudging sharing of power, now suffices.

"But if the statesmanship of Congress leaders can rise to the occasion and can give Mr. Jinnah a practical example of the triumph of patriotism over party interests, it may well prove a decisive step in keeping with its own generosity."

CONGRESS MEANS BUSINESS

Declaring that the action of the Congress "means business," the "Manchester Guardian" writes: "Once more the Indian deadlock has been broken and this time it looks as if there may be real developments. If the prospects were not promising, the Viceroy's invitation would hardly have been announced in this form. The question now is whether Congress leaders can satisfy the Muslim League sufficiently to bring Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues into the Interim Government. If that proves impossible, to make them suspend judgment. The Congress Working Committee, which met at Wardha last week, is to be congratulated on its constructive resolution which went far towards giving the Muslims those assurances they demand.

"It remains to see whether the combined efforts of Lord Wavell and Congress leaders will move the Muslim League to reconsider their decision to have nothing to do with the scheme.

"For the sake of India, it is to be hoped that Mr. Jinnah will be reasonable. Famine threatens large parts of the country and labour unrest is spreading fast. Many signs show that India's youth, both Muslim and Hindu, has had enough of politics and frustration.

"But what is to be done, if the League stays out? Neither party will risk a new deadlock. The Viceroy may propose to form an Interim Government by himself, with representatives of other groups on the clear understanding that five portfolios out of 14 will be at the disposal of the Muslim League whenever it decides to accept office. That would be making the best of a bad job. India would nevertheless have its first Indian Government."

CONGRESS APPEAL WELCOMED

Tribune 13/8/46

London Reaction

LONDON, August 12: The appeal of the Congress Working Committee to the Muslim League for co-operation in the task of shaping the future of independent India is welcomed in all political circles here.

Mr. Reginald Sorensen, Labour Member of Parliament, told *Reuter* today that he and his colleagues welcomed this move by the Congress. "It is not only for its immediate effect that I welcome it," he said. "But because it may be a symptom of a totally new approach by Indian politicians to this great problem. I believe it may symbolise at least the beginning of the end of partition propaganda and the beginning of an approach to Indian problems by Indian leaders on the basis of what is best for India as a whole."

"This is certainly an improvement in the situation," said Mr. L. S. Amery, former Secretary of State for India. "Nevertheless so much depends on the Muslim League that it is a very delicate situation and I think that perhaps further comments at this stage would be unwise."

BRITISH PAPER'S COMMENT

Tribune 14/8/46

LONDON, Aug. 14.

The Congress must now make sacrifices which it has not hitherto been prepared to make if the present effort is to succeed, warns the Conservative Daily Telegraph.

What the Viceroy has done is to pass over to Pandit Nehru his responsibility for finding of a middle path that will enable all communities to travel together towards self-Government. It says: In that search, the Cabinet Mission failed. Any attempt on the part of the Congress to establish a purely Congress Government at the Centre would not be considered by any Viceroy responsible for the peace of India. It would be a direct invitation to civil war. Pandit Nehru has made a good and courageous approach in first seeking an interview with Mr. Jinnah. The Muslim leader now has to make a final decision whether for the preservation of peace he will abandon his demand for Pakistan, withdraw his threats of direct action and enter the Interim Government to which his community has pledged itself. Since the Congress Working Committee shows its attitude and now seeks his co-operation, there is room for hope that the deadlock may manship on his part.

The Viceroy has made every chance of success in the negotiations that must now begin between Congress and the League by the willingness of the Congress to make concessions that must appear to many as the capitulation that has recently won three-fourths of the constitutional claims of the Muslim nations. Upon the Muslim claim for parity between those of them who are Caste-Hindus in the Central Government, all earlier efforts to establish a Provisional Executive have broken down. The latest demand will not be abandoned at this stage and in one way or another, it must be faced, however unreasonable it may appear. If progress is to be made, Mr. Gandhi once said that he did not mind what proportion of Indians they were Indians.

Azad's Appeal To League President

WARDHA, Aug. 13.

MAULANA Azad expressed the fervent hope that it would be possible for the Muslim League to reconsider its decision and extend the hand of co-operation in forming a coalition Government at the Centre in a talk with the A.P.I. correspondent to-night. The Congress for its part, he said, had passed a resolution clarifying its acceptance of the long-term proposals and this should dispel all reasonable doubts and fears. "I earnestly hope and trust," Maulana Azad said, "the League will reconsider its decision and participate in the Constituent Assembly."

In regard to Interim Government, he said, the position was that after the Muslim League's rejection of the Cabinet Mission's proposals, the British Government had no other alternative but to write to Congress President to help in the formation of a Government and the Congress was prepared to accept the responsibility. "Nevertheless," Maulana Azad added, "We desire to win over the League and secure its co-operation."

A special messenger left Wardha to-day with the Congress President's letter to Mr. Jinnah seeking his co-operation in the formation of the Interim Government. A personal meeting between the President of the Congress and the League would depend on Mr. Jinnah's reply. Pandit Nehru is leaving Wardha for Bombay to-morrow.—A. P. I.

MR. JINNAH'S COMMENTS

BOMBAY, Aug. 13.

"I know nothing as to what is going on between the Viceroy and the Congress or its President", said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, commenting on the announcement that the Congress President has been asked to make proposals for the immediate formation of an Interim Government.

Mr. Jinnah added that he had already given his reaction to the Working Committee's resolution passed at Wardha on Saturday last and said, "We are prepared to face any situation that may arise."

Mr. Jinnah holds the Associated Press of America) declined to confirm or deny reports originating in New Delhi that he will meet this week Pandit Nehru, Congress President, to discuss the deadlock between the Congress and the League. Reports from persons in New Delhi who are in a position to know said that a conference between the "big two" of the major parties probably would be held soon after Pandit Nehru arrives in Bombay from Wardha.

SIND PREMIER CALLS FOR DISCIPLINE

KARACHI, Aug. 13.

Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah the Sind Premier, endorsing the appeal made by Mr. Jinnah to observe August 16 peacefully and in a disciplined manner has in a statement to-day urged Sind Muslims to take the utmost care and give expression to their feelings on the occasion without the slightest degree of violence or intemperance. The Premier said, "Every attempt is being made by our opponents to belittle or discredit what we honestly regard as our claim in respect of the future constitution of India. It is therefore upto us to show by our orderly and disciplined conduct that we are fully worthy of what we are striving for."

AZAD'S APPEAL TO THE LEAGUE

"Though the situation has developed in such a way that the offer has been made by the Viceroy only to the Congress to form the Interim Government, the Congress is quite prepared to do its utmost to win over the League and give it every facility to join the Interim Government", observed Maulana Azad, expressing his reaction to the Viceroy's latest move. The Maulana added: "The Congress resolution of Saturday last dispels all reasonable fears and suspicions of the Muslim League and I, therefore, trust that the League will now take its place in the Interim Government and offer its wholehearted support to the Constituent Assembly."

Prominent members of the Working Committee explain that the main object of the Committee's resolution of August 9 was to remove any fear that the League may have entertained regarding the Congress attitude to the Constituent Assembly. The resolution did not deal with the Interim Government because it was a matter entirely in the hands of the British Government.

It is stated that since the commencement of the present negotiations on the Interim Government the Congress had urged that the Viceroy should make a public announcement without any undue delay embodying his decision to invite the Congress President to form the Interim Government. The Congress leaders felt that once this was done it would bring about a change in the political outlook of a good number of people and create an atmosphere in which it would be easy for the Congress to take the initiative and bring the suggestion of the minorities for forming the Interim Government.

BENGAL PREMIER'S THREAT RIDICULED

WARDHA, Aug. 13.

The Bengal Premier's recent threat to "declare his province independent" in the event of an early Congress-led Interim Cabinet being formed at the Centre is pooh-poohed in Wardha. A member of the Congress Working Committee declared that in such an event, "Bengal would be starved out. The Centre will take appropriate steps to meet the situation."

The same member said the Sind League Ministry will be thrown out at the next session of the Sind Assembly. That would leave a solitary League Government in Bengal and the member stated "Bengal can be brought to her senses in no time."—A. P. A.

NAWAB ISMAIL'S THREAT

HYDERABAD (Dn.), Aug. 12.

"Direct action in the Provinces where the League Ministries are functioning may be launched in the form of disobedience by the Governments of those Provinces of the Central Authority," said Nawab Ismail Khan, formerly Chairman of the Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League, replying to a question put by the Orient Press representative to-day as to what course "direct action" will take in Sind and Bengal where the League is in power.

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PANDIT NEHRU ASKED TO FORM INTERIM CABINET

Congress To Seek League Co-operation

Times 13/8/46

DIRECT APPROACH TO MR. JINNAH LIKELY

Seats To Be Filled If Offer Is Rejected

From Our Special Correspondent

WARDHA, August 12.

***"H. E.** the Viceroy, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, has invited the President of the Congress to make proposals for the immediate formation of an Interim Government, and the President of the Congress has accepted the invitation," says a* communique *from the Viceroy's House, New Delhi.*

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will shortly visit New Delhi to discuss his proposals with H. E. the Viceroy," the communique *adds.*

Mr. Nehru Writes To Mr. Jinnah

Times — 14/8/46.

SEEKING LEAGUE CO-OPERATION

WARDHA, August 13.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Congress, is writing to Mr. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, seeking his party's co-operation in the formation of an interim Government.

Pandit Nehru, in a statement today, said: "As has been announced by the Viceroy, I have been invited by him, in my capacity as President of the Congress, to make proposals for the immediate formation of an interim Government. In consultation with my colleagues, I have accepted this invitation. It is our desire to have as representative a provisional national Government as possible so that we might unitedly face the great problems that confront the country and lead India rapidly to full independence. We would welcome the co-operation of the League in forming a coalition Government, and I am, therefore, writing to Mr. Jinnah on this subject".

MR. JINNAH CRITICISES WARDHA RESOLUTION

"Situation Remains As It Was"

"THE latest resolution of the Congress Working Committee passed at Wardha on 10th August does not carry us anywhere, because it is only a repetition of the Congress stand taken by them from the very beginning, only put in a different language and phraseology", says Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in a statement issued on Monday.

"The situation remains as it was", says Mr. Jinnah, "and we are where we were".

"It is quite clear", he points out, "that there is no change on the part of the Congress except the startling exposition that they had accepted the scheme in its entirety which is immediately contradicted by what follows in the resolution, and they have reiterated their repudiation of grouping and emphasised once more the sovereign character of the Constituent Assembly, which can only mean that it will not be bound by anything laid down in the statement of May 16 and would be free to decide every question of principle".

TEST OF STATEMENT

The following is the text of Mr. Jinnah's statement:—

"The entire scheme of the British Cabinet Mission consisted of the long-term plan statements of 16th May and 16th May and the short-term plan of setting up the Interim Government, and these two formed integral parts of the whole scheme and were interdependent and indivisible. The Muslim League accepted both, whereas the Congress rejected the Interim Government proposal of 16th May and accepted the statement of 16th May conditionally with reservations and their own interpretations.

"The Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy scrapped the Interim Government proposal of 16th June and treated the Congress decision communicated to them on 25th and 26th June wrongly as acceptance. The so-called acceptance was, in fact, a rejection.

"After that, the Viceroy declined to postpone the elections of the Constituent Assembly on the plea that arrangements for it had gone too far ahead. Although the arrangements with regard to the Interim Government were complete and the resignations of his then members of the Executive Council were held by him, and according to the statement of 16th June the Interim Government was to be set up on or about 26th June, yet it was scrapped. After this the Muslim League was free to take such decision as they thought proper as the main part of the scheme had fallen through. It was only the Council of the All-India Muslim League that could, and they did decided our attitude and in these circumstances we summoned the Council of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay on 27-28th July and they decided withdraw our acceptance formally.

"In the meantime, we decided to contest the elections to the Constituent Assembly in order to secure as much able people getting in as Muslim representatives and we captured 90 per cent. Muslim seats.

CONGRESS ATTITUDE

"Meanwhile, before the Council of the League had met, the Congress leaders including the President in their speeches at the All-India Congress Committee meeting on 6th and 7th July made their pronouncements which created grave apprehensions in the Muslim circles and were expressed by Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, in his statement from Delhi and me in my statement from Hyderabad on 13th July, notably with regard to the pronouncement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the 10th July at a press conference, which left no room for doubt as to the intentions of Congress. Both these statements were published in the press by the news agencies.

"The debate in Parliament, which took place on 18th July showed that the British Government approved of the grasping of the Interim Government by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, and paid no attention whatever to the new situation that had arisen, not only by pronouncements and clarifications and interpretations given by the Congress leaders, which were published throughout the country, but also by the fact that the Assam Assembly, while electing the Assam representatives to the Constituent Assembly, had, under the instructions of the Congress High Command, passed a resolution giving a mandate not only to the Congress members but also to the representatives of the Muslims elected by the separate bloc of Muslim members, to have nothing to do with the "C" group from the very start. This clearly repudiated one of the fundamentals of the long-term statement of 16th May and this is an instance of how the majority acted, although it is the constitutional method the Assam Assembly was competent to give such a mandate to its representatives to the Constituent Assembly.

"ONLY A REPETITION"

"The latest resolution of the Congress Working Committee passed at Wardha on 10th August does not carry us anywhere, because it is only a repetition of the Congress stand taken by them from the very beginning, only put in a different language and phraseology. This is what they say with regard to their decision on the short-term plan:

"The Committee further noted that criticism has been advanced on behalf of the Muslim League to the effect that Congress acceptance of the proposals contained in the statement of May 16 was conditional. The committee wish to make it clear that while they did not approve of all the provisions contained in the statement, they accepted the scheme in its entirety.

"The resolution further continues:

"They interpreted it so as to resolve the inconsistency contained in it and fill the omissions in accordance with the principle laid down in that statement".

"Therefore to start with, they are free to resolve the inconsistency and fill in the omissions. How can that be in accordance with the principle laid down in that statement? What is the inconsistency and what are the omissions?

"The resolution proceeds further and says:

"They hold that Provincial autonomy is a basic provision and each Province has the right to decide whether to form or join a group or not.'

"Therefore they emphasise that it is open to the Congress to decide whether any particular Province could join the group or not, but they go on to say—

"The question of interpretations will be decided by the procedure laid down in the statement itself and the Congress will advise its representatives to the Constituent Assembly to function accordingly'.

"We will decide this question of interpretations and by what procedure and what is the procedure laid down in the statement for the purpose of interpreting the statement or any clause thereof except by the brute majority? The resolution then goes on further:—

"The committee have emphasised the sovereign character of the Constituent Assembly, that is, the right to function and draw up the constitution for India without the interference of any external power or authority, but the Assembly will naturally function within the internal limitations which are inherent in its task and will further seek the largest measure of co-operation in drawing up the constitution of free India, allowing the greatest measure of freedom and protection for all just claims and interests'.

"Therefore it is obvious that they still hold that this constitution-making machinery is a sovereign Constituent Assembly, but free from any interference of any external power and authority. Whoever has suggested it and where has it been suggested? The question is how this Assembly will function and they make it clear that it will do so with internal limitations which are inherent in its task. What are the internal limitations in the statement of May 16th which could not be overruled by a sovereign Constituent Assembly? If any decisions are taken by this Assembly which are repugnant, ultra vires or incompetent for the Assembly to exercise in the check provided for it either internally or externally except again the brute majority in the Assembly?

"They conclude by saying that the resolution of the Working Committee passed on June 26 and confirmed by the A. I. C. C. 'must stand and they propose to act accordingly with their work in the Constituent Assembly'. Therefore it is quite clear that there is no change on the part of the Congress except the startling expression that they had accepted the scheme in its entirety which is immediately contradicted by what follows in the resolution, and they have reiterated their repudiation of the grouping and emphasised once more the sovereign character of the Constituent Assembly, which can only mean that it will not be bound by anything laid down in the statement of 16th May and would be free to decide every question of principle.

"I need not deal with the rest of the resolution which is nothing but verbiage. I appeal to the Muslim League to join the battle of India's independence. But there is no doubt left as to India's independence now because the statement of May 16th, at any rate, makes it clear on the part of the British, and Mr. Patel, in his recent speech in Bombay, said there was no need any longer to fight the British and that the only revolution that was needed was internal revolution. With whom does the Congress ask us to join hands and for what purpose?

"I am afraid the situation remains as it was and we are where we were."

—A.P.I.

Statesman - 13-8-46

"AMICABLE SOLUTION AIM OF CONGRESS"

Pandit Pant's Statement

BHOPAL, August 12: The earnest desire of the Congress for an amicable solution of the Indian political question was reiterated this evening by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Premier of the United Provinces and member of the Congress Working Committee, in an interview.

Declaring that the resolution passed at Wardha on Saturday fully reflected the Congress anxiety for a peaceful settlement based on mutual co-operation and goodwill, Pandit Pant expressed the hope that this resolution would clear misunderstandings regarding the Congress attitude to the Cabinet Mission's plan.

Asked about the prospects of an amicable settlement with the League, Pandit Pant replied, "The Congress had made a direct appeal to the Muslim League. There was no sense of false prestige. The Congress was actuated solely by a desire to secure the largest measure of co-operation among the people of India."

Pandit Pant, who arrived here from Wardha by air this afternoon, left for Lucknow.—A.P.I.

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Status of States in Final Analysis

Congress Offer Explained

Chronicle – 12/8/46

SAME MEASURE OF AUTONOMY AS IN PROVINCES

WARDHA, August 11. (A.P.A.): Pandit Nehru promised tonight that "largest possible autonomy" will be given to India's Princely States as a part of the Congress policy.

In an exclusive interview Pandit Nehru said: "A State which forms a unit will have exactly the same measure of autonomy as a Province. There should be no difference in their status."

"We have deliberately tried to make a friendly approach to the rulers so as to find a way out by peaceful and co-operative methods. There has been some response from a few of the rulers, but on the whole this has been feeble," Pandit Nehru said.

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Hindu - 12.8.46.

MR. N. SIVARAJ'S CALL TO SCHEDULED CLASSES

MADRAS, Aug 10

Dewan Bahadur N. Sivaraj, President of the All-India Scheduled Classes' Federation, in a statement to the Press, announces that Thursday, August 15, will be observed as "The Poona Scheduled Classes Satyagraha Day" by all branches of the Federation throughout the country.

On that day, he says, all village, taluk and district branches of the Federation will organise processions and meetings in support of the Poona Satyagraha, which has been started as a protest against the Cabinet Mission's proposals so far as they related to their community, and demanding a revision of the Poona Pact and separate electorates for them. He affirms that the Scheduled Classes were a minority and deserved all the privileges given to other minorities.

Mr Sivaraj, in conclusion, appeals to the members of the Federation to observe the day peacefully and do nothing, which would tend to create disturbance of any kind in the country. He also requests that no branch of the Federation should launch "direct action" or any movement without the permission of the Council of Action appointed by the Federation.—A P I.

NO WARRANT FOR LEAGUE'S FEARS

Hindu 12/8/46.

AZAD ON WARDHA RESOLUTION

CONGRESS ANXIOUS TO SECURE CO-OPERATION

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

WARDHAGANJ, Aug. 10.

"This resolution gives the direct lie to the charge levelled against the Congress by the Muslim League that it will use its 'brute majority' in the Constituent Assembly to crush all opposition and have its own way", observed Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, commenting on the significance of the resolution passed by the Working Committee to-day appealing to the Muslim League to co-operate in the task of framing a new constitution for India.

Maulana Azad added: "If the League leaders entertained genuine doubts and fears, our resolution removes all of them and opens the way for the League to reconsider its decision."

The resolution, it is pointed out, is noteworthy from several aspects. This is the first time that the Congress has mentioned the name of the Muslim League in any official resolution, as previously it has referred only to Muslims. This is also the first occasion when the Congress has made a direct appeal to the Muslim League soliciting its co-operation in the solution of the problems facing the country.

The first point explained by the resolution, it is pointed out, is that the Congress has accepted the Cabinet Mission's scheme in its entirety and that any step that the Congress might take would be in strict accordance with the principles and procedure laid down in the Mission's proposals. The question of the grouping of provinces, about which the League seems to entertain some fears, will not be decided by "brute majority", as Maulana Azad said, and any interpretation that any party might wish to put on this question can be tested by reference to the President of the Constituent Assembly or the Federal Court—in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Mission's proposal itself.

MR. FIROZ KHAN NOON'S COMMENT

LAHORE, Aug. 10.

"I appreciate the dispassionate tone of the Congress resolution and the realisation by the Congress of the fact that without Muslim co-operation the independence of India would be a myth", said Mr. Firoz Khan Noon, commenting upon the Congress Working Committee's resolution. He added:

"The parliament of Muslim India has recently in Bombay passed a resolution that the demand of Muslim India is Pakistan which means a complete separate sovereign State and it is that parliament alone which can reconsider that decision in the light of the Congress resolution."—A.P.I.

GROUPING PLAN FOR STATES

Hindu 11/8/46

PROPOSAL BEING DISCUSSED

NEW DELHI, Aug. 10.

The Associated Press of India understands that to facilitate Indian States playing their full part in the affairs of the Indian Union, if the Cabinet Mission's plan materialises, certain tentative proposals are under consideration to organise the smaller Indian States into twelve or thirteen groups. These groups, it is stated, will compare favourably with some of the British Indian provinces in point of size, population and resources.

Details of the plan are not yet settled, but it is possible that the Western India States may form one group, the Eastern India States another group, the North India States a third group and so on. The immediate problem is whether the States will join in forming such groups and if so on what terms and conditions and what shape ultimately the group Governments in the Union will assume apart from the State Governments.

Princes' Chamber circles in New Delhi explain that if the Cabinet Mission's plan succeeds in British India and the States, as a result of negotiations as provided for in the Cabinet Mission's plan, agree to join the Union, the groupings will have to be completed before the conclusion of the proposed treaty with Britain.

The Chamber of Princes is also reported to be working towards the acceleration of internal reforms—administrative as well as constitutional—in those States where the standards fall below those of British India.

SIKHS MAY JOIN

"The Sikhs have given up their demand for Sikhistan or the separate state for Sikhs," said Col. Niranjan Singh Gill at a Press Conference at Delhi.

He welcomed the Congress Working Committee's resolution on Sikhs and stated that there was great dissatisfaction among the Sikh masses with the Mission's offer. At the meeting of the Panthic Board on Sunday he said that "if the Sikh masses viewed the Congress resolution as he did, then they would follow the Congress advice regarding the entry into the Constituent Assembly.

One member of the Sikh delegation to the Congress Working Committee session at Wardha explained that they welcomed the Congress resolution on Sikhs because it was now clear that the Sikhs would not be left in the wilderness.

In reply to one British correspondent, Colonel Gill said that the Sikhs could not like to impose themselves on anybody and would gladly meet anybody who asked them to meet him. The former Congress President, Maulana Azad and Sardar Patel had wired to the Sikhs and immediately they went and met the Congress Working Committee. He would be equally prepared to meet Mr. Jinnah and the Viceroy if they wanted to see him.

Free Press 12/8

A British Creation Chronicle 1-10-46

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Constituent Assembly.

Not A Sovereign Body

But It Is An Effective Substitute To Civil Disobedience Of Constructive Type, Says Gandhiji

(From Our Correspondent)

NEW DELHI, August 11.—"The Constituent Assembly is not a sovereign body".

This is the considered opinion of Mahatma Gandhi communicated to Louis Fischer in the course of three interviews, the substance of which is now available.

Gandhiji categorically denied that there was any intention of using Constituent Assembly as battlefield.

As for sovereignty, Gandhiji said "It's no use declaring somebody else's a sovereign body. All is a British creation. A body does not become sovereign body by merely asserting it. To become sovereign you have to behave in a sovereign way. Three tailors of Tooley Street in Johannesburg declared they were a sovereign body. It ended in nothing. It was just a farce". Adding, "Though it was not a sovereign body, it was as near it as was possible".

HE WILL NOT ENTER IT BUT SUPPORT IT

Gandhiji replying to further question said that the proposed Constituent Assembly is an effective substitute for civil disobedience of constructive type. He himself would not go into it but would support it adding "It is wrong to say we are going to the Constituent Assembly 'to seize Power'".

Mr. Fischer: "Pandit Jawaharlal said if British treaty is imposed even in terms of the State Paper of May 16, he will tear it up."

Gandhiji: "Yes, imposed treaty from outside."

Mr. Fischer: "And he said, Congress will not go into groupings."

Gandhiji: "Yes, I have said the same thing unless the Federal Court, or some other court gives a different decision. As I see it, much can come out of the Constituent Assembly if British will play the game."

Mr. Fischer: "You say and I believe they will. But supposing they do not want you; then offer your form of protest?"

Gandhiji: "Not until conditions are favourable. But it is wrong to speculate about the future, still more so to anticipate failure. If we take care of the present, future will take care of itself."

SCHEDULED CASTES

Mr. Fischer then switched over to Scheduled Castes and said: "I have heard that though Congress Harijans have won at elections as against non-Congress Harijans, they were able to do so only with Hindu votes."

Gandhiji: "What was joint election for, if not to enable Caste-Hindus to make selection from successful candidates at Primary Elections? No defeated candidate at Primary Elections can offer himself as candidate at joint elections. Moreover, it is not correct to say as has been claimed that in majority of cases, Congress Harijans won against non-Congress candidates with Caste-Hindu votes. In Madras non-Congress Harijans were defeated almost as a man in Primary Elections wherever they contested them. In majority of cases, Congress Harijans were returned unopposed."

Mr. Fischer: "Some of them want separate electorates."

Gandhiji: "Yes. But we have resisted the separate electorates and put themselves outside the pale of Hinduism and perpetuated the evil sinister

Hand Over Power To Congress

Times of India 1/10/46

"ONLY WAY OUT" SAYS BRAILSFORD

LONDON, Aug. 10.

"That is the first principle that should guide us. But, it would be folly to suppose that normal rules of democracy can work in this situation with a generous disposition to compromise. The Hindu-Muslim feud was largely created by Tory policy; but it is now a hard fact cemented by Mr. Jinnah's appeal to fanaticism. The lesson of his "two nations" will not how to majority rule, writes Mr. H. N. Brailsford, the well-known Socialist writer who has recently returned from five months' visit to India commenting on the Indian situation in an article in the socialist periodical "New Statesman and Nation" entitled "What hope for India's peace?"

"No hopeful expedient remains save to hand over responsibility to the Congress, let it form the most representative Interim Government it can get together and deal as best it can with the boycott of the Constituent Assembly by Muslims and Sikhs. We are bound by Mr. Attlee's declaration no minority, not even this impressive Muslim minority can be allowed to obstruct India's road to freedom."

"Within reasonable limits, there must be conciliation. It was difficult for the Congress to make concessions so long as it was being pressed by British Ministers and the Viceroy to do so. It went a long way under their persuasion, but all negotiations were dragged by memories of the past when the British conqueror ruled by dividing. Throw the whole responsibility unreservedly to the Congress itself and it may rise to the height of this great argument. It believes that Muslims are its brothers linked to it by ties of nationality. Its main task must be then to win their confidence and awaken in them also a sense of India's unity. It will have to keep order and do it if need be, with Indian troops. It would incur a fatal moral discredit if it used British arms to establish its authority. It cannot rely on coercion; it must conciliate and strive to awaken in these embittered minorities some response to its own generosity."

"In some form, it will have to concede the substance of Pakistan. This idea was repugnant to it because it denied the reactionary communal ideology

PAKISTAN ?

"But there is much to be said for the grouping of certain provinces on geographical footing. Quite apart from the fact that north-western provinces and states (group eight) are predominantly Muslim, they form a natural geographical unit. Their economic life depends absolutely on the five great rivers to which they owe their fertility. If I may venture on a suggestion, it is that the Congress should go into the Constituent Assembly with the purpose of discovering positive and useful functions for group organisation in this region. These provinces ought to control their rivers in common, which means that they should together plan and execute their schemes for hydro-electricity, irrigation, settlement on land and water transport. That would be an immense opportunity and it should benefit Hindus and Sikhs no less than Muslims. To satisfy the pride of League, this group of provinces should enjoy some of the dignity and power of statehood—its own flag for instance and its own coinage.

On its spiritual side, by all means let it foster Islamic culture, subject only to the rule of toleration and equal civil rights for all. More could be done on the Tennesee Valley lines to raise the economic standards of the Muslim population of the north west than by any of the devices prompted by communal rivalry. For the North Eastern Group (C) much less can be urged and if it should ever be formed, Assam, mainly a Hindu province, will certainly break it up by opting out of it.

CONGRESS MAY SUCCEED

"In some such way, the Congress may be able to win over the League to a measure of collaboration. If it were to offer its positive help in framing up a Pakistan group in the north-west, would Mr. Jinnah, in his turn, enlarge the functions of the Indian Union? At least it ought to have the Customs under its charge as well as Defence, Foreign Policy and Communications. But it would be a mistake at this stage to dwell on details. No constitution will work in India and no enduring constitution be devised, unless leaders of the Congress can transform the atmosphere of today and win the trust of Muslims.

"They might for example offer Mr. Jinnah the presidency of the Constituent Assembly. This ageing man is ambitious. If he really desires settlement, could he win for himself a greater place than this in history? The crown of glory will go to the architect of India's peace."—Reuter.

IF NECESSARY

Free Press 11/8/46

LEAGUE WILL FIGHT BOTH CONGRESS & THE BRITISH

KARACHI, Aug. 10.

Mr. M. H. Gazdar, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, today explaining the League High Command's resolution on direct action said that the Muslim League had left the field to the British and the Congress to decide for India's independence. The League had completely broken away from British Imperialism and it was now for the Congress to take initiative in winning the support of Muslims to make British to Quit India. The Muslim League would wait and watch who took the initiative against Muslim interests, whether the British or the Congress. And the Muslim League was determined to give strong fight to either of them, if necessary the League would fight them both.

Mr. Gazdar said that the League was certain to paralyse administration in the whole of India. If the Provincial Governments tried to help the British Government in putting down the League movement, the fight then would very likely develop into a civil war. "And that is not the anticipation relished by any patriotic Indian," said Mr. Gazdar. "It is, therefore, upto the Congress which is the major organisation, to avoid the clash."

A THREAT

Mr. Gazdar continued: "But I regret that certain top ranking Congress leaders are out to take the earliest opportunity to crush the League by turning British guns and police bayonets on Muslims. I warn them that they will have to pay for Muslim lives thus lost in Hindu blood with compound interest."—A.P.

"BYPASSING LEAGUE DISASTROUS"

Times 12/8/46

Bombay Leader's Threat

"Except that the resolution of the Congress Working Committee has been clothed in mild words, there is no improvement or change in the attitude of the Congress", says Mr. Hasan A. Shaik, General Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League.

"While Internal limitations in the task of the Constituent Assembly are admitted", Mr. Shaik states, "the Committee appears to have deliberately refrained from making a clear admission of the limitations provided by the scheme itself". Statesmanship, he says, demands the immediate acceptance of the just claims of the Muslims. "Any attempt to bypass the Muslim League and to set up an Interim Government is fraught with disastrous consequences, and the Muslim nation will have no option but to plump for direct action", adds Mr. Shaik.

'Co-operation Yet Possible'

NEW DELHI, August 10: A hopeful note that the Muslim League would still co-operate in the working of the Constituent Assembly and not abandon the path of constitutionalism was struck by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Premier of Bengal, in an interview with the *Associated Press of America* here, last night. "The test for this restoration of confidence in the Muslim League is the formation of the Interim Government. Mere statements by parties, however categorical they may be, will not make the League take a different view than the one it has been forced to take at Bombay," he asserted.

OBSERVANCE OF AUGUST 9

DELHI PROCESSION DISPERSED

PANDIT NEHRU'S APPEAL FOR UNITY

WARDHA, Aug. 9.

"In another year, we will be free", declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress President, addressing a mass meeting held here to-night, in observance of August 9, the "Quit India" resolution adopted four years ago yet remained to be fulfilled, but he was sure that within a short time, India would achieve her independence, both by her inherent strength and the force of circumstances obtaining in the world.

The next two years, Pandit Nehru said, will be the most critical and to meet the situation, whatever it might be, there should be an united effort. Despite differing individual views or the views of groups, all should pull together and carry out the decisions of the Congress. That way, he said, lay salvation. Without the strength of the people, their co-operation and co-ordinated efforts, Swaraj could not be won and even if freedom came, it could not be maintained.

Many problems awaited solution, economic, social and communal said Pandit Nehru. He deplored the clashes between various communities for their own welfare and benefit, thus forgetting the larger interests of the country as a whole.

Referring to the League's resolution, Pandit Nehru said that he did not think it was a correct attitude for the Muslim League to take. The League, he said, had now adopted the same policy which the Congress had adopted 26 years ago. But the League was not following the Congress policy in its fundamentals, but merely copying in certain respects. "We all do not like unfortunate threats of violence or frightening speeches" he said.

Pandit Nehru said: "We may have to face the threat. It is possible the League might change its approach. Whether it is the League or the British, we must be prepared to face the situation."

Pandit Nehru paid a tribute to those who died in the August movement, in 1942 and the audience observed silence for two minutes as a mark of respect to the martyrs.

"League's Challenge Must Be Met"

MR. MUNSHI ON TASK BEFORE CONGRESS

From Our Staff Correspondent

POONA, August 9: A warning that Mr. Jinnah was doing a great disservice to his own community in refusing to join the constituent assembly was uttered by Mr. K. M. Munshi to-night at Sir Parshurambhau College in Poona this evening. He said that the formation of the constituent assembly was a landmark in the history of India. "Brought into existence by farsighted statesmanship of India and Britain" that it was the result of only non-violent pressure was a brilliant achievement against the murky background of power politics in our age. When the world was settling down to peaceful methods, here in this country they had the sorry spectacle of one community to force its claims "by threat of force". The time, however, had come for India to refuse to submit to any force except the force of reason and of mutual goodwill. The Congress need not say a live on Mr. Jinnah's mercy and, if necessary, his challenge must be met.

Mr. Munshi hoped good sense would prevail and that the Muslim League would join the constituent assembly. "Even if it did not, the Congress was pledged to look after the claims of minorities." Hindus and Muslims could not part, and common nationhood was their birthright and destiny. But this implied that the country must summon up its full strength to face the situation confronting it.

LEAGUE AND THE INTERIM GOVT.

BENGAL PREMIER'S THREAT

SECESSION IF CONGRESS IS PUT IN POWER

NEW DELHI, Aug. 9.

A hopeful note that the Muslim League will still co-operate in the working out of the Constituent Assembly and not abandon the path of constitutionalism was struck by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Premier of Bengal, in an interview with the Associated Press of America here to-night. He also gave out the idea that, in case the League is by-passed, Bengal would declare complete independence for itself having no connection with the Centre.

"The test for the restoration of confidence in the Muslim League is the formation of the Interim Government. Mere statements by parties, however categorical they may be, will not make the League take a different course than the one it has been forced to take at Bombay," he asserted.

Explaining the background to the League's "loss of faith in the British Government," Mr. Suhrawardy said: "We have suffered a disillusionment by the Cabinet Mission's going back on their statement of June 16, which has taught us a lesson that the League should repose no more trust in the mere statements of other parties.

"It is only concrete acts on the part of other parties as an indication of their sincerity of appreciation of the League's fear of domination by the majority will lead to the League's re-consideration of its Bombay decision," he added.

Mr. Suhrawardy alleged that the Congress "by its insistence on the inclusion of one Nationalist Muslim in the Central Cabinet, which alone stands in the way of the League entering the Government, is prepared to plunge the whole of India into turmoil, civil war and the disintegration of the United India for which it professes to have been fighting all along."

Visualising the results of a Congress-League Coalition Government, Mr. Suhrawardy said, "even though it may be limited to the Centre, this will have carried India nearest to her goal of complete freedom and in shortening the period of domination of the foreign Power.

The Bengal Premier added: "Such a step will have afforded a unique opportunity to the Congress to prove its profession of being fair to the minorities and especially toward the Muslims and this will have moved even the League in the larger interests of the country, to postpone her demand for Pakistan to an indefinite future.

"Even now, the League has not closed the door on a settlement," the Premier pointed out. "It is left to the Congress and the Viceroy to convince the League that the Cabinet Ministers' proposals of May 16 will be adhered to without any reservation and worked out in the spirit and the letter.

"Of course, the formation of the Central Government will be the test of their sincerity, on which alone the League will base its future course of action," he said.

"Asked what the League would do if the Viceroy went ahead with the Constituent Assembly, without proceeding with the formation of the Central Government with political parties, Mr. Suhrawardy said: "The League will ask its members to keep out of such an Assembly. We will not even consider going in and blocking its working. For the League considers that the formation of the Interim Government and the long-term plan are one indivisible deal and it will not allow any side-tracking of the fact."

In the formation of such a Government, he said, the League will not worry very much about who is chosen to fill either minority seats.

Mr. Suhrawardy forecast that "a probable result" of putting the Congress in power, adopting the tactics of by-passing the League, would be "the declaration of complete independence by Bengal and the setting up of a parallel Government."

"We will see that no revenue is derived by such a Central Government from Bengal and consider ourselves as a separate State having no connection with the Centre," he declared.

"The League is not, however, itching for a fight," Mr. Suhrawardy assured, adding, "such drastic steps will be resorted to by the League only if it is forced to."

PUNJAB LEAGUER'S CHALLENGE

LAHORE, Aug. 9.

An "open challenge", both to the British Government and the National Congress "to impose upon the country if they can, an Interim Government in which the Muslim League is not included" was thrown here this evening by Mr. Iftikhar-ud-Din Daultana, General Secretary of the Punjab Muslim League.

In an interview on his return from Bombay, Mian Daultana said: "The Musalmans would see how the Government works and how its pledges are implemented in the Muslim-majority provinces, especially Bengal, Sind and the Punjab. The Musalmans stand to gain by the failure of the Interim

CONGRESS AND THE INTERIM GOVT.

Hindu 11/8/46

"TIMES" ADVICE

LONDON, Aug. 8.

The following is the text of The Times' editorial on the issues facing the Congress Working Committee (a summary of which has already appeared):—

"The newly appointed Working Committee of the Indian Congress Party which assembles in Wardha to-day, is confronted with momentous issues. Its decision will shape the line of Party policy upon the two crucial questions of an Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly.

"The Congress Party is now facing the familiar dilemma inevitably confronting every nationalist movement when it becomes necessary to pass from the irresponsibility of politicians in perpetual opposition to the sober and constructive approach of statesmen entrusted with the conduct of national affairs.

"At the same time, the Party must still be concerned to retain the loyalty of its supporters, whose entire mentality has been moulded by the habit of resistance to authority.

"Grave harm has already been done since the departure of the Cabinet Mission from India by impulsive and uncoordinated anticipations of Party attitude towards the proposals made in the State Paper of May 16 for the grouping of provinces, the Constituent Assembly and for limiting the functions of the Central Government. It was these premature and imprudent expressions of opinion which finally convinced the Muslim League, embittered as it was by the refusal of the Viceroy to form an Interim Government without the support of the Congress Party, that participation in the Constituent Assembly would place League representatives at the discretion of their political rivals.

"The Working Committee now has an opportunity of redressing earlier errors of judgment on the part of some individual members and of giving a lead worthy of the Party's standing in the country.

"Without detracting from its claim to be a national rather than a communal organisation it can allay the apprehensions it has needlessly caused to the Muslim League by announcing its determination to make a success of the Constituent Assembly along the lines laid down in May without any fresh-drawn niceties of interpretation, and by somewhat stiffening its acceptance of the stipulation in the scheme that objection raised by a communal issue will require the assent of both the major communities.

"Whether such an announcement would produce forthwith a reconsideration of attitude in the present extreme attitude of the League remains to be seen. But in view of the fact that the Congress Party already controls the Governments of nine provinces and must shortly hold power throughout India in the Centre, it can hardly allow India to break into two halves for the sake of a real effort to show that Muslim fears are groundless.

"Before very long, the Congress Party and the League will be faced squarely without British mediation and it is imperative in the best interests of the country that every opportunity should be afforded to the League to abandon its present intransigent attitude."

The speeches of our Delhi correspondent' *The Times* continues, "imply that the Working Committee may be called upon to reconsider the Party's attitude towards the creation of an Interim Government. Recent exchanges of view between the Viceroy and the Congress President are likely by now to have resulted in some new approach and it is known that Lord Wavell keenly desires to obtain an administration carrying popular support without any further delay. Earlier attempts to form such a Government broke down when Mr. Jinnah sought to prevent the inclusion of a Congress Muslim and the situation has since been changed by the new and defiant attitude of the Muslim League.

"The basis of any Interim Government would plainly have to be the Congress Party, but any available expedient should be employed to secure the co-operation of the League. Even though there be no guarantee that an endeavour to win the League to a more realistic view will be immediately successful, the Congress Party, if it is to be true to its claims as well as to its achievements, must think in terms of an indivisible India."—Reuter.

CONGRESS URGED TO FIND COMPROMISE

Hindu 11/8/46

MANCHESTER, Aug. 10.

Urging the Congress Party to make a fresh effort to find a compromise, the Liberal *Manchester Guardian* says: "The relapse of Indian parties into their old bargaining positions is sad but not surprising. It was only by building up a delicate balance of assurances that the Cabinet Mission persuaded leaders to advance as far towards agreement as they did. In spite of all that the Ministers could do to foster a constructive attitude, the leaders could not refrain from challenging each other until compromise became impossible. Since the Mission left, both of the main parties have played politics with the future of India. While the Viceroy is making a new attempt to form an Interim Government of popular Indian leaders and while the Constituent Assembly is waiting to begin its momentous work, the carefully constructed basis of self-government has been knocked away. As things look at present, it would take too long to start all over again. Whether it would help to invite principal leaders to London for renewed negotiations in calmer atmosphere, as some people have suggested, is hard to judge.

"Short of some such move, the Viceroy will have to try a make-shift arrangement which brings at least some of the popular leaders into the Government. Much will depend on policy decisions taken by the new Working Committee of the Congress which has just met.

"After tracing the course of events which has led up to the situation, the *Guardian* concludes: "No doubt, some of our Congress friends will tell us that there is no need to worry. Surely there is enough statesmanship among Congress leaders to make them see the need for some basic assurances to the Muslim League, as to themselves. If the Viceroy should decide to leave the Moslem League to its own devices for the present, it would be because the situation calls for something more than any kind of popular Government.

"It would hardly make sense if such an effort to turn national impatience to constructive account were to provoke violent reactions on the Muslim side. It must be based, therefore, on some fresh Congress assurances to the League.

"The western world has had so much experience lately of stubborn diplomatic bargaining that it can hardly blame India for failing in a spirit of wisdom and compromise. The visit of the Cabinet Mission brought out so much goodwill and good sense that we cannot be quickly discouraged. The attempt to transfer power to India from British hands to a broadly-based Indian coalition came so near success that we will not easily abandon all hope of achieving it in the end. Both India and Britain have too much to gain from peaceful disengagement. Faced with the terrible prospects of a famine and a growing population, India could not hope to escape disaster if a political crisis were added to its burdens. If the British rule in India were to end in chaos, nothing that has gone before could stand before history against final failure. These facts are known to more experienced Indian leaders.

"Is it too late to appeal to them for a new effort to find the basis for a compromise? The next move is with the Congress. It can still preserve the unity of India by facing the fact that the organised Muslims must be giving lasting guarantees. If it shows restraint, there might be changes of a popular government now and a new approach to the League in autumn. That is what this country greatly hopes to see."—Reuter.

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Suhrawardy Says H. Times 11.8.46

Bengal May Become "Independent" If League Bypassed

Mr H. S. Suhrawardy, Bengal Premier, in an interview in Delhi on Friday stated that "a probable result" of putting the Congress into power and bypassing the League would be "declaration of complete independence by Bengal and setting up of a parallel Government."

He said: "We will see that no revenue is derived by such a Central Government from Bengal and consider ourselves as a separate state having no connection with the Centre."

"The League is not, however, itching for a fight," Mr Suhrawardy assured, adding, "Such drastic steps will be resorted to by the League only if it is forced to."

Settlement Door, Not Banged

Mr Suhrawardy added: "Even now the League has not banged the door of settlement. It is left to the Congress and the Viceroy to convince the League that the Cabinet Ministers' proposal of May 16 will be adhered to without any reservation and worked out in the spirit of its letter. Of course, the formation of the Central Government will be the test of this sincerity, on which alone the League will base its future course of action."

Asked what the League will do if the Viceroy goes ahead with the Constituent Assembly, without setting up a popular Government at the Centre, Mr Suhrawardy said: "The League will ask its members to keep out of such an Assembly. We will not even consider going in and blocking the progress of its working, for the League considers that the formation of the Interim Government and the long-term plan are one and indivisible, and it will not allow any side-tracking of this fact." In the formation of such a Government, he said, the League would not worry very much about who was chosen to fill other minority seats.—A.P.A.

CONGRESS SUPPORT WELCOMED

H-Times — 12-4-46

Gill Explains Sikh Viewpoint

(By Our Special Representative)

NEW DELHI, Saturday.—"I have seen the Congress Working Committee's resolution on Sikhs only after arriving here today; personally I am grateful for the resolution, but the Panthic Board meeting at Amritsar tomorrow will express the view of the community as a whole." This statement was made today by Sardar Niranjan Singh Gill to a gathering of Press representatives at a social function at 6, Hailey Road.

This view was reinforced by Sardar Harnam Singh, described as a Sikh constitutional expert. He said that the Congress support for the Sikhs meant that their community would not be hopelessly outnumbered in the Constituent Assembly. Sardar Baldev Singh was present at the conference, besides other colleagues of Sardar Niranjan Singh Gill.

The patriotic tones in which the dictator of the Sikh Committee of Action explained the Sikh position was in refreshing contrast to the aggressive communal language associated with former spokesmen of the community. Sardar Niranjan Singh Gill declared that the Panthic Board recognized the Congress as the premier national organization which represented the Sikhs along with other communities in the fight for freedom. The Sikhs stood for a united India and followed the Congress.

Need Of Safeguards

The Panthic Board wanted to safeguard special interests of the Sikhs as a minority. Their view was that if no minority was given special privileges, the Sikhs would not ask for it. But if the Muslims were to be given a communal veto in the settlement of major communal issues, the Sikhs were entitled to the same safeguard. The Cabinet Delegation's proposals had discriminated against the Sikhs and thus done them grave injustice. The Punjab was not only the homeland of the Sikhs; it was their holy land too. The Sikhs must have in the B Group the communal veto promised to the Muslims in the Union constitution.

Asked whether the Sikhs wanted a Sikh State or Sikhistan, Sardar Niranjan Singh Gill replied: "Since I have taken the leadership of the community this demand has not been made. We are not asking for a Sikh State or Sikhistan. We want a united India in which Sikhs will get justice due to them on the strength of their past and present services to the country."

Sardar Harnam Singh explaining the snags in the Cabinet Delegation's proposals said that the report of the Advisory Committee on Minorities would not be binding on the Constituent Assembly. That report might provide the best safeguards for minorities, but they would be worthless unless adopted by the Constituent Assembly. And the Assembly would not adopt them if more than half of th Muslims voted against it. Thus even if all the 214 general members and 39 Muslims favoured the report of the Minorities Committee, 41 Muslims could veto it.

Claims Ignored

The Sikhs would be in a hopeless position in the Assembly with only four seats. But as the Congress had promised to support their cause, they would feel secure in the Constituent Assembly. That would not, however, be the case in B Group. Even Congress support would leave them in a minority. For that reason the Sikhs must have the same communal veto in the Punjab and in Group B as is proposed for the Muslims in the Union Assembly.

A Pressman asked why the Sikhs did not approach the Muslim League for a settlement. Sardar Niranjan Singh replied: "The Congress invited us for a discussion because it felt that the Sikhs had been wronged. The Muslim League has never expressed any opinion on the matter much less expressing sympathy with us. It is for the Muslim League to invite us for a discussion."

Q: Have you met the Viceroy?

A: If we are invited we shall gladly talk to the Viceroy. Our chief grievance is against the Cabinet Delegation for ignoring our claim and proposing discriminatory treatment.

FULL FAITH IN CONGRESS

H. Times 10/8/44

Sant Singh Denies League Paper's Report

"The Delhi organ of the Muslim League has published a statement purporting to have been made by me attributing to me certain political views which go directly against my convictions," says Sardar Sant Singh, a former member of the Central Assembly.

"I gave no such statement. I have full faith in the Congress programme and am in sympathy with the policy and programme of the Panthic Board. Instead of ridiculing the 'Quit India' resolution, as I am represented to have done, I was one member of the Central Legislative Assembly who supported that resolution in the special session of the Assembly convened at my instance in 1942.

"Apart from that aspect of the case, my opinion has all along been that in the absence of an agreement between the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress it will be a political anomaly to impose a Coalition Government in India.

"One essential factor for running an administration of any country is that its members are imbued with a common ideology and have common objectives. The coalition governments that came into existence in wartime were only possible because of common interests of all parties to defend their country.

"A peace-time coalition administration imposed on India is sure to end in disaster. That was why I suggested in my memorandum to the British Mission last April that in the absence of an agreement between the two major political parties the only sensible course open to H.M.G. would be to entrust the formation of the Government to one party alone who should assume the responsibility of good administration. I still hold that view."

CABINET PLAN

WORKING COMMITTEE'S DRAFTING DECISION

"SCHEME ACCEPTED IN ENTIRETY"

LEAGUE CO-OPERATION INVITED

WARDHA, Aug. 10

The Congress Working Committee adopted a resolution this evening, making it clear that while the Congress did not approve of all the proposals contained in the State Paper, they accepted the scheme in its entirety.

The resolution regrets the decision of the Council of the All-India Muslim League not to participate in the Constituent Assembly and appeals, in the larger interests of the country as a whole and the freedom of the people of India, for the co-operation of all those who seek the freedom and the good of the country, in the hope that co-operation in common tasks may lead to the solution of many of India's problems.

The resolution reaffirms its previous decision of June 26 to accept the State Paper, which was subsequently ratified by the A. I. C. C. It further states that the Congress stands by that decision and "proposes to proceed accordingly with their work in the Constituent Assembly".

THE RESOLUTION

The following is the text of the resolution:—

"The Working Committee regrets to note that the Council of the All-India Muslim League, reversing its previous decision, have decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly. This period of rapid transition from dependence on a foreign power to full independence, when vast and complex political and economic problems have to be faced and solved, the largest measure of co-operation among the people of India and their representatives is called for, so that the change may come about well and to the advantage of all concerned.

"The Committee realises that there are differences in the statement of May 16 and the objective of the Congress and the Muslim League. Nevertheless in the larger interests of the country as a whole and the freedom of the people of India, the Committee appeals for the co-operation of all those who seek freedom and the good of the country, in the hope that co-operation in the common tasks may lead to the solution of many of India's problems.

GROUPING

"The Committee further noted that criticisms have been advanced on behalf of the Muslim League to the effect that the Congress acceptance of the proposals contained in the statement of May 16 was conditional. The Committee wish to make it clear that while they did not approve of all the proposals contained in this statement, they accepted the scheme in its entirety. They interpret it so as to resolve the inconsistency contained in it and fill the omissions in accordance with the principles laid down in that Statement. They hold that provincial autonomy is a basic provision and each province has the right to decide whether to form or join a group or not. The question of interpretations will be decided by the procedure laid down in the Statement itself, and the Congress will advise its representatives in the Constituent Assembly to function accordingly.

SOVEREIGN STATUS OF ASSEMBLY

"The Committee further emphasise the sovereign character of the Constituent Assembly, that is its right to function and draw up the Constitution for India without interference of any external power or authority. The Assembly will naturally function within the internal limitations which are inherent in its task and will seek the largest measure of co-operation in drawing up the constitution of India, allowing the greatest measure of freedom and protection for all just claims and interests.

"It was with this objective and with the desire to function in the Constituent Assembly in a manner that the

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Hindu 12.8.46

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

REVISION OF SIKH ATTITUDE URGED

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION

WARDHA, Aug. 9.

The Congress Working Committee, which sat for over five hours this afternoon, adopted a resolution appealing to the Sikhs to re-consider their decision regarding the Constituent Assembly and to express their willingness to take part in it.

By another resolution, the Committee appointed the same Parliamentary Sub-Committee as before. The Committee consists of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

The Working Committee's resolution appealing to the Sikhs to re-consider their decision regarding the Constituent Assembly reads: "The Working Committee have learned with regret of the decision of the Sikhs not to seek election to the Constituent Assembly. The Committee are aware that injustice has been done to the Sikhs and they have drawn the attention of the Cabinet Delegation to it. They are, however, strongly of opinion that the Sikhs would serve their cause and the cause of the country's freedom better by participating in the Constituent Assembly, than by keeping out of it. The Committee, therefore, appeals to the Sikhs to reconsider their decision and express their willingness to take part in the Constituent Assembly. The Working Committee assures the Sikhs that the Congress will give them all possible support in removing their legitimate grievances and in securing adequate safeguards for the protection of their just interests in the Punjab."

The resolution adopted by the Working Committee appointing the same Parliamentary Sub-Committee says: "Resolved that the Parliamentary Sub-Committee consisting of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Dr. Rajendra Prasad be appointed to keep in close and constant touch with the Congress Party in all Legislatures and advise them in all activities and to take necessary action in case of emergency."

COL. GILL EXPLAINS SIKH DEMAND

Hindu 10/8/46

WARDHAGANJ, Aug. 8.

"What we are demanding is just and fair. It is only fair that the Congress should secure us our rightful place in the future Indian constitution irrespective of the present Constituent Assembly proposals", said Col. Niranjan Singh Gill, in an interview to the U.P.I. explaining the demands of the Sikh community.

Col. Gill added: "The process of deciding the communal issue in the Constituent Assembly by a majority vote of that particular community as has been promised to be adopted with regard to Muslims, should apply to the Sikh minority also. If the Congress accepts this just and legitimate demand, I would assure our national leaders that every Sikh in India will solidly line up with the Congress and extend his wholehearted support in its fight for freedom".

Explaining that the only organisation with which the Sikhs could identify themselves was the Congress at the present juncture, Col. Gill said: "We are opposed to the two-nation theory and the partition of India. At the same time, we are more than convinced that the British Government will not give us a fair deal and the Cabinet Mission's proposals are a pointer in this connection".

SARDAR PRATAP SINGH'S CALL TO SIKHS

Hindu 11/8/46

WARDHA, Aug. 10.

"I should think the Congress Working Committee's resolution will satisfy my Sikh brothers," said Sardar Pratap Singh, member of the Working Committee, in an interview to the United Press of India, commenting on the Committee's resolution on the Sikhs' attitude to the Constituent Assembly.

Continuing, Sardar Pratap Singh said: "The Congress has recognised the injustice done to the Sikhs and has also drawn the attention of the Cabinet Mission to it. Further it has given a clear assurance as demanded by the Sikh Pathic Delegation that it would give them all possible support in removing their legitimate grievances and in securing adequate safeguards for the protection of their just interests in the Punjab. I, therefore, hope the Sikhs will revise their attitude and would now agree to participate in the Constituent Assembly. Let them enter the Assembly and fight for their cause. The Congress, I have no doubt, will extend its powerful support to their just cause."

"LEAGUE CANNOT VETO PROGRESS"

Hindu 7-8-46

MR. NEHRU ON TASK AHEAD OF CONGRESS

JUBBULPORE, Aug. 7.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who came here en route for Bombay, addressing a workers' meeting said that the Muslim League had no solution for the present problems in the country and consequently they were trying to impede others' progress. "But it cannot be allowed to veto the country's progress", he declared.

The present strikes and general unrest had proved the utter incompetence of the Caretakers Government, observed the Congress President. They could not have successfully faced the present problems even with the League's help. "The Congress alone is competent to solve these problems. The loss of British prestige internationally and the pressing demand for Indian independence came in certain quarters have forced them to give independence but they try to minimise it by creating fresh knots like the Princes and the League in our way. We will try to untie these knots but if they prove obstinate we will cut them out."—U.P.I.

"We mean to get independence and we are determined to remove all obstacles to achieve our goal", declared Pandit Nehru (according to the Associated Press). "The Congress has a definite mission to achieve", he said. It was to achieve India's independence and "all decisions and steps are directed towards that end. We do not say that the Congress is the only competent body to shoulder the responsibility, but we do certainly say that if there is anyone who can shoulder it and guide the destinies of the nation, it is the Congress." The British, said Nehru, told us. The Indian people were on the verge of independence and people had confidence in Congress Governments functioning looked to the Congress with reliance and confidence.

PAKISTAN QUESTION

MR. T. R. V. SASTRI ON ARBITRATION PROPOSAL

MADRAS, Aug. 8

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, President of the Indian National Liberal Federation, in a statement to the Press, suggests that international arbitration is the only appropriate means of solving the question of Pakistan. Mr. Sastri says:

Mr. Jinnah is against arbitration on the question of Pakistan which, he claims, is the birthright of his Muslim nation. When first the late Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri mooted the idea of arbitration, Mr. Ramaswami Aiyar expressed his disapproval, observing that it risked as vital a matter as the integrity of India to the uncertain chances of arbitration. Since then, first Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and slowly others have veered round to the idea of arbitration as an appropriate method of a peaceful solution of our problems. Dr. Ambedkar in his book on "Pakistan" has an epilogue suggesting arbitration. According to him, Britain in her own interest should step out. An international tribunal should decide and Britain should take steps to implement it. Whoever refuses to consent to arbitration should be forced to submit and be bound by the decision.

If as Mr. Jinnah suggests, it is a dispute between two nations, a decision by an international tribunal is appropriate. Pakistan, he is claimed as birthright by one group and an undivided Motherland is claimed by the other, what peaceful course is available except international arbitration?

The Cabinet Delegation rejected Mr. Jinnah's claim for very sound reasons, very shortly indicated, and Mr. Jinnah while dismissing the reasons as commonplace and exploded (where or when, nobody knows), accepted the decision and looked to other safeguards for the protection of Muslim interests. In these circumstances Mr. Jinnah rightly senses it as inevitable that his revived claim to an independent Pakistan has no chance of recognition by any impartial tribunal, international or other.

States' Conditions To Join Union

Times 7-8-46

SIR C. P. R. AIYAR ON RIGHTS OF RULERS

TRIVANDRUM, August 8.

On the eve of the meeting of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at Wardha, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar re-emphasised the stand taken by the States with regard to the political future of India at the Sri Chitra Council this morning.

It is now known, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said, that the Muslim League has declined to co-operate with the Cabinet Mission's scheme and has announced a policy of direct action on the ground that their point of view had not been adequately considered. The Sikhs had also passed a resolution that they would have nothing to do with the constituent assembly. At the present moment the Sikhs and the Muslims were non-co-operating with the constituent assembly and what was more, the Nawab of Mamdot and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had stated that not only will Muslims boycott the constituent assembly and start direct action but prevent with all means in their power the formation of an Interim Government. Therefore, the only residual parties now with regard to the Cabinet Mission's scheme were, the Congress which had accepted the long-term scheme and not the short-term scheme and the States.

It was not known, proceeded Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, what the policy of the Congress, the Muslim League, the Government of India and the British Government would be if one or more of the parties boycotted the Assembly.

"NEGOTIATION ONLY"

At this stage, therefore, the Government of Travancore should say nothing except this—they adhere to the determination expressed on behalf of the Government and on behalf of the Indian States generally that they are willing and anxious to go into the All-India Union with adequate powers of all-India character vested in the Centre. But Government wished to make one point absolutely clear. By negotiation they meant negotiation and nothing else.

"Repeated efforts have been made by certain very important persons connected with the Congress have made it clear that whereas they are reconciled to residual independence on the part of provinces they are not prepared to grant any independence to Indian States."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has stated "no independence of any kind will be allowed by us." But no State would ever consent to peremptory orders at the point of the bayonet.

Two Conditions

Speaking on behalf of many Indian States with whom opinion was acquainted, he said that they were perfectly willing to negotiate and come to terms with the Provinces on two conditions and on two conditions alone. These conditions were, firstly, that the dynastic position of the rulers of the States should be preserved intact and secondly, that there was some form of Government namely, the system of Government which would adequately safeguard, could be thought of by the rulers or anybody else in connection with the new constitutional set-up should be given up in the course of the negotiations.

The idea put forward by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya that rulers of Indian States were face to face with prospects of dethronement was not one to stimulate co-operation on the part of the rulers.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar affirmed that this State, like many other States, was willing to negotiate with the Congress and to make common cause with them for the purpose of attaining Indian independence, but the States must be satisfied that they should remain Sir C. P. R. Aiyar on Rights of Rulers

main States and the legitimate rights of dynasty and of rulers should not be abrogated."

In this connection Sir Ramaswami Aiyar referred to his views with regard to the Westminster type of responsible Government, which been enforced and re-emphasised by what was happening in Sind, the Punjab and in the sister State of Cochin.

In Cochin the ministry resigned yesterday on a vote of no-confidence moved against it on the ground, not that they did their work badly but because they did not press for immediate responsible Government. Two ministers in consequence resigned.

Sir Ramaswami Aiyar said he was not criticising what had taken place elsewhere but drawing attention to what would happen if such a state of things arose in Travancore.

POSITION IN COCHIN

Today the position in Cochin was that no person could take up the ministry under immediate responsible Government was established in the course of a few days. The Cochin Government could not go on and the State should have to go back to something like a care-taker Government of British India.

This precisely was the kind of crisis which this Government had been trying to guard against. That is the reason why Government had been insisting that there must be some continuity of executive administration. Moreover, a ministry which was in constant fear of being thrown out of office by fresh and unexpected political occurrences could not face the tremendous amount of work and responsibility which is essential at this critical juncture in our history.

Sir Ramaswami Aiyar assured the House that Government would take steps to obtain the opinion of the general public, including all constituted organisations and parties in the State before promulgating the scheme of reforms.—A.P.I.

CABINET PLAN ACCEPTED

WORKING COMMITTEE'S REAFFIRMATION

"SCHEME ACCEPTED IN ENTIRETY"

LEAGUE CO-OPERATION INVITED

WARDHA, Aug. 10.

The Congress Working Committee adopted a resolution this evening, making it clear that while they did not approve of all the proposals contained in the Statement, they accept the scheme in its entirety.

The resolution regrets the decision of the Council of the All-India Muslim League not to participate in the Constituent Assembly and appeals, in the larger interests of the country as a whole and the freedom of the people of India, for the co-operation "of all those who seek the freedom and the good of the country" in the hope that co-operation in common tasks may lead to the solution of many of India's problems.

The resolution reaffirms its previous decision of June 26 to accept the Cripps Paper which was subsequently ratified by the A. I. C. C. It further states that the Congress stands by that decision and "proposes to proceed accordingly with their work in the Constituent Assembly".

THE RESOLUTION

The following is the text of the resolution:

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"The Committee realises that there are differences in the outlook and the objective of the Congress and the Muslim League. Nevertheless in the larger interests of the country as a whole and the freedom of the people of India, the Committee appeals for the co-operation of all those who seek freedom and the good of the country, in the hope that co-operation in the common tasks may lead to the solution of many of India's problems.

GROUPING

"The Committee further noted that criticisms have been advanced on behalf of the Muslim League to the effect that the Congress acceptance of the proposals contained in the statement of May 16 was conditional. The Committee wish to make it clear that while they did not approve of all the proposals contained in this statement, they accepted the scheme in its entirety. They interpreted it so as to resolve the inconsistency contained in it and all the provisions in accordance with the principles laid down in that Statement. They hold that provincial autonomy is a basic provision and each province has the right to decide whether to form or join a group or not. The question of interpretations will be decided by the procedure laid down in the Statement itself and the Congress will advise its representatives in the Constituent Assembly accordingly.

SOVEREIGN STATUS OF ASSEMBLY

"The Committee have emphasised the sovereign character of the Constituent Assembly, that is, the right to function and draw up the constitution for India without interference of any external power or authority, but the Assembly will naturally function within the internal limitations which are inherent in its task and will further seek the largest measure of co-operation in drawing up the constitution as well as in allowing the greatest measure of freedom and protection for all just claims and interests.

"It was with this objective and with the desire to function in the Constituent Assembly and make it a success that the Committee accepted the resolu- [illegible] which was subsequently ratified by the A.I.C.C. on July 6 last. It is in pursuance of this decision that the Committee have decided to proceed with their work in the Constituent Assembly. The Committee hold their meeting this morning and again this afternoon when Mr. Jinnah is also expected to be present.

Hindu 12.8.46

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

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Hindu 10/8/46

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Col. Gill added: "The process of deciding the communal issue in the Constituent Assembly by a majority vote of that particular community as has been promised to be adopted with regard to Muslims, should apply to the Sikh minority also. If the Congress accepts this just and legitimate demand, I would assure our national leaders that every Sikh in India will solidly line up with the Congress and extend his wholehearted support in its fight for freedom".

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"I should think the Congress Working Committee's resolution will satisfy my Sikh brothers," said Sardar Pratap Singh, member of the Working Committee, in an interview to the United Press of India, commenting on the Committee's resolution on the Sikhs' attitude to the Constituent Assembly.

Continuing, Sardar Pratap Singh said: "The Congress has recognised the injustice done to the Sikhs and has also drawn the attention of the Cabinet Mission to it. Further it has given a clear assurance as demanded by the Sikh Panthic Delegation that it would give them all possible support in removing their legitimate grievances and in securing adequate safeguards for the protection of their just interests in the Punjab. I, therefore, hope the Sikhs will revise their attitude and would now agree to participate in the Constituent Assembly. Let them enter the Assembly and fight for their cause. The Congress, I have no doubt, will extend its powerful support to their just cause."

"LEAGUE CANNOT VETO PROGRESS"

MR. NEHRU ON TASK AHEAD OF CONGRESS

JUBBULPORE, Aug. 7.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who came here en route to Wardha, addressing a workers' meeting said that the Muslim League had no solution for the present problems in India except the conflict and consequently they were trying to impedes others' progress. "But they cannot be allowed to veto the country's progress", he declared.

The present strikes and general unrest had proved the utter incompetence of the Caretaker Government, observed the Congress President. They could not have successfully faced the present problems even without the League's help. "The Congress alone is competent to solve these problems. The loss of British prestige internationally and the pressing demand for Indian independence in certain quarters have forced them to give independence but they try to minimise it by creating fresh knots like the Princes and the League in our way. We will try to untie these knots but if they prove obstinate we will cut them out."—U.P.I.

"We mean to get Independence and we are determined to remove all obstacles to achieve our goal", declared Pandit Nehru (according to the Associated Press). "The Congress has a definite mission to fulfil", he said. It was to achieve India's independence and "all decisions and steps are directed towards that end. We do not say that the Congress is the only competent body to shoulder the responsibility, but we do certainly say that if there is anyone who can control, govern and guide the destinies of the nation, it is the Congress." The British were seen to quit. The Indian people were on the verge of Independence and people who had seen Congress Governments functioning had faith in Congress with reliance and confidence.

PAKISTAN QUESTION

MR. T. R. V. SASTRI ON ARBITRATION PROPOSAL

MADRAS, Aug. 8

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, President of the Indian National Liberal Federation, in a statement to the Press, suggests that international arbitration is the only appropriate method of settling the question of Pakistan. Mr Sastri says:

Mr. Jinnah "is against arbitration on the question of Pakistan" on the ground that the birthright of his 'Muslim nation' 'When the late Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru mooted the idea of arbitration, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar expressed his disapproval observing that it risked so vital a matter as the integrity of India to the uncertain chances of arbitration. Since then, first Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and lately other leaders veered round to the idea of arbitration as an appropriate method of a peaceful solution of our problems. Dr. Ambedkar in his book on "Pakistan" has an explicit suggesting arbitration. According to him, Britain in her own interest, should keep out. An international tribunal should decide and Britain should see to the implement it. Whoever refuses to consent to arbitration should be treated as aggressor bound by the decision.

If as Mr. Jinnah suggests, it is a dispute between two nations, a decision by an international tribunal is appropriate if Pakistan is claimed as birthright by a nation and an undivided Motherland is claimed by the other, what peaceful method is there but recept international arbitration?

The Cabinet Delegation rejected Mr Jinnah's claim for very sound reasons, very shortly indicated. and Mr. Jinnah, while dismissing the reasons as commonplace and exploded, (where or when, nobody knows) accepted the decision and looked to other safeguards for the protection of Muslim interests. In these circumstances Mr Jinnah rightly senses it as inevitable that his revived claim to an independent Pakistan has no chance of recognition by any impartial tribunal, international or other.

States' Conditions To Join Union

SIR C. P. R. AIYAR ON RIGHTS OF RULERS

TRIVANDRUM, August 8.

On the eve of the meeting of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at Wardha, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar re-emphasised the stand taken by the States with regard to the political future of India at the Sri Chitra Council this morning.

It is now known, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said, that the Muslim League has declined to co-operate with the Cabinet Mission's scheme and has announced a policy of direct action on the ground that their point of view had not been adequately considered. The Sikhs had also passed a resolution that they would have nothing to do with the constituent assembly. At the present moment the Sikhs and the Muslims were non-cooperating with the constituent assembly and what was more, the Nawab of Mamdot and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had stated that not only will Muslims boycott the constituent assembly and start direct action but prevent with all means in their power the formation of an Interim Government. Therefore, the only residual parties who with regard to the Cabinet Mission's scheme were, the Congress which had accepted the long-term scheme and not the short-term scheme and the States.

It was not known, proceeded Sir C. P., Ramaswami Aiyar, what the policy of the Congress, the Muslim League, the Government of India and the British Government would be if one or more of the parties boycotted the Assembly.

"NEGOTIATION ONLY"

At this stage, therefore, the Government of Travancore would say nothing except this—they adhere to the determination expressed on behalf of the Government and on behalf of the Indian States generally that they are willing and anxious to go into the All-India Union with fairly wide powers of all-India character vested in the Centre. But Government wished to make one point absolutely clear. By negotiation they meant negotiation and nothing else.

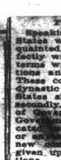
"Speeches that have been made by certain very powerful persons connected with the Congress have made it clear that whereas they are reconciled to residual independence on the part of provinces they are not prepared to grant any independence to Indian States."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has stated "No independence of any kind will be allowed by us." But no State would ever consent to peremptory orders at the point of the bayonet.

Speaking on the same topic, Indian States with whom we are not so well acquainted, he said, there were perfectly willing to enter into negotiations terms with the Congress on the conditions and on the basis mentioned. These conditions were, firstly that the dynastic position of the Rulers of the States should be preserved intact and secondly, the idea that only one form of Government, namely, Democratic Government which the Congress advocates, should be thought of. Whether or not only one in connection with the new constitutional setup should be given up in the course of the negotiations.

The idea put forward by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya that rulers of Indian States were face to face with prospects of dethronement was not one to stimulate co-operation on the part of the rulers.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar affirmed that this State, like many other States, was willing to negotiate with Congress and do whatever it could in the cause with them for the purpose of securing Indian Independence, but the States must insist that they should remain and continue to enjoy the legitimate rights of dynasty and of rulers should not be abrogated.



Sir C. P. R. Aiyar

In this connection Sir Ramaswami Aiyar pointed out how his views with regard to the Westminster type responsible Government had been enforced and re-emphasised by what was happening in Sind, the Punjab and in the state State of Cochin.

In Cochin the ministry resigned yesterday on a vote of no-confidence moved against it on the ground, not that they did their work badly but because they did not press for immediate responsible Government. Two ministers in consequence resigned.

Sir Ramaswami Aiyar said he was not criticising what had taken place elsewhere but only drawing attention to what would happen if such a state of things arose in Travancore.

POSITION IN COCHIN

Today the position in Cochin was that no person could take up the ministry unless immediate responsible Government was established in it, the end of a few days. The business of Government could not go on and the State should have to go back to something like a care-taker Government as in British India.

This precisely was the kind of crisis which the Government had been trying to guard against. That is the reason why Government had been insisting that there must be some continuity of executive administration. Moreover, a ministry which was in constant fear of being thrown out of office by freak and unexpected political combinations could not face the tremendous amount of work and responsibility which is essential at this critical juncture in our history.

Sir Ramaswami Aiyar assured the House that Government would take steps to obtain the opinion of the general public, including all constituted organisations and parties in the State before promulgating the scheme of reforms.—A. P. I.

Deterioration In The Indian Situation

"BOTH PARTIES AT FAULT"

LONDON, August 8.

Political circles in London are watching with intense interest the meeting at Wardha of the newly appointed Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, and in all quarters it is felt that the future of India will largely depend on the wisdom and statesmanship displayed by Congress leaders to find a way out of the present impasse.

The British Cabinet at its meeting yesterday did not discuss India, according to well-informed circles, and the absence from London of Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and Mr. A. V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty, two of the three members of the Cabinet - Mission, confirms the view freely expressed in authoritative circles that no British Government pronouncement of policy is likely to emerge at present.

Until the Congress Working Committee has decided its attitude on participation in the Interim Government and the constituent Assembly, it is difficult to see what action can be taken in London, says *Reuter's* political correspondent.

The Viceroy is regarded in London as in a position of carrying on where the Cabinet Mission left off, and until advices from Lord Wavell have been received by the British Government nothing is likely to be announced from London.

INTERIM GOVERNMENT

In some political circles the view is expressed that should the Congress decide to nominate the five Muslim members for portfolios in the Interim Government and the Muslim League to do likewise, the way to agreement might be opened to go ahead with an Interim Government on those lines. The Muslim League attitude is generally condemned in all political circles, and there is also much criticism of some recent speeches by Congress leaders, which observers do not regard as helpful, as all British discussions on the India situation continue to be coloured by the fact—the British Labour Government is only too anxious for India to be independent.

From this it follows that British Labour opinion is increasingly of the view that the future of India is in Indian hands and that it is now up to the Congress and the Muslim League to show that they are capable of moulding the destiny of the country. Anything that Britain can do to help she will, but the real initiative is in the hands of Indian leaders.

MOMENTARY CONCORDAT

An editorial in today's *Glasgow Herald*, an independent Scottish daily, expresses what people in England are conversant with the Indian situation think. "There is no specific point in attempting to apportion blame for the deterioration in the Indian situation," says the *Glasgow Herald*. "The Congress and the Muslim League have both their fault, and the fact that both obviously dislike what seems in retrospect a momentary concordat is not a good omen for the future.

"Considered purely from the point of view of tactics, Mr. Jinnah's organisation has probably prejudiced itself more by the threat 'direct to death'" than speeches of individual members have prejudiced the Congress. But the claim of the latter to be the sole authorised architects of a future constitution and their insistence of the Interim Government at Mr. Gandhi's command have increased doubts whether they can rise above their normal limitations sufficiently to justify their claim to be an all-India body.

"A generous attitude on the part of the Hindu majority to the Muslim minority would, according to ordinary political calculations, add to the prestige of the Congress among their minor adherents but it must be admitted that an approach of that nature would be open to the charge of weakness if not actual appeasement—and a sort against which not unfairly turn away the wrath of the irreconcilables."

"REDRESS EARLIER ERRORS"

Task Before Congress

LONDON, August 8: The Times urges the Indian Congress party to think "in terms of an "undivided India" and to redress earlier errors of judgment of some of its individual members. The paper says:—

"The Working Committee has now an opportunity of redressing earlier errors of judgment on the part of some individual members and of giving a lead worthy of the party's standing in the country.

"Before very long, the Congress party and the League will face each other without British mediation, and it is imperative, in the best interests of the country, that every opportunity should be afforded to the League to abandon its present intransigent attitude.

"The basis of any interim government would plainly have to be the Congress party, but any available expedient should be employed to secure the co-operation of the League. Even though, there be no guarantee that an endeavour to win the League to a more realistic view will be immediately successful, the Congress party; if it is to be true to its claims as well as to its achievements, must think in terms of an undivided India".—Reuter.

"INDIA ON VERGE OF INDEPENDENCE"

Mr. Nehru's Confidence

JUBBULPORE, August 7: "We mean to get independence, and we are determined to remove all obstacles to achieve our goal," declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President, addressing a meeting of Congress workers, during his stay here.

"The Congress has a definite mission to achieve," Pandit Nehru said. The mission was to achieve India's independence and "all decisions and steps are directed towards that end."

Pandit Nehru continued, "We do not say that the Congress is the only competent body to shoulder the responsibility, but we do certainly say that, if there is anyone who can control, govern and guide the destinies of the nation, it is the Congress."

The British, said the Congress President, were soon to quit. The Indian people were on the verge of independence, and the people, who had seen Congress Governments functioning, looked to the Congress with reliance and confidence."—A.P.I.

"TIMES" ON IMPORTANCE OF WARDHA MEETING

Hindu 9/8/46

NEW DELHI, Aug. 8.

The importance of the Wardha session of the Congress Working Committee is emphasised by *The Times* in an editorial this morning. It says that the Committee is confronted with momentous issues and has to shape the line of party policy upon the two most important questions—Interim Government and Constituent Assembly.

The paper adds that without detracting from its claim to be a national rather than a communal organisation, the Congress could allay the apprehensions of the members of the Muslim League by announcing its determination to make a success of the Constituent Assembly along the lines laid down in the Cabinet Mission's proposals, without indulging in niceties of interpretation. It should also reiterate its acceptance of the stipulation in the scheme that any settlement affecting the communal issue will require the assent of both the major parties. Whether such an announcement would produce forthwith a mollifying effect on the present extreme attitude of the Muslim League remains to be seen. But in view of the fact that the Congress Party holds and controls Governments in nine provinces, it must surely look to new responsibilities at the Centre and by making real efforts, show that the Muslim League's fears are groundless.

"DIRECT ACTION DAY"

LEAGUE LEADER URGES PEACEFUL OBSERVANCE

MADRAS, Aug. 24.

Mr. M. Mohamed Ismail Sahib, M.L.A., President of the Madras Provincial Muslim League and Leader of the Muslim League Legislature Party, in a statement to the Press, says:

The Muslims all over India know that August 16 has been fixed by the All-India Muslim League, for being observed as the 'Direct Action Day', in support and commemoration of the monumental decisions arrived at by the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay on July 29. The Council of the All-India Muslim League was forced to come to the decision for vindicating the honour of the Muslim Nation and its right to an honourable existence as a free nation.

The Musalmans of Madras are not behind their brethren in any other part of the country in their support of the great cause of Islam in India, namely, the achievement of Pakistan. They have stood in the forefront of the struggle for freedom and will continue to do so. I, therefore, request all the Muslims of the Madras province to observe the "Direct Action Day" in a fitting manner. I appeal to all the Musalmans to observe complete Hartal by keeping away from their usual vocations on that day. I expect that all Muslim shops, factories, schools and colleges will be closed that day. There are to be processions and meetings in every place of the Province and at the meetings the stand taken by the Muslim League should be explained and resolutions passed reiterating the decisions of the Council of the All-India Muslim League.

I require the Musalmans all over the Province to offer special prayers after the Juzuma on that day to derive the necessary strength and the spirit of sacrifice in their righteous and just struggle for freedom and to achieve success in their struggle. I also request all the District and Primary Leagues in the Province and all other Muslim associations and organisations to take the initiative in this matter and do all that is necessary for making the 'Direct Action Day' a success.

Finally, I want to impress upon every body that every thing on that day should be done in a peaceful and orderly manner, thereby showing to the world that Muslims are a disciplined nation, determined to achieve the goal of Pakistan.

LEAGUE AND DIRECT ACTION

LAHORE, August 24.—The launching of direct action by the Muslim League will depend upon the steps taken by the British Government, said the Nawab of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, on his return from Bombay. Asked if there was any chance now of the Congress and the Muslim League coming together, he said: "If the Congress gives up its own interpretation of the State paper and declares its intention solemnly to stay within the four corners of the scheme in drafting the constitution, then there is a possibility of the League considering its stand 'vis-a-vis' the Cabinet Mission's plan, but the absolute prerequisite of the League accepting the short-term plan is the prior acceptance of the long-term plan, to which the League attaches greater importance." He definitely stated that the League would not in any circumstances agree to the inclusion of a nationalist Muslim even as part of the Congress quota. A.P.I.

Times 24.8.46

READERS' VIEWS

Is Coalition Impossible?

To The Editor, The Times Of India"

Sir,—"A coalition between the Congress and the Muslim League was impossible, for the two sections held views which were diametrically opposed to each other." So said Sardar Patel in the Tilak Anniversary meeting in Bombay. If that is so, then the Sardar, who is recognised to be the most uncompromising anti-Pakistan leader in the Congress High Command has, nevertheless, perhaps inadvertently, furnished the strongest argument for Pakistan. If a coalition cabinet is impossible in the future Swaraj constitution of India, and if Muslims will not accept the domination of the Congress, which in their view would be Hindu Raj at the Centre, then the only alternative solution is two independent and separate cabinets, one for Pakistan and the other for Akhand Hindustan, and that is just what the League demands.

If a coalition cabinet is impossible, equally and even more impossible would be a coalition or a mixed constituent assembly to frame the Swaraj constitution for the whole of India; but let us hope that the situation is not so desperate or hopeless as depicted by the Sardar.

Unfortunately for the country and the nation, the present relations between leadership of both the Congress and the League have become so personally acrimonious that in the words of Sardar it is perhaps "impossible" for him and the Quaid-e-Azam to sit round the same table and together for the common welfare of the masses of both communities. This is what he feels and means when he says that a "coalition between the League and the Congress is impossible." Just as the Sardar illustrates, the common objective of defeating Germany and Japan brought the Conservatives and Labour toger in England, so the greater and nobler common goal of defeating the common political enemy, British Imperialism, and thus gaining the freedom for the common Motherland, should be a strong inducement for coalition here, in spite of divergent views. In view of these strained relations and almost personal rivalries and hostility between the leaders of the two largest political organisations, the High Commands of both will always be wrangling, either through the press or on the platform, indulging in acrimonious attacks and throwing out militant challenges, thus making the gulf still wider between the two. Such heroic, brave and militant words are always pleasant to the masses, and they invariably respond by thunderous applause and shouts of "Jais". But we must remember that at the same time they serve as so many more nails in the coffin of Swaraj, and vitals of the cherished goal recede further.

But this conflict between the two leaderships does not mean that it would be impossible to find a set of a dozen intellectual, honest, patriotic and broad-minded men and women from both communities, commanding the confidence of the nation at large, to work arm in arm as children of the same Motherland, to shoulder jointly the responsibility of administration of the common Motherland. It is a situation and disgrace to confess before the world that it is impossible to form a coalition cabinet of both communities here, just at a time when all the nations of the East and the West, who are politically, culturally, religiously and in every other respect different, can yet sit together round the same table to solve much more vital and difficult problems affecting their own respective countries and the whole world.

At least this experiment is worth trying, before we give in to a spirit of frustration and utter the fatal word of despondency and despair—impossible".

K. F. NARIMAN.

Bombay, August 5.

"CONGRESS MAY BE INVITED TO FORM GOVT."

LONDON (By Mail).

The Delhi Correspondent of *The Times*, in the course of despatch to his paper immediately after the Muslim League's decision to reject the long-term constitution plan, says:

"Impartial observers had hoped that the League, while protesting vehemently against what it considers to be a betrayal by the Cabinet Mission, would have included in its resolution a clause which would enable it to enter and work in the Constituent Assembly until Congress gave rejection of the invitation to form the Cabinet Mission's proposals. In which event Muslims could have participated further participation in its proceedings. Instead, the League has preferred the whole issue and resorted to the barren methods of boycott, which involve an implicit threat of civil strife, possibly culminating in civil war. The situation calls for the most tactful handling and generous treatment if matters are not to deteriorate to a point where the emotions of the Muslim masses can be roused to respond to a cry of 'Islam in danger'.

"Meanwhile it behoves the British authorities and Congress spokesmen to do everything in their power to assuage minority sentiment before the position becomes irretrievable. Admittedly the Cabinet Mission, in their public statements, have been guarded and conciliatory. The same cannot be said of Congress leaders who have indulged in rash and unhelpful generalizations which have served only to inflame Muslim feelings.

"The correspondent goes on to say that the Viceroy is in close touch with the British Government, and has seen Pandit Nehru. "Recently published documents," concludes the despatch, "make it clear that he is committed to proceed with the formation of an Interim Government whether or not either major party rejects the Cabinet Mission's long-term plan. Having regard to the grave problems facing the country there is every incentive to form a popular Cabinet which will take the burden off the shoulders of the present 'care-taker' officials. Since Congress now is the only party committed to acceptance of the long-term plan, the chances are that it will be invited to form a Government. This is where a golden opportunity presents itself to Congress leaders to cut the Gordian knot of the communal tangle. Having previously declined to make certain concessions to the Muslim League at the instance of the British, Congress could now afford gracefully and magnanimously approach the League and make concessions of its own free will."

COMMENT IN "NEWS CHRONICLE"

LONDON, Aug. 6 (Delayed).

There is no hope of an acceptable solution of the Indian problem short of entrusting the majority party with power as is the normal democratic practice, says Norman Cliff, foreign editor of the *Liberal News Chronicle*, in an article published to-day in which he analyzes the personality and actions of Mahatma Gandhi.

The article is headed, "The Remarkable Mr. Gandhi" and Cliff writes: "The Congressman's answer to the query 'What about the Muslims and other minorities if power is handed over to the majority?' is blunt one. "They are our fellow Indians and you can trust us when we are free to manage our own affairs to treat them fairly and generously" is his reply. "It is our problem and not that of the British. To hand over tidily and peacefully is your problem and the rest is not your business."

Analysing his attitude in view of the recent events in Parliament, Cliff adds "When the subject was discussed in the Commons the other day there were 50 members present. If this was our business in which we, as a nation, were interested could the 590 other members remain indifferent and retain their seats?

"SIKHS SOLIDLY BEHIND CONGRESS"

LAHORE, Aug. 8.

"We are going to meet the Congress High Command to settle the Congress-Sikh question once for all and to ensure acceptance by the Congress of the rightful place of the Sikhs in the future constitution of India, irrespective of the present Constituent Assembly proposals", said Col. Gurmukh Singh Gill, Chairman of the Panthic Pratinidhi Board, to the United Press of India, referring to the Sikh deputation that would wait on the Congress High Command at Wardha.

The deputation will consist of Col. Gill Sahariai Pratap Singh, Sardar Harnam Singh, Jatinedar Udham Singh and Sardar Saran Singh.

In any struggle for national emancipation, Col Gill said, the Sikhs would stand solidly behind the Congress and make every possible sacrifice, themselves forming the vanguard of the freedom movement. The object of the Congress and the Sikhs, he added, was identical. "Both of us stand for a free and united India', he continued, "and having the same object in view why should we not come still closer to each other? In a free India every community must have complete cultural and religious freedom and there must be no domination of one community by another."

Dealing with the Sikhs' attitude towards the Muslim League, Col. Gill said that the Sikhs could have nothing to do with the Muslim League till it revised its present policy. The Sikhs, to a man, were opposed to Pakistan and the division of India.

The Muslim League also had realised, he said, that they could gain nothing by depending on the British and this realisation had led to their rejection of the Cabinet Mission's proposals. They must now help in the settlement of all domestic problems by the Indians themselves, by eliminating the third party.

PUNJAB MINISTER ON LEAGUE DECISION

LAHORE, Aug. 8.

"Nobody can feel happy that the League has decided to stay away from the Constituent Assembly. But if a section of the Constituent Assembly chooses to block the progress of constitution-making, it would be necessary to go ahead with the task and the framers of the constitution will have the additional responsibility to protect the interests of those who choose to stay out. But I see no reason why constitution-making should cease for there is talent and thought enough amongst the members of the Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution which will adequately safeguard the special interests of the various communities", said Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar, Finance Minister of the Punjab, commenting on the League's decision to boycott the Constituent Assembly.

"When I say so, however, I don't minimise the importance of the Muslim League, but talking like a practical man I find no other alternative but to proceed with the task of going ahead with the constitution-making", added Mr. Sachar.

Congress At Centre To Be Resisted

LEAGUE SECRETARY'S AVOWAL

Times 6-8-46

NEW DELHI, August 5.

The Governors of the N.W.F.P. Sind, the Punjab, the U.P. and Bengal have been invited to come to Delhi for discussions with the Viceroy on August 8, says a statement issued by Government.

It is understood that no fresh initiative has been taken by the Viceroy regarding either the formation of a Provisional Government at the Centre composed of the main political parties in India or fixing the date of the inauguration of the Constituent Assembly.

It is believed that whatever further action the Viceroy intends to take will depend on the decisions taken by the Congress Working Committee at its next meeting at Wardha.

Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, in an interview with the "Associated Press of America", declared on Monday that, if the Congress should form a Government at the Centre, "we will resist it by all the means and make the functioning of such a Government impossible".

He said: "At the same time, in view of the situation as it exists now, we will have to be a fresh start and a new approach to the whole subject" of Indian Independence.

The possibility of the formation of a Government by the Congress, which has been discussed widely since the Muslim League withdrew its acceptance of the British Cabinet Mission's proposals, would be a step for the Muslim League to start its programme of "direct action", the League Secretary added.

DIRECT ACTION

"Direct action means resorting to non-constitutional methods", he explained, "and that one is free to use and whatever form may suit the conditions under which we live.

"When people start disobeying laws, they do so knowing full well the consequences".

Asked what specific action might be taken, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan replied: "We cannot eliminate any method. Direct action means any action against the law. Our decision is not a declaration of war, but a declaration of our grim determination to preserve the 100,000,000 Muslims of India".

In response to a question regarding the course the Muslim League would take should Congress be called upon to form a Government, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan said:

"There are only two ways of resisting a Government—by constitutional means and by direct action. We will resist it by any means and will make the functioning of such a Government impossible".

In connection with the Constituent Assembly, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan stated that "in view of the decision of the Council, no one elected to the Constituent Assembly as the nominee of the Muslim League shall attend the Assembly if it is convened".

The question of withdrawal did not arise "since the Assembly has never met".

LEAGUE'S THREAT OF "DIRECT ACTION"

Hindu 6-8-46

MR. LIAQAT ALI KHAN EXPLAINS

NEW DELHI, Aug. 5

Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, in an interview to the Associated Press of America, declared to-day that if the Congress should form a Government at the Centre "we will resist it by all means and make the functioning of such a Government impossible." He added: "At the same time, in view of the situation as it exists now, we will have to be a fresh start and a new approach to the whole subject of Indian Independence."

The possibility of formation of a Government by the Congress, which has been discussed widely since the Muslim League withdrew its acceptance of the British Cabinet Mission's proposals, should be a signal for the Muslim League to start its programme of "direct action," the League Secretary observed. "Direct action means resorting to non-constitutional methods and that can take any form, and whatever form may suit the conditions under which we live. When people start disobeying laws, they do so knowing full well the consequences."

Asked what specific action was contemplated, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan replied, "We cannot eliminate any method. Direct action means any action against the law. Our decision is not a declaration of war, but a declaration of our grim determination to preserve the 100 million Muslims of India."

As regards the Constituent Assembly, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan said that "in view of the decision of the Council, no one elected to the Constituent Assembly as the nominee of the Muslim League shall attend it if it is convened." The question of withdrawal did not arise "since the Assembly has never met."

Asked if the League would respond if the Congress should evince a desire to form a Government in co-operation with it, Mr. Khan drew attention to Sardar Patel's recent statement that "there is no possibility of a coalition between the Congress and the League, as they have diametrically opposite aims." Any attempt at a coalition between these two will end in disaster, and said. "On the basis of Sardar Patel's statement, the Congress never intended to participate in an Interim Government. All the time (during the Cabinet Mission's negotiations) the Congress had decided not to be appeased if the Muslim League was to come into the coalition." Sardar Patel's statement made it quite obvious that the Congress were, throughout the negotiations, fooling the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission, and making them shift from their position in the matter of appeasing the Congress, whereas the Congress had made up its mind not to come into the Interim Government unless it was arranged in such a way that the Muslim League could be kept out.

"It would be pertinent to ask if the Congress explained this position to the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy, when the negotiations for an Interim Government were started by them for a coalition between the Congress and the Muslim League. If the fact, as have been revealed since the Congress rejection of the proposal for the formation of an Interim Government, it appears that the Congress did not make its position clear to the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy.

Proceeding, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan said, "It is quite true that the fact that the Viceroy repeated the formula of 5-5-2 to Mr. Jinnah on June 3 and again stated on June 9 that an agreement was hoped to be reached on this basis, that the Congress up to that time had raised no objection to this formula, which had been accepted before the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy their view as has since been stated by Mr. Patel that it was impossible for the Congress to have any coalition with the Government of the Muslim League." After the Muslim League accepted the Cabinet Mission's plan while the Congress began raising objections which resulted in new developments.

The Congress by disowning the British help creating a position, which the League would be compelled to reject instead of, like an honourable party, stating from the very beginning that it could not enter into partnership with the Muslim League under any circumstances before forming the Interim Government, it is wonder if the British Government is not able to see through the game of the Congress and realise that they have been made a cats paw.

DR. JAYAKAR ON LEAGUE'S RESOLUTION

BOMBAY, Aug 5.

Interviewed by the Associated Press of India on his arrival in Bombay from London, the Rt. Hon. M. R. Jayakar, giving his impressions of how the people of Britain reacted to the British Cabinet Mission's efforts in India, said: The reaction of the British people was well reflected in the debate in Parliament shortly after the return of the Cabinet Mission. Its work in India has been well received generally, except in certain quarters representing a hostile political group where a desire is evinced to pick holes in it by supporting the claims of discontented minorities. It is likely that in the fuller debate which will follow after the recess of Parliament, we shall hear more about this matter, which may be sponsored by the leaders of the Conservative Party, particularly Mr. Churchill.

If the present dissensions between the Muslim League on the one hand, and the Congress and the British Cabinet Mission on the other, remain unsettled by that time, they will furnish a very powerful weapon to Mr Churchill and the opposition against the Labour Government and the Congress.

But the general public, which still reflects the mood which gave the Labour Government such a large majority desires that the Mission's good work should be completed by the formation, without unnecessary delay, of an Interim Government and the creation of the Constitution-making body.

Speeches of Muslim League leaders in Bombay received considerable publicity in London and newspapers which were usually content with cryptic criticism about India gave much larger space to the subject. The general opinion was that upto a point, the Muslim League had grievances which required to be carefully looked into and, if possible, remedied, that its apprehensions were justified in so far as they had been occasioned by the incautious and exuberant utterances of some Congress leaders, interpreting in their own way, portions of the British Mission's statement, especially those relating to the sovereign status of the Constitution-making Body and the Grouping of provinces.

It is felt that if this was the gist of the grievances of the Muslim League, the remedy lay in obtaining from the Congress and also from the British Cabinet Mission a reiteration of the fundamentals embodied in the British Mission's statement relating to the Constitution-making Body. In not asking for this remedy and in using expressions like "forging pistols," it is felt that the Muslim League's resentment has overshot the mark. It is realised that the resolution of the Congress Working Committee which, after expressing its disapproval on certain points, accepted the proposals as a whole was clear and that there was no suggestion in it that the Congress had not accepted the fundamentals of the scheme and that if this was so, whatever individual opinions might have been expressed afterwards, the remedy lay in compelling the Congress to adhere to the fundamentals of the plan. That the Working Committee's resolution was quite clear and unequivocal on the point had not reached London when I left; nor had the expression of opinion by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel that no individual statement or expression of opinion could alter the solemn resolution of the Congress.

"There is no doubt that after these statements reach London, it will be felt that with these assurances the Cabinet Mission's Plan should hold the field once more and that both the parties should accept it as a basis of future work instead of ripping open the whole question. In the light of these events, the Congress Working Committee may consider it advisable to restate its position in plain and unequivocal terms, so as to allay completely the misgivings of the Muslim League, in so far as they were the real basis of the present differences".

Our Karachi correspondent adds:

Discussing the heavy pressure of work in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council Dr. Jayakar in an interview said that whether the new Constitution for India, when it was framed, would keep the Judicial Committee alive or re-place it by a Supreme Court of Appeal in India was a matter of great interest, if not anxiety, to all those who were at present engaged in disposing of Indian appeals.

CONGRESS ATTITUDE TO LONG-TERM PLAN

MAULANA AZAD EXPLAINS

CALCUTTA, (By Mail).

Clarifying the Congress attitude towards the Cabinet Mission's proposals, Maulana Azad, in an interview, said the Congress had accepted all fundamentals of the plan. "The Congress has accepted the long-term plan of the Cabinet Mission and agreed to work the Constituent Assembly", he pointed out. "The Congress has agreed that although India will be one Union, the Central subjects will be limited to defence, foreign affairs, communications and such sources of revenues as may be required for carrying out the above functions."

"The Congress has accepted that the provinces will be fully autonomous and administer all subjects except those specifically allocated to the Centre. It has accepted that residuary powers shall vest in the provinces."

"It has also accepted the right of two or more provinces to set up inter-provincial machinery for administering jointly any of the subjects reserved for them. It is true that the Congress has emphasised the point that there can be no question of imposing it on a province against its will. But this could not be a matter of disagreement as the League itself has never demanded that the grouping should be imposed on an unwilling province."

MR. FAZLUL HUQ'S CRITICISM

NEW DELHI, Aug. 5.

"The League leadership has needlessly jeopardised the interests of 100 million Muslim by the step taken now," says Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, former Premier of Bengal, writing in *The Statesman*.

Mr. Fazlul Huq stated: "Thank God the British Government did not hand over power to the Muslim League. Millions of Muslims who cannot approve of League politics might have been adversely affected if that step had been taken by the Viceroy and the Mission. Before taking such a decision, Mr. Jinnah should have interviewed the Viceroy and members of the British Cabinet. He should have had the courtesy to take prominent Muslims into confidence and for once in his life, have consulted other brains about the momentous action he was taking. Fortunately, there are Muslims who differ from Mr. Jinnah and hold the view that all this political fuss could have been avoided."—A P A.

"LEAGUE SHOULD NOT HAVE REVERSED ITS DECISION"

—Dr Jayakar

BOMBAY, Aug. 5.—Dr M. R. Jayakar in an interview on his arrival in Bombay from London today said that the reaction of the British people to the Cabinet Mission's efforts in India was well reflected in the recent debates in the House of Commons and the House of Lords. He added: "The Mission's work in India has been well received generally except in certain quarters representing a hostile political group where a desire is evinced to pick holes in it by supporting the claims of discontented minorities. It is likely that in the fuller debate which will follow after the recess of Parliament, we shall hear more about this matter.

"If the present dissensions between the Muslim League on the one hand and the Congress and the British Cabinet Mission on the other remain unsettled by that time, they will furnish a very powerful weapon to Mr Churchill's opposition against the Labour Government and the Congress.

"Speeches of the Muslim League leaders in Bombay received considerable publicity in London. The general opinion was that up to a point the Muslim League had grievances which required to be carefully looked into and, if possible, remedied, that its apprehensions were justified in so far as they had been occasioned by the incautious and exuberant utterances of some Congress leaders, interpreting in their own way portions of the British Mission's statement, especially those relating to the sovereign status of the constitution-making body and the grouping of provinces.

League's Rash Decision

"It is felt that if this was the gist of the grievances of the Muslim League, the remedy lay in obtaining from the Congress and also the British Cabinet Mission a reiteration of the fundamentals embodied in the British Mission's statement relating to the constitution-making body. In not asking for this remedy, it is felt that the Muslim League's resentment has overshot the mark.

Congress Stand Unequivocal

"It is realized that the resolution of the Congress Working Committee which, after expressing its disapproval on certain points, accepted the proposals as a whole, was clear and that there was no suggestion in it that the Congress had not accepted the fundamentals of the scheme.

Whatever individual opinions might have been expressed afterwards, the League should have compelled the Congress to adhere to the fundamentals of the plan and not reversed its earlier decision. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's view that no individual statement could alter the solemn resolution of the Congress had not reached London when he left.

"There is no doubt that after these statements reach London, it will be felt that with these assurances the Cabinet Mission's plan should hold the field once more and that both the parties should accept it as a basis of future work instead of ripping open the whole question. In the light of these events, the Congress Working Committee may consider it advisable to restate its position in plain and unequivocal terms, so as to allay completely the misgivings of the Muslim League, in so far as they are the real basis of the present differences."—A.P.I.

H. Times, 6.8.46.

MUSLIM LEAGUE DECISION FOREBODES CIVIL WAR

LONDON, Aug. 5.—By repudiating the Constituent Assembly and threatening to use direct action to gain their ends the Muslim League have deliberately opened the door to civil war, declares the Sunday Times in a leading article.

The paper says: "The threat is not made conditional upon any particular British policy as similar though less immediate Muslim threats have been in the past. It is believed to be as much against the British Raj as against the Hindus. If it should be carried out, much of the terrible price of suppressing a Muslim revolt would be paid in British blood and treasure.

"Despite its exaggerations, the Muslim League have a legitimate case. Their grievance over the Interim Government, though due to a misunderstanding, is no doubt deeply felt. Their grievance against the Congress is based upon a profound fear of Hindu domination, which has been exaggerated by recent utterances of Congress spokesmen. If chaos is to be averted, then there must be fresh efforts at co-operation and understanding.

"The problem, however, is one as much of political tactics as of communal principle. Manifestly, Mr Jinnah is putting up his price. A shrewd judge of the political market, he senses that he can now improve on the Cabinet Mission's terms—or perhaps secure their interpretation and reinforcement in his favour, for a radical change is out of the question. It is primarily for the Congress and the Hindus to decide whether to pay any extra premium for unity: but so much is at stake for British authority and, indeed, for the security of the whole Empire, that we, for our part, must strain every nerve to help to bring about a real settlement."—Reuter. H Time 6/8/46

LEAGUERS ADVISED TO OBSERVE PEACEFUL HARTAL

BOMBAY, Aug. 5.—Mr M.A. Jinnah declared yesterday in an interview that the hartal called by the League for August 16 will be conducted "peacefully and in a disciplined manner."

The Muslim League Council ordered the hartal and called on Muslims to hold meetings throughout India on that day.

Mr Jinnah added: "We asked the people to suspend work as a protest against the British Delegation having gone back on their word and thereby committed a breach of faith. But the day shall be observed peacefully and in a disciplined manner."—A.P.A. H-Times 6-8-46

JINNAH NOT SURE OF HIS GROUNDS

H. Times — 6/8/46

Abdul Majid Asks Govt. To Go Ahead With Plan

(From Our Special Correspondent)

SIMLA, Aug. 5.—"Nationalist Muslims can never be dismayed by the wild language used by Mr Jinnah. Our duty is clear. We swear by the freedom of India and communal unity and must fully co-operate with those who have accepted, in its essentials, the Cabinet Mission's long-term plan." Thus said Prof. Abdul Majid Khan, spokesman of Nationalist Muslims in the Punjab, commenting on the League Council's move to boycott the Constituent Assembly.

Prof. Majid hoped that the British Government would go ahead with the work of the Constituent Assembly.

"Muslim Leaguers are now in a fix," he added. "This is bound to happen, sooner or later, when responsible organizations make impossible demands.

"During the last seven years top-ranking Congress leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Azad, Pandit Nehru and Rajaji held as many as 30 interviews with Mr Jinnah (who never showed the elementary courtesy of returning their calls even once), but to no purpose. In fact, the greater the desire of the Congress to appease the Muslim League, the stiffer grew the attitude of Mr Jinnah.

"There cannot, however, be a perpetual deadlock anywhere. For a variety of reasons, the Britishers, who are in power, had to make certain constitutional proposals, which have now been rejected by the Muslim League."

International Tribunal

Prof. Majid said that one of the peaceful ways out was reference to an International Tribunal. "But when Mr Jinnah says," Prof Abdul Majid added, "there is no tribunal to which we can go; the only tribunal is the Muslim nation, he is evidently not sure of his ground and he has no case at all. In plain words it means that the Muslim League questions the sincerity and integrity of more than 50 nations of the world put together. When the U.N.O. is functioning properly, why should any political party or communal body be permitted to play simultaneously the role of the prosecutor as well as that of the judge?"

Turning to Mr Jinnah's preposterous claims, he said the League leader had repeatedly asserted that there were two nations in India. "He seems to believe that the Muslims who are 25 per cent of the entire population constitute a super-nation and that Hindus who are nearly 70 per cent form but a sub-nation. Hence his demand for parity between the two nations." Boiled down, it comes to this: One Muslim is entitled to two votes, while two Hindus will have just one vote. If it is not a woeful travesty of justice what else is it?

"Even when this claim is conceded to all intents and purposes and he is asked to nominate five Muslims to an Executive Council of 14, he is dissatisfied. For, he insists that the Congress (a cent per cent national and democratic organization) before submitting a list of its nominees for the Interim Government at the Centre must get the approval of the Muslim League (essentially a communal and Fascist body). In other words, what he says amounts to arguing that the Muslim League represents 80 per cent of the existing Muslim electorate and that the Congress is just a glorified Hindu Mahasabha, representing none but the high caste Hindus. This is exactly what Mr Churchill has been harping on for the last five years.

"But come what may, no power on earth will be able to deprive the Congress of its national character and status. The writing on the wall is that the opponents of freedom can never prevail and that the reactionaries can never put out the flame of liberty lighted in India by Mahatma Gandhi and his comrades."

"LEAGUE MUST BE REASSURED"

Times — 6/8/46

Sir C. Setalvad's Plea To Congress

"The Congress, as the dominant party, should stoop to conquer. It should officially and categorically declare and reassure the Muslim League that there is no intention to disavow any part of the Cabinet Mission's scheme and that the Scheme will be scrupulously adhered to," says Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Liberal leader. He adds: "If there is any *bona fide* dispute as to the interpretation of any provision, the Cabinet Mission should be asked to clarify the matter. It is no use arguing that the Congress resolutions are clear, but the utterances of high office-bearers cannot be so lightly brushed aside. An official Congress statement is necessary."

Sir Chimanlal says:

"Very regrettable events have taken place during the last few days in the political sphere in this country. The Muslim League, under the guidance of Mr. Jinnah, have reversed their decision to enter the Constituent Assembly and have proclaimed their firm resolve to be satisfied with nothing else than Pakistan. There has not been sufficient realisation of the importance of the first decision of the League to agree to a common Centre, however, restricted, and to enter into a Constituent Assembly for framing a constitution for one united India.

"It, therefore, behoved the responsible leaders of the Congress not to have done or said anything to disturb the calm atmosphere. Instead, some responsible leaders, including the President of the Congress, proclaimed that the Congress was committed to nothing except to enter the Constituent Assembly.

"Attempts have been made to modify and explain away the full import of these utterances but the mischief has been done. The scheme of the State Paper of May 16 last is one indivisible whole and no party can accept one part and reject another. Some of the fundamentals of the scheme, for example, the grouping of provinces, the decision on major communal issues to be taken by a majority of both communities, cannot be altered or disregarded except by consent of the parties concerned. However, it is no use crying over spilt milk.

"The more important question is how the mischief done is too be repaired so as to bring the parties to the situation that existed when both the Congress and the League expressed their willingness to enter the Constituent Assembly. How is this to be done?

"There has been a great nervous strain on all concerned in these negotiations and the first essential is to cool down, bury the hatchet and beget trust. The whole surcharged political atmosphere owes its origin to mistrust between the Congress, the League, the Sikhs and the Scheduled Classes, and it is the duty and the privilege of leaders to beget trust and confidence.

"Surely there are some cool and far-seeing heads in the Congress Party who, subordinating false ideas of pride and prestige, will take the necessary initiative and restore confidence and better understanding between the Congress and the League and resolve the present deplorable stalemate."

ALLAYING MUSLIM LEAGUE FEARS

Mr. Jayakar's Plea

The Rt. Hon. M. R. Jayakar, on his arrival in Bombay from London, explained the reaction of the people in Britain to the British Cabinet Mission's plan and said that the general public desired that the Mission's good work should be completed by forming as early as possible, an Interim Government and creating the constitution-making body.

The general British press opinion was that the Muslim League apprehensions were justified with particular reference to the interpretation given by some Congress leaders to the sovereign status of the constitution-making body and the grouping of provinces, he said. The remedy lay in obtaining from the Congress and also from the British Cabinet Mission a reiteration of the fundamentals embodied in the Mission's statement relating to the constitution-making body.

Times. — 6-8-46

MUSLIM LEADERSHIP CRITICISED

Times 6/8/46

Bihar Minister's Views

The present day Muslim Leadership was bereft of the true ideals of Islam, and had never tried "to break the relationship between the have's and the have'nots," said Mr. Abdul Qayyam Ansari, Minister for Cottage Industries and P.W.D., Government of Bihar, addressing a meeting of weavers in Bombay on Sunday.

Mr. Ansari said the renunciation of titles by Muslim League leaders was no sacrifice, and if they really desired to end the distinctions amongst Muslims they aught to have given up their family titles like Nawabzada, Khan, Sheikh and Mirza.

The Minister also said that the Government of Bihar had arranged to distribute among weavers in that province 40,000 spinning wheels to keep them busy during the period of enforced idleness caused by the inadequacy of the quota of yarn to Bihar.

"JINNAH PUTTING UP HIS PRICE"

Hindu 6/8/46

LONDON, Aug. 4.

By repudiating the Constituent Assembly and threatening to use "direct action" to gain their ends, the Muslim League have deliberately opened the door to Indian civil war, declared the *Sunday Times*, in a leading article to-day.

The paper goes on: "The threat is not made conditional upon any particular British policy as similar though less immediate Muslim threats have been in the past; it is levelled as much against the British Raj as against the Hindus. If it should be carried out, much of the terrible price of suppressing a Muslim revolt would be paid in British blood and treasure.

"Despite its exaggerations, the Muslim League have a legitimate case. Their grievance over the Interim Government, though due to a misunderstanding, is no doubt deeply felt. Their grievance against the Congress is based upon a profound fear of Hindu domination, which has been exacerbated by recent utterances of Congress spokesmen. If chaos is to be averted then there must be fresh efforts at co-operation and understanding."

"The problem, however, is one as much of political tactics as communal principle. Manifestly Mr. Jinnah is putting up his price. A shrewd judge of the political market, he senses that he can now improve on the Cabinet Mission's terms—or perhaps secure their intervention and reinforcement in his favour, for a radical change is out of the question. It is primarily for the Congress and the Hindus to decide whether to pay any extra premium for unity; but so much is at stake for British authority and, indeed, for the security of the whole Empire, that we, for our part, must strain every nerve to help to bring about a real settlement."—Reuter.

LEAGUE DEMAND FOR PAKISTAN
Hindu 6.8.46
ARBITRATION IDEA UNACCEPTABLE

JINNAH'S REPLY TO PATEL'S SUGGESTION

BOMBAY, Aug. 5.

Mr M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in an interview to-day, declared that the suggestion to refer the League's case to arbitration was unacceptable to him.

The proposal, Mr. Jinnah said, was made to "impress the country and public here and abroad that the Congress is reasonable and conciliatory." The Muslim demand for Pakistan was based on the right of self-determination and could not be a justiciable issue.

Mr. Jinnah said: "Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel in a recent speech on the Congress Working Committee's resolution at Delhi on June 26 and that of the A.-I. C. C. at Bombay on July 7, has stated in his words, said, 'We accept full responsibility for the declaration.' The Working Committee's resolution said clearly that it accepted the declaration of May 16. It still stood by it. It also said that the right to interpret "the document" This is misleading. The document embodied four main proposals. First, the declaration which alone, he says, the Congress has accepted. The basic form and the grouping of the provinces in Paragraph 19 of the document and the formation of the Interim Government, have not been accepted by the Congress. And this is clear from the letter of the Congress President of June 25 in which the Congress rejected the statement of June 16 regarding the Interim Government and only accepted the invitation of May 16 with reservations and with their own interpretations. This being a conditional acceptance was in fact and in law a rejection of the statement of May 16. The letter winds up by saying, 'We also gave our interpretation to some of the provisions of the statement. While adhering to our views we accepted your proposals and are prepared to work with a view to achieve our objective.' The resolution of the Working Committee proceeded to lay down that there was sufficient scope for enlarging and strengthening the Central (Interim) and for fully ensuring the right of the provinces to act according to their choice in regard to grouping.

CONGRESS ATTITUDE CRITICISED

"Congress leaders have said at the A.I.C.C. that they have not accepted the long-term plan of the Cabinet Mission as it was and that they have rejected the grouping clause of June 16 and now Mr. Patel has the audacity to say that the League has accepted all its pledged word. To whom did we pledge our word and to what had we pledged our word? One of the two major parties has not accepted the long-term plan and has rejected the short-term plan and this was pointed out by me immediately by the Press statements which I made at Delhi on June 27 and 29 and also by the resolution of the Muslim League Working Committee passed on June 26 accepting both. I had pointed out that the Congress had not accepted the long-term plan and had rejected the Interim Government proposal. The Cabinet Mission had scrapped the Interim Government proposal and had gone back on their word. Therefore decided to call a meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council in Bombay on July 27 and 28 to consider and to meet the now situation that had arisen. In which Pandit Nehru retorted that the Congress would create many more situations and in the meantime, Pandit Nehru and other Congress leaders, including Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel himself, made it clear in their speeches and public utterances in Bombay that the Congress had not accepted any of the terms of the statement of May 16 or committed themselves to anything. Further, on July 18 Pandit Nehru, the Congress President, made this crystal clear to a Press Conference and the correctness of my declaration and the correctness of the Congress at High Command's interpretation was stated their representatives to the Constituent Assembly gave them a definite mandate to have nothing to do with the "C" Group from the very start although there was a very strong opposition to this from the representatives of the minorities in the Muslim Leagues. But the resolution was carried by an overwhelming Congress majority. Further, at a public meeting in Delhi on July 22 Pandit Nehru reiterated that they were going to the Constituent Assembly to achieve their objective and to serve their purpose and if they failed they would sit with the League.

"This was after the debate that took place in Parliament on July 18. This left no doubt that the Congress was going to the Constituent Assembly to achieve their objective as it has been repeatedly stated in the letters and the resolution of the Congress in matter its intentions clear that it was not bound by the grouping, nor were they confined strictly to the basic form of the document, and unequivocally asserted that they were free to enlarge the scope and powers of the Union and Provincial Governments as they might wish to do to the Union Government

POWERS OF THE CENTRE

"We know what the objectives and purposes of the Congress are. The Congress claims that it has secured a declaration from the British Government of the complete independence of India outside the British Commonwealth of Nations and that this Constitution-making machinery should be turned into a sovereign body and the only thing for them that now remains is to frame a constitution and to establish a United Indian Federal Government with vital powers and subjects as defence, foreign affairs, communications, customs, finance, commerce, industry and tariff; and further with power to step in if the Constituent Assembly or Government was not working according to their conception. Therefore, the present position would be no better than that of "dominion status" or "provincial autonomy."

"Mr Patel says that no individual statement or statements of opinion can override the solemn resolution and that the resolution itself is clear. And that is strengthened by the pronouncement of the President of the Congress, Pandit Nehru, explaining the resolution. Then what importance are we to attach to the individual statements-even like Mr. Patel's?

"Mr. Patel says: 'The League and the Congress pull in the opposite directions. One wants a United India with Hindustan and Hindustan while the other yearns for a united India.' Pandit Nehru, Mr. Patel adds, 'that the two have no common meeting ground.' Is this a condition between the Congress and the League was responsible for the organisations were holding views which were diametrically opposed to each other. But when we demand Pakistan and the division of India on the basis of two Pakistan, our scheme gives freedom and independence to the two nations-namely the Hindus and the Muslims-whereas the Congress wants to keep Hindustan united and wish to establish a united India with a strong federal centre, which, in other words, means that 700 million Muslims are to be brought under the Hindu Raj. Responsible rule and it means freedom only for the Hindus and not for the Muslims under Hindu Raj, I echo: How can there be a common meeting ground on this basis, for which I have no doubt, many Caste Hindus passionately yearn and Mr. Patel dreams?

"Having declared that we stand poles asunder, Mr. Patel suggests that I should change my approach and cease to be a communalist and handle where the Congress suppose he means a Congress Nationalist-and accept that the Congress represents all India, on the imaginary footing that India was a united country and nation, whereas the facts are that the Congress is nothing but a Caste-Hindu organisation. But his advice that I should become a nationalist and cease to be a communalist means nothing except that I should bury the Pakistan demand and disown the Muslim nation and appear before him in sack-cloth and ashes and, after that, when we are entirely thrown ourselves at their mercy. We feel that we have many seats in the proposed executive as we like, as their creatures.

Mr. Patel is speaking in the best traditions. On the one hand, he says there is no meeting ground but the League is impossible as we are poles apart. But on the other hand, he says that the Congress had gone to my doors a hundred times. Not true at all. Not once and that I have never deigned to go to them. The truth is that three times in the course of the last eight years Mr. Gandhi came to me and I have made public as to what the Congress demand, which I could not.

Does Mr Patel want me to go to the Congress or appeal to them to accept the Pakistan demand of the Muslims which he characterised in my speech as a 'vicious circle tube'? Last time when Mr Gandhi came to me and appealed to him in his individual capacity, to understand what the Pakistan demand meant and to accept it, I spent weeks with him to convert him, but I failed.

TALKS WITH PANDIT NEHRU RECALLED

"This sort of talk is really intended to pound and hammer the Muslim and Mr. Patel is only suffering from an inferiority-complex. But, Mr. Patel, who is a lawyer, said that Mr. Nehru and I should meet, I asked him to meet Pandit Nehru and he himself said 'I shall go over to you.' When we met on July 10 for the first time, I pre-decided time, I pleaded before him for one and a half hours and appealed to him to come to a settlement on the basis of Pakistan, but he was obdurate and would not budge with me. I cautioned him that he should not be misled by the Viceroy and that he had come to my place and that I was not willing to be a party to it and that I myself was not matter, and it is so petty to trot this out in the course of a talk like this and has done.

"I told Pandit Nehru, that if after consulting his colleagues, he wished that the views of the Working Committee of Pakistan and gave me an appointment, I would gladly do so. But Pandit Nehru's object was elsewhere that he might wish. Mr. Patel makes a pathetic appeal by having made it clear that there was no meeting ground. He invites me to sit with the Congress as 'brothers' and join them to break the Government of the Mission. Well we have already torn up the statement of May 16. He doubts our desire for freedom when he says that we should join hands with the Congress if we are keen upon freedom. And finally, he says: 'When we have said as brothers and if there is no agreement possible, let the matter be referred to arbitration and let us abide by the award of the Arbitrator.'

PROPOSAL NOT SERIOUS

"This proposal is made again to impress the ignorant public here and abroad that the Congress is so reasonable and so conciliatory, but that the Muslim League is intransigent. Mr. Patel knows perfectly well and I have pointed out many a time since that the demand for Pakistan is based on the right of self-determination of the Muslims, which is their birthright and is not and cannot be justiciable. Even from the principle aspect, it is absurd to say that this matter particularly should be referred to arbitration. Even on practical grounds, who will select such an arbitrator and who will enforce their award? No country can run its Government unless its Constitution is framed by the willing consent of the people concerned. For what very reason, the Congress and the Muslim League had demanded the Constituent Assemblies of the representatives of the people to frame the Constitution.

"Is Mr. Patel really serious? Then why talk of the Constituent Assembly and why not refer the whole matter regarding the entire framing of the Constitution to the arbitration of a few? Therefore, the proposal of arbitration is ludicrous. Mr. Patel knows better than anybody else that it could not be accepted, both on grounds of principle and as a practical proposition.

"Mr. Patel has become the champion of the British whom he says I have traduced and continue to do, and I have abused the Congress. He does not specify what those abuses are. I have certainly attacked and criticised the Congress and charged them with disrupting the Muslims and have exposed their false claim that they represent all-India, including the Muslims, which certainly is not true. All my attacks and criticism have been in self-defence against the most aggressive and arrogant attitude of the Congress. The Congress has made every effort to mislead the people here and abroad aided with its vast and powerful Press and organisation, and has accused me and the Muslim League that we are tools in the hands of British imperialism. Not a day passes when the Congress Press does not abuse the League and myself.

"There are many inaccuracies in Mr. Patel's statement and they are merely intended as propaganda for the Congress and to mislead the people and the world, passing off that theirs was a conciliatory attitude whereas the League was intransigent."

A.P.I.

Constituent Body "Must Succeed"

MR. MUNSHI'S VIEWS

The reasons why the Constituent Assembly should be treated as a sovereign body were given by Mr. K. M. Munshi, a member of the Experts Committee appointed by the Congress Working Committee in connection with drafting the Indian constitution, in the course of an interview.

Mr. Munshi did not consider a revolution to be a condition precedent to the formation of a constituent assembly and believed that it should not take more than six months to frame a constitution for India if the Constituent Assembly carried out its work in right earnest. On the other hand it would be a "historic disaster" if the Assembly could not be worked successfully.

The first reason why the Constituent Assembly, in his opinion, is a sovereign body, is that "neither the foreign rulers of this country nor any foreigners are members of the Assembly," said Mr. Munshi.

"Secondly, it reflects the proportionate strength of the people without the weightage which British imperialism gave to certain communities for its own benefit. Thirdly, subject to a treaty with Britain and the protection of minorities, it is charged with the duty of creating a new State. Fourthly, it will be able to set up a provisional sovereign authority in India which will negotiate and enter into a treaty with Britain, the first function of the provisional Government of India and then bring into existence the first free Government in India."

Mr. Munshi said he did not envisage any difficulties in the construction of the several clauses in the State Paper. He said, "All parties have agreed to the State Paper of May 16, and I see no reason why the document should not be taken as a charter within the four corners of which we have to settle our future constitution. No doubt there will be differences on interpretations, but after all such differences have to be solved by an arbiter, either the chairman of the Constituent Assembly or the chairman in consultation with the Federal Court.

"Whatever the view on a clause or two, in my opinion, the State Paper gives us immense power, and it will be a historic disaster if we failed to work the Constituent Assembly to a successful end. Once the parties meet with the fixed intention of settling things, things would be decided very rapidly."

CONDITION FOR SUCCESS

Asked what was the primary condition for the success of the Constituent Assembly, Mr. Munshi said that the first condition was that its proceedings should be held *in camera* "and that the Indian press and the world press should contribute to its success by keeping silent." As an example he said that the "first great constituent assembly, namely, the Federal Convention of the United States, which met in 1787, as a first step, wisely decided that nothing spoken in the House be printed or otherwise published or communicated without leave. This pledge was honestly kept by the members. The records of the Convention were published 50 years afterwards.

"In Canada the constituent assembly chose to sit *in camera* from the very beginning. In Australia they kept their sittings open to the press, with the result that their efforts proved unsuccessful—ultimately the constituent assembly sat *in camera* and its efforts were successful. But in these days of wide newspaper publicity, the patriotic press of India will have also to co-operate."

"In view of the advancement of humanity we must work for a change over of national power by peaceful means through constituent assemblies convoked as a matter of friendly adjustment." Mr. Munshi concluded.—A.F.I.

"A MINORITY MUST NOT TORPEDO PROGRESS"

MADRAS, Aug. 1.

Direct action decided upon by the Muslim League Council did not give place to any new situation and was all along anticipated, said Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, former member of the Congress Working Committee, in an interview to the Press to-day. For, he argued, "if the political pharmacopoeia has prescribed a certain drug for a certain distemper, the physician has only to prescribe it. Doctor Attlee prescribed it on March 15. A distemper of another type has arisen on July 30 and it remains for the local doctor, namely the Viceroy, to plan his treatment on the advice of experts and consultants. In effect, therefore, if a minority wants to torpedo the progress of the majority or of the whole community it must not be allowed to do so.

Answering Mr. Jinnah's criticism that the Congress was on the one hand asking the British to quit and on the other accepting the British Government's long-term proposals, Dr. Sitaramayya said, "The Constituent Assembly is our tangible demand. It is a substitute for civil disobedience. We have not given up our weapons or objects. When we get an equally good weapon, we change the first for the second. No Congressman is out to fight windmills. He always stretches his hand of co-operation to grasp the opponent's. With him, fight is not an end in itself. It is the means to an end. The Constituent Assembly is the means to ensure that the British quit India."

Quoting *The Times*, Dr. Pattabhi said it was the best answer to Mr. Jinnah's view that the Congress acceptance of the long-term proposals was not real acceptance as it was conditional and amounted to rejection or at best a counter offer. "The Congress has gone to the business straight. There are no conditions with which we have burdened acceptance. Interpretations are not conditions, and in this even *The Times* is one with me."

Alluding to Mr. Jinnah's remarks on Paragraph 8 of the State Paper of June 16, Dr. Pattabhi categorically denied that the Viceroy had at any time foresworn it. He said, "It is unfair to accuse the Viceroy of breach of faith. He has not foresworn Section 8. He has clearly stated on June 28 and earlier that the time had come for Section 8 to be put into operation. He only pleaded for time and leisure. I must refer Mr. Jinnah to the Viceroy's letter of June 28 addressed to him."

DR. V. K. JOHN'S VIEW

MADRAS Aug. 2

"The British Government must take full responsibility for the Muslim League's decision," says Dr. V. K. John, M.L.C., President of the All-India Indian Christian Federation in a statement to the Press. He suggests they should at least now give up their policy of balancing the major communities in this country.

Dr. John argues, "In the absence of an agreement between the parties, the British Government ought to have set up a Constituent Assembly with sovereign powers by an Act of Parliament and asked the leaders of the majority party in the Central Assembly to form an Interim Government. Instead they have attempted to set up a Constituent Assembly which has no legal sanction behind it with no procedure prescribed for it and no sovereign powers. Such a Constituent Assembly could function if there was agreement between the major parties and obviously from the start there was none. They are still attempting to set up an Interim Government of opposing elements. This apparently is planning for breakdown and if it be so, they have succeeded."

"Mr. Jinnah Putting Up His Price"

Times 5/8/46

BRITISH PRESS VIEW

LONDON, August 4: By repudiating the constituent assembly and threatening to use "direct action" to gain their ends, the Muslim League has deliberately opened the door to Indian civil war, declared the influential *Sunday Times* in a leading article today.

The paper goes on: "The threat is not made conditional upon any particular British policy as similar, though less immediate, Muslim threats have been in the past. It is levied as much against the British Raj as against the Hindus. If it should be carried out, much of the terrible price of suppressing a Muslim revolt, would be paid in British blood and treasure.

"Despite its exaggerations the Muslim League has a legitimate case. Its grievance over the Interim Government, though due to a misunderstanding, is no doubt deeply felt. Its grievance against the Congress is based upon a profound fear of Hindu domination, which has been exacerbated by the recent utterances of Congress spokesmen. If a crisis is to be averted then there must be fresh efforts at co-operation and understanding.

"The problem, however, is one as much of political technique as of communal principle. Manifestly Mr. Jinnah is putting up his price. A shrewd judge of the political market, he senses that he can now improve on the Cabinet Mission's offer. Perhaps secure their interpretation and reinforcement in his favour, for a radical change is not of the Mission's. It is primarily for the Congress and the Muslim League to decide whether any extra premium for unity. But so much is at stake for the British authority, indeed, for the future of the whole Empire, that we, for our part, must again earnestly offer help to being about a real settlement."

"VEST POWER IN CONGRESS"

The correspondent of the Left-wing paper *Reynolds News*, Mr. Brailsford, who has just come back from India, also suggests that the Congress as the larger party in India be invited to construct the Interim Government.

After reviewing recent events since the return to India of the British Mission, he says the narrow bigotry of Mr. Jinnah's League and Hindu the fear of Hindu numbers and Hindu big business. The fear can only be overcome by generosity.

From this deadlock a way out must be found. One regrettable omission so far we have not yet tested. Instead of trying to construct an Interim Government in the life of the present building, let us invite the Congress as the larger party to form it. It will then feel, as never felt before, that the whole responsibility for achieving independence is in its hands.

Once it has this power beyond dispute, it will be able to win over the minorities without seeming to be weak. Mr. Jinnah will be driven to the presidency of the constituent assembly. This man of ambition must be harnessed to the great historic task.—Reuter.

"DISMISS SIND'S MINISTRY"

Muslim Leader's Plea

KARACHI, August 4: Referring to the utterances of Mir Ghulamali Khan Talpur, Home Minister, and Pir Illahi Bakah, Revenue Minister, and editorial comments in the League's journal *Al-Wahid*, Khan Bahadur Haji Abdulla, the leader of the Nationalist Muslim Group in the Sind Assembly, has issued a statement asking the Governor of Sind to relieve the League Ministry of office in the interest of law and order.

He says: "The point at issue is whether the League Ministry in Sind will be wedded to a policy of breaking the law certain as destruction of the life and property of the people. The League cannot function both as breaker and preserver of the constitution and laws deriving their sanction therefrom.

"The European Group in the Sind Assembly, which is propping the ministry, must realise the responsibility now. Similarly the Governor, in order to safeguard the life and property of those misguided Muslims who do not subscribe to the League policy must act and dismiss the ministry."—U.P.I.

Hindu 5/8/46

INTERIM GOVT. AT THE CENTRE

MUST BE SET UP AT ONCE

"LEAGUE DECISION NO EXCUSE FOR DELAY"

NEW DELHI, Aug. 3

A suggestion that the Viceroy and the British Government "should proceed with the working of the Constitution-making Body, despite the Muslim League's recent resolution at Bombay," came from a top-ranking administrator associated with the Indian States, in the course of an interview with the Associated Press of America.

"The progress of India should not be allowed to be blocked by a single individual," he said, adding, "whatever may be said about it, the Muslim League is just Mr. Jinnah—sole and single."

"The Viceroy should not delay the formation of the Central Executive, consisting of national leaders. The decision of the Muslim League to dissociate from such a move should not be an excuse for procrastination on the part of the British Government. All attempts should of course be made to induce the League to take part in such a Government, but if it is found adamant in its decision not to participate in such a Government, the quota proposed to be allotted to the League should be filled in by independent Muslims, provision being made for the Leaguers' entry whenever they decide upon a revision of their approach to this question."

MOVE FOR "DIRECT ACTION" CRITICISED

He characterised as "silly" the League's Bombay decision to reverse its" Delhi resolution on the acceptance of the Cabinet Ministers' long-term proposals, and pointed out that, "If the League really plunged into any direct action as it threatens it will be writing its own end.

"This time it is the Provinces with popular Ministries that will be in charge of maintaining law and order, and so the League's direct action cannot be said to be aimed at the British Government, if and when it is launched in whatever form," he observed.

"If renunciation of titles is intended to impress anybody, well it is just a joke," he added.

"It is much to be regretted that the Congress also should be indulging in counter-threats," he said, referring to Sardar Patel's reply to the League, in his Tilak death anniversary speech at Bombay. "Nothing will be gained by threats and counter-threats. If only all leaders put an end to speech-making at frequent intervals, and then, I believe, the Indian problem will surely be settled," he remarked.

BRITAIN'S DESIRE TO SEE INDIA FREE

Times of India 5/8/46

Dr. Jayakar's View

From Our Own Correspondent

KARACHI, August 3: The urgent need for Indian parties to go ahead with the framing of the constitution of a free India without delay, especially when the Labour Government, which had received a strong mandate from the British electorate on the issue of India's freedom, was in power was emphasised by Dr. M. R. Jayakar, interviewed on his arrival here from London. He said: "I have come back to India in the hope that my presence in India will be useful at this critical time when the future constitution of India is being prepared. "With that view I thankfully declined the kind invitation of the Viceroy to attend the Peace Conference in Paris.

It would be most unfortunate at this critical time, said Dr. Jayakar, when the general impression among Englishmen was that India would soon have a free constitution as the result of her own efforts, if Indians by their differences made the proposed transfer of power difficult or impossible. It would be their own fault. The deeper intricacies of the problem were little understood in England.

There was a general desire among Englishmen, especially those who had no commercial or other interests in India, that India should be given her freedom without unnecessary delay. There were, of course, the old diehards, but their influence had been greatly reduced. It would be wise to achieve India's goal without undue delay and before that group regained its hold on the British electorate.

Discussing the possibility of establishment of a Supreme Court of Appeal in India, Dr. Jayakar said: "Whether the Indian constitution when framed will keep the Judicial Committee alive or will replace it by a Supreme Court of Appeal in India is a matter of great interest. If not anxiety to all those at present engaged in disposing of Indian appeals either as judges or as counsel

DIRECT ACTION BY MUSLIM LEAGUE

Times 3/8/46

No-Tax Campaign Part Of Plan

KARACHI, August 2: Mr. Hatim Alavi, member of the Muslim League Council, who has returned from Bombay, interviewed, revealed that the League's direct action programme involved no-tax campaign, particularly in respect of the taxes levied by the Central Government.

The Muslim League members will not resign the membership of the Constituent Assembly, he said, but would remain absent from it in order to prevent other Muslims from entering it. Mr. Hatim said that the League Ministries in Sind and Bengal will not resign but would continue in office when direct action is launched. He emphasised that the League's direct action should not take any form of civil commotion.

GIVING UP OFFICE UNDER CROWN

Bengal Assembly Question

CALCUTTA, August 2: The renouncing of titles by the Bengal Ministers in pursuance of the League Council's decision evoked some questions in the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

Mr. Niharendu Dutt-Majumdar (Congress) wanted to know if, following their decision to renounce titles, the Ministers were also renouncing their office under the Crown.

Mr. Mohammad Ali, Finance Minister, (who has given up his title of Khan Bahadur), said that they were not holding office under the Crown.

Mr. Dutt-Majumdar further asked if the Ministry was prepared to declare this House as a sovereign body. No reply was given. He added that they welcomed the decision to renounce titles, belated though it was.—A.P.I.

Sir Hassan Suhrawardy has decided to renounce his Knighthood and Kaisar-i-Hind Medal (First Class) and to be called Dr. Hassan Suhrawardy following the resolution of the Council of the Muslim League.

"SCHEDULED CASTES DAY"

Observance On August 15

POONA, August 1: Mr. P. N. Rajbhoj, General Secretary, All-India Scheduled Castes Federation, announces that all branches of the Federation have been asked to observe August 15 as "Poona Scheduled Castes *satyagraha* Day" by taking out processions and holding meetings where resolutions "protesting against the betrayal of the Scheduled Classes by the British Cabinet Mission, demanding a revision of the Poona Pact and separate electorates for Scheduled Classes and congratulating the *satyagrahis* and those who have suffered in the cause of Scheduled Classes" could be adopted.

Mr. Rajbhoj adds: "It is further requested that no branch should launch any movement or action without previous consultation with or sanction from the Council of Action of the Federation or from either Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, founder, or Dewan Bahadur N. Sivraj, President of the Federation.—A.P.I.

Times, — 2. 8. 46.

LEAGUE'S DIRECT ACTION 21.7.46

Will Be Launched After Careful Preparation, Says Nazimuddin

Speeches exhorting Muslim masses to be prepared for final struggle for the achievement of "Pakistan" were made by a number of prominent Muslim League leaders at a public meeting held at Null Bazar, Bombay, on Monday night.

The meeting was arranged under the auspices of D. ward Muslim League to welcome the members of All-India Muslim League Working Committee particularly those who renounced titles at the meeting of the council in the morning. Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, President of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League presided.

ON THE WAR PATH

Maulana Jamal Main Fhirangimahali surveyed the early history of the League and remarked that there was a time when a handful of sympathisers of League ideals had gathered in Delhi to chalk out a plan for the League. Since then much water had flowed under the bridge and League had become a powerful body and today it was in a position to face British Imperialism. The League today was in a position to show to the world that it was not a body of armchair politicians but of men of action. They were on the war path and there was no power on earth which could stop them from achieving their goal of Pakistan. In fighting for Pakistan they were not merely fighting for themselves. Theirs was a war for the independence of the whole of India.

Khawaja Nazimuddin in his speech blamed the British for all the mischief that had been caused. Britain set one party against another and looked on, but now there was no question of party strife. They wanted freedom, and they would fight for freedom, against all those who denied them freedom.

Speaking about his experiences of the non-violent movements of the Congress and the terrorist movement of Bengal, he said that they failed because they were not launched after careful preparations. This would never happen with the League. The League would do everything with great care and its movement would not be riots or communal disturbances.

TURNED LAW-BREAKERS

Mr. Hussain Imam in a stirring speech said that free people had always been breakers. Only those who were slaves were law-abiders, because they could not make laws. The Leaguers had now turned Law-breakers. For the fulfilment of the programme the League needed two types of men, one who could fight and the others who could work behind the lines. After 10 years of continuous work they had reached this stage. If they continued their efforts they would be able to achieve their object, namely, Pakistan. If out of 100 million Musalmans even 10 millions were lost it would be no loss because the 10 millions by their sacrifice would bring freedom to the Millat. They were not a minority and they wanted to shatter this inferiority complex. They would march ahead like storm troopers.

A PUCCA REVOLUTIONARY

Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan tracing the history of the Muslim League from the time when Mr. Jinnah was a barrister to the time when he became Quaid-e-Azam of 100 million Musalmans, said that the Quaid-e-Azam had brought the Musalmans to a stage when they could give an open challenge to British imperialists. The Quaid-e-Azam was not an immature youth but 70 years old. He had seen ups and downs of Indian history. He had so far been a staunch believer in constitutional methods. Today he had become a "Pucca" recolutionary All the League strength was due to Congress refusal to meet its demands. It was the verdict of 100 million Musalmans that they would fight and achieve Pakistan or die in the attempt; they would not rest till their goal was achieved. Muslim gentry would take the lead in the movement.

Fatima Begum said that the Punjabis were dying for orders. She assured that every young man and woman from that Province would die at the orders of the Quaid-e-Azam.

Maulana Karam Ali Mailhabadi also addressed the gathering.

Mr. Chundrigar thanked the guests and assured the members of the Council that Bombay would not lag behind in any sacrifice.

At the meeting Khan Saheb A. A. Khan, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Bombay Assembly, announced that he had renounced his title of Khan Saheb following the decision of the Muslim League Council.

Chronicle - 1.8.46.

"CONGRESS OUT TO ESTABLISH HINDU RULE IN LEAGUE WITH BRITISH GOVT."

League Executive Meeting Shortly To Consider Next Step, Says Hidavatullah

KARACHI, July 31. (A.P.I.): The Sind Premier, Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, returned to Karachi from Bombay today.

Interviewed the Premier said that he was already of the view that the League should not have accepted the Cabinet proposals at Delhi. However, events showed that he was right. Now the Congress game is out that they are in league with the British Government and are out to establish Hindu rule, said the Premier. He added: "At Bombay I was the first to request Mr. Jinnah to launch Direct Action to resist British and Congress designs directed against the Muslim League.

Asked about the future programme, Mr. Ghulam Hussain stid that the League working Committee and Committee of Action would shortly meet to consider the next step. And when such instructions came from the High Command, he would lead his province and fully implement the some.

LAGHARI REJOINED LEAGUE?

Referring to the Sind Ministerial situation, the Premier said that he was confident of the defeat of no-confidence motion. He challenged the Opposition and said that K. B. Fazal Mohamed Laghari who had resigned from the Muslim League party had rejoined the League Assembly party and renounced his title of Khan Bahadur.

Concluding the Premier said "You will see how our plans of Direct Action will reach in Sind".

CONSTITUENT BODY IS SOVEREIGN

Dawn 31-7-46

Jawahar Reiterates View

LAHORE, July 29. (A.P.I.): "I am tired, said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, when he got down from the plane on his way back from Kashmir.

The first thing that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was apprised of was the decision of the Muslim League Council to withdraw its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals. On receiving from the Associated Press of India correspondent the operative part of the Muslim League resolution, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru read the report carefully and handed it back without comment.

Asked for his reaction to the resolution, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru indicated that the full resolution would have to be studied before any comment could be made.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, however, reiterated his view regarding the sovereign nature of the Constituent Assembly—a view which has been challenged by the Muslim League.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that the Constituent Assembly would not be "sovereign" in the sense of an established power. "A regiment could be sent to put it down" said Nehru, adding what was meant by a sovereign Constituent Assembly was that no outside authority could interfere with its decisions It will be a body with which the British Government could not interfere.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru explained the position further by saying: "When this question was put to the Cabinet Mission in our correspondence with it, the Cabinet Mission

MR. NEHRU'S ACTION JUSTIFIED

Mr. Gill's View

AMRITSAR, July 18: The Sikh fight is directed solely against the British, and the Congress Sikhs being permitted to fight an injustice, in no way violate principles, said Mr. Niranjan Singh Gill, the Sikh dictator, replying to the charge made by Maulana Daud Ghaznavi against Pandit Nehru.

Mr. Gill said: "The Congress stands for a united sovereign India. So do the Sikhs. The Congress had to establish a non-communal constitution, subject only to just safeguards for various sections of the people. The Sikhs will readily accept the first national solution in which the Muslims, the Sikhs and other sections of the people would be treated exactly alike.

"Furthermore, Pandit Nehru acted as any great commander would have done, that is, in the absence of exact local information, he allowed the men on the spot to decide, and they did so keeping in view the broader interests of the country.

"The Congress Sikhs have acted in the interests of the Congress. So I hope no outside action will interfere with the growing Congress-Sikh friendship. Further, I hope no well-wisher of the country would want disunity among the Sikhs, which will be detrimental not only to the Panth but to the whole country. The Sikhs will serve the country truly as they have done in the past.—A.P.I.

MR. NEHRU'S ACTION JUSTIFIED 2.0/9/46
Mr. Gill's View

AMRITSAR, July 18: The Sikh fight is directed solely against the British, and the Congress Sikhs being permitted to fight opposition in no way violated principles, said Master Tara Singh Gill, the Sikh dictator, replying to the charge made by Maulana Dawood Ghaznavi at Pandit Nehru.

Mr. Gill said: "The Congress stands for a united sovereign India. So do the Sikhs. The Congress had to establish a non-communal constitution subject only to just safeguards for various sections of the people. The Sikhs will readily accept the first national solution in which the Muslims, the Sikhs and other sections of the people would be treated exactly alike.

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PUNJAB SIKHS WILL FOLLOW CONGRESS
Dawn dated 21-7-46

Pratap Singh's Advice to His Community

Lahore, July 21.- Interest has been heightened in the attitude of the Sikhs in the Constituent Assembly after Lord Pethick-Lawrence's appeal to them on Thursday to reconsider their boycott decision.

It is known that in view of the Congress High Command's latest mandate, the Congress Sikhs will be ready to enter the Constituent Assembly when an opportunity for them to do so recurs. At present there is no provision for by-election of the Sikhs but the Secretary of State's appeal to the Sikhs is considered significant.

It is learnt that the Punjab Sikhs have already informed the Congress High Command that they are in complete unison with the Congress policy. Sardar Pratap Singh, a member of the Congress Working Committee, told the Associated Press of India in an interview today: We are not going to the Constituent Assembly to arbitrate the British Cabinet Mission say in their proposals. We are going there to formulate a constitution of a free, united and democratic India. For that purpose we should go into the Constituent Assembly. If we do not go, it means we turn our back on the all-India question the question of freedom and democratic constitution. If and when we feel that the interests of the Sikh minority are not being preserved they of course we can decide as to what we should do. I have faith in the Congress High Command that they will not leave any stone unturned in satisfying the minorities especially the Sikhs and the Congress High Command has always kept their mind the Congress resolution of 1929. I will simply ask my brethren to put their faith in the Congress.—A. P. I.

Sikhs Must Be Given Right Of Negotiations
By MASTER TARA SINGH

AMRITSAR, July 21.—The demand that the Sikhs in the Punjab should be armed with what he called the power of negotiation given to other communities, was made today by Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, in reply to Lord Pethick-Lawrence's appeal to the Sikhs to reconsider their boycott decision.

Master Tara Singh said: "Lord Pethick-Lawrence referring to the Sikh case in his speech in Parliament says, 'the difficulty arose from the inescapable fact as to the geographical position of the Sikhs.'

"The reason given by Lord Pethick-Lawrence gives for ignoring the Sikhs, while he appeals to them to reconsider their attitude and their position.

"The only demand of the Sikhs is to give similar safeguards at the Centre in Group B and in the Punjab as have been given to both Hindus and Muslims at the Centre. I fail to understand how the question of geographical position arises at all in considering this demand. One may question as to why any safeguards be given to the Sikhs in the B Group and in the Punjab when these have been given to the Hindus and Muslims at the Centre only. The reason is evident. Both Hindus and Muslims are in a majority in some provinces and thus they are armed with the power of negotiation but the Sikhs have no such power

Mood Of Desperation

"I assure Lord Pethick-Lawrence that the Sikhs are fully alive to the dangers of non-co-operation with the constitution-making machinery and are anxious that they should get the power of negotiation given to other communities as explained above. It is in mere desperation that the Sikhs have burnt their boats to launch their final struggle. May I hope that better sense will yet prevail with the British statesmen and they will arm the Sikhs with the power of negotiation? Will he now agree to the Constituent Assembly simply to hear the verdict of the favoured communities?"

Preparations For 'Morcha'

Details of the exact form of the Akali *morcha* against the Mission's scheme are still being worked out. It is gathered from a reliable authority here that the Sikhs will give it the shape of a sort of a holy crusade collecting Akali *jathas* from all over the country, several of whom will march on foot to some central place such as Amritsar, the holy city of the Sikhs.

The *morcha* may be launched after obtaining the verdict of some religious heads and Sikh saints at a huge conference.—A.P.I.

BARDOLOI'S DIRECTIVE TO REPRESENTATIVES

Morning Standard 20.7.46.

SHILLONG, July 17.

THE Assam Legislative Assembly adopted without division the Premier's motion giving directive to the 10 representatives to the Constituent Assembly from Assam on the procedure they should adopt while framing the future Constitution of Assam.

Speaking on the motion, the Premier, Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, said that it should be hailed as the only resolution to be accepted under the present circumstances.

Sir M. Sa'adulla, Leader of the Opposition, favoured the group constitution for Assam mainly on financial grounds. According to him, if Assam grouped with Bengal, it will get the benefit of six crores of rupees, beside its normal income.

Sir M. Sa'adulla said that the Premier's motion went against the very spirit of the long-term proposal of the Cabinet Mission. He said that in view of the majority of his party, the Premier could carry the motion, but he pointed out that there were members in the Congress Group who had originally supported the Assam-Bengal grouping. Now they, in accordance with the direction of the Congress High Command, were supporting the Premier. Therefore, it could not be taken as the free voice of Assam.

Sir M. Sa'adulla thought that the motion was curtailing the rights of the members. He said that the House could not discuss the motion and as such the Muslim League Party was not interested in the motion and no other member of his party would take part in the debate.

Mr. A. Whittacker (European) said that the present motion would make a compromise difficult and added that there were advantages in Assam continuing in Group C. He dealt mainly with the economic side of the question and appealed to the House not to press the motion to a division.

After the Premier's final reply, the motion was adopted without a division. The House proceeded with the election of members to the Constituent Assembly.

ASSAM'S TABOO ON GROUPING

Morning Standard, 20.7.46.

SHILLONG, July 19.

A DIRECTIVE asking its 10 representatives to the Constituent Assembly not to take part in any meeting or meetings of any group or section of provinces convened for the purpose of drafting a group constitution was adopted by the Assam Legislative Assembly yesterday.

The directive asks the 10 representatives to attend meetings of the Constituent Assembly for framing and settling the Union Constitution.

It also asks the representatives to resist all or any attempt made to set up a Group Constitution for settlement of questions relating to any subjects in which Assam is interested and also to resist any such question being dealt with by any such group of provinces on the basis of majority votes.

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NEHRU GIVES OPTION TO CONGRESS SIKHS

Chronicle 18.7.46

But "Error And Misunderstanding" Led To Complications

ALLAHABAD, July 17. (A.P.I.): Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress President, has issued the following statement to the Press with regard to the recent Sikh developments in the Punjab in connection with the election of representatives to the Constituent Assembly:

"There appears to be considerable misunderstanding about recent Sikh developments in the Punjab in connection with the election of representatives to the Constituent Assembly. This is understandable as I have myself been puzzled and perplexed. The postal strike and the partial telegraph strike have helped in adding to the obscurity. Long distance telephone conversations, which were only partially heard, have not helped much in keeping me informed of what was happening.

"Ultimately, it became impossible for me to disentangle the separate threads and I told the Congress Sikhs in the Punjab that they must understand the Congress position clearly and keeping this in view act as they thought best.

"The matter would have to be considered by the Working Committee as soon as it meets.

"An error and a misunderstanding, right at the beginning, made without any reference to us, led to these complications.

"Congress Sikhs, of course, have to follow the Congress policy which is obviously also in the interest of the Sikhs as well as the country generally.

"The question was how to do it most effectively and as I was unable to understand the situation fully from here I left them to decide. I have every hope that this knot will be disentangled soon in accordance with Congress policy."

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Jawahar Apologises To Colleagues

Chronicle 19.7.46.

ALLAHABAD, July 18 (API).—It is obvious that every Congressman, whoever he might be, must follow Congress policy. I have no authority even as Congress President to vary that policy or to issue mandates or exemptions, says Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress, in a statement to the press explaining the circumstances which have led to misunderstanding and confusion created in the Punjab over the Sikh election to the Constituent Assembly.

Pandit Nehru, apologising to his colleagues for any misunderstanding created in connection with these elections, has from now on authorised Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Sardar Patel, Members of the Congress Working Committee to deal with all matters relating to elections.

FULL TEST OF STATEMENT

Following is the full text of the statement:

"I am reluctant to say anything now which might add to the confusion created in regard to Congress Sikhs in the Punjab. Therefore I issued a brief statement yesterday. But there appears to be a great deal of misunderstanding and I am amazed at the extraordinary conclusions drawn by some people. It is obvious that every Congressman whoever he might be, must follow Congress policy. I have no authority, even as Congress President, to vary that policy or to issue mandates or exemptions.

In regard to election matters, I have kept entirely aloof for all these years, even when I was President on the last occasion. Such matters have been dealt with by Maulana Azad and Sardar Patel. My involuntary intrusion on this occasion when I was overwhelmed with work and had no time or opportunity to consult my colleagues has evidently not been happy and has added to the mess. This mess began when, owing to some misunderstanding, Congress Sikhs in the Punjab committed themselves to a policy opposed to the obvious Congress policy in regard to the Constituent Assembly elections.

I learnt of this with amazement in Bombay and immediately communicated with Sardar Pratap Singh and Colonel Gill.

Later I was informed that these commitments had put the Congress Sikhs in a very difficult situation and they were being accused of dishonourable conduct. I could not get all the facts owing to difficulties in the way of communication. Or had I the time to get full information or to consult my colleagues. I was told that the Congress Sikhs and indeed others also would be able to line up with Congress policy completely if they were given a certain latitude in the way of approach so that they could get over the charge of unfair conduct levelled against them.

In the circumstances, I felt, perhaps wrongly, that I should explain Congress policy fully to them, impress upon them to follow it, but at the same time leave them to do it in the manner they thought best.

NOT FOR ME TO ISSUE MANDATES

I further said that the matter was not one for me to issue mandates. That could only be done by the Working Committee. I could only explain the Congress position. I felt that this friendly approach would be understood and appreciated. From subsequent events, it appears that I was wrong and what I said led to grave misunderstanding. For this I am to blame and I must apologise to all my colleagues. So far as I am concerned, there is no question of Congress policy being overriden by communal considerations or for any Congressman to go against Congress policy. In future all matters relating to elections will be dealt with by Maulana Azad and Sardar Patel who are more competent to deal with them than I am.

Cabinet Mission's Raw Deal To Sikh Community

Chronicle - 15/7/46.

Delivered Hand And Foot Tied Into Group 'B' Says Sardar

BOMBAY, July 13 (A.P.I.): Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in a statement today amplified his reference made in the speech in the All-India Congress Committee to the "great injustice" done to the Sikh community in the Punjab in the Cabinet Mission's proposals.

Sardar Patel says "In the Cabinet Mission's proposals greatest injustice has been done to the Sikhs. They have been placed in the "B" Group hand and foot tied. This places them in a disadvantageous position and they are therefore naturally very bitter.

UNITED FRONT

They have launched their protest in no uncertain terms. Their Committee went to the extent of rejecting the entire proposals and deciding to boycott the elections to the Constituent Assembly. I am glad to note that the Sikhs have in response to the appeal made by the Congress President filed their nomination papers for elections to the Constituent Assembly, even though the decision to reverse the original resolution is tentative.

If they decided to boycott the elections altogether, they would have made a mistake and played into the hands of reactionary elements.

Great as the injustice done to the community by the Cabinet Mission's proposals is, my advice to them is that they should not boycott the Constituent Assembly at the initial stage, but utilise the Constituent Assembly to voice their grievances and see that they are not compulsorily forced into Group "B". They can boycott it, if necessary, at the proper time.

I am unable to understand why the Cabinet Mission, which gave communal veto in the case of the Muslims, have refused to give the same safeguard to the Sikhs in the Punjab. There is no justification whatever for such invidious distinction. The Sikhs are a great and courageous community and it is most unwise to ignore them."

Morning Standard 13/7/46

Muslim Nation Must Be Organised

—MR. JINNAH

HYDERABAD (Dn.), July 11.

MR. M. A. JINNAH, President of the All-India Muslim League, in a message to Muslim students of Hyderabad said: "I urge upon you to keep yourselves abreast not only with the developments that are taking place in Hyderabad, but also with those in British India and the outside world, especially the political developments and the issues we are facing.

"Salvation of Muslims lies in unity and organising themselves in every department of life educational, social economic and politicals. We have neglected our affairs and have been left behind, and it is the duty of youth to-day who will be bound to play a prominent part to-morrow to do their utmost and help the entire reorientation of our policy and to take a full and active share in the renaissance of Islam and the Muslim India.

"Our society requires drastic and revolutionary changes in all walks of life; and I therefore, appeal to you to pull yourselves up together before it is to late.

"Concentrate and devote all your mind and might on the developments which are taking place and likely to be matter of life and death for us. Equip yourselves fully and qualify yourselves for all eventualities."—A.P.I.

Mr. Jinnah On Issues In States

Tune 13/7/42

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"TAKE INTO ACCOUNT LOCAL CONDITIONS"

HYDERABAD (Deccan), July 11: Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, dwelt on the situation in Kashmir and other important States addressing a meeting held under the auspices of the Hyderabad Majlisi Ittihad-ul Muslamin this evening.

Mr. Jinnah referred to certain press comments on his statement at Delhi relating to the recent developments in Kashmir which made out that he had declared that the "creed of the Kashmir Muslim Conference was the attainment of responsible government." This, Mr. Jinnah said, was torn from the context of his statement.

Mr. Jinnah explained that the point he was stressing then was that the revolt in Kashmir was by a section of the people of Kashmir and that the revolt was based on the slogan "Quit Kashmir". It was in that context he had said that the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference which was the only representative and authoritative organisation of Muslims in the State had, as its creed, the attainment of responsible government under the aegis of the Maharaja.

KASHMIR AND HYDERABAD

Mr. Jinnah, continuing, said that his statement in regard to Kashmir State had no bearing on other States. Conditions obtaining in Kashmir were not the same as those in Hyderabad State, or any other State for that matter—and Hyderabad must have the kind of government which was most suited to her genius. As far as he could see, it was not the creed of the political parties in Hyderabad to wipe out the ruler of Hyderabad. All that they were fighting for and striving hard for was the grant of constitutional reforms suited to the conditions there and having regard to the "realities" of the situation in the State.

Speaking earlier in Urdu, Mr. Jinnah said that Hindus were fond of using slogans and catchwords such as "democracy" which meant only the counting of heads, while stark realities were ignored or forgotten. He emphasised the necessity of taking local conditions into consideration.

Referring to the introduction of constitutional reforms in Hyderabad shortly, Mr. Jinnah asked the Muslims of the State to gather under the banner of the Majlisi Ittihad-ul Muslamin and set up a parliamentary board consisting of people enjoying the confidence of Muslims and fight the elections.

If all sections of the people tackled the problems facing them, bearing in mind the realities of the situation, the problems of Hyderabad would be solved at no distant date, Mr. Jinnah concluded.

H. Times 8/7/46

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Sikhs To Act In Co-operation With Congress

BOMBAY, July 6.—Sardar Niranjan Singh Gill, dictator of the Sikh Panthic Council of Action, who has presented the Sikhs' case to the Congress Working Committee, at a Press conference today said that whatever action the Sikhs took or whatever protest they lodged in regard to the present constitutional developments, would be in conjunction and co-operation with the Congress.

"We may slightly disagree with the Congress in regard to the methods, but the aim of both is the same."

Sardar Niranjan Singh Gill announced that his Council of Action would be meeting on July 9 and 10 to decide the attitude of the Sikhs towards the Constituent Assembly. "We will also decide what further action is necessary as a logical sequence to our previous stand and as a result of the final resolution of the Congress," he added.

There appeared to be some wrong impression in regard to the position of the Sikhs, the Sardar said. They had rejected the long-term proposals and also the Interim Government proposals. He said that since the Congress in its resolution accepting the long-term proposals had stated that the proposals were unjust to the Sikhs it was to be presumed that this injustice would be set right.

"We have to settle matters with our own brothers and with no body else. We want a united India with a national constitution. Since the Congress also stands for these very things, we think there can be and there should be no conflict between the Congress and the Sikhs." It was in this spirit that the Congress had invited him to the Working Committee's meeting.

"We want to make it clear that the Sikhs are upset and angry at the proposals and are in a mood to go ahead not fearing the consequences. But we wish to go forward in a manner which will vindicate our honour and stand and also serve the national cause."—A P I